

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



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THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF
OTTERY ST MARY

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THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF
OTTERY ST MARY
BEING THE
ORDINACIO ET STATUTA

ECCLESIE SANCTE MARIE DE OTERY
EXON. DIOCESIS

A.D. 1338, 1339

Edited from the

Exeter Chapter MS. 3521, and the
Winchester Cartulary vol. i. part ii. ff. 98-114

with

Plans, Photographs, Introduction and Notes

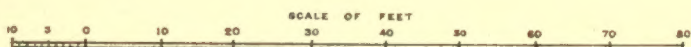
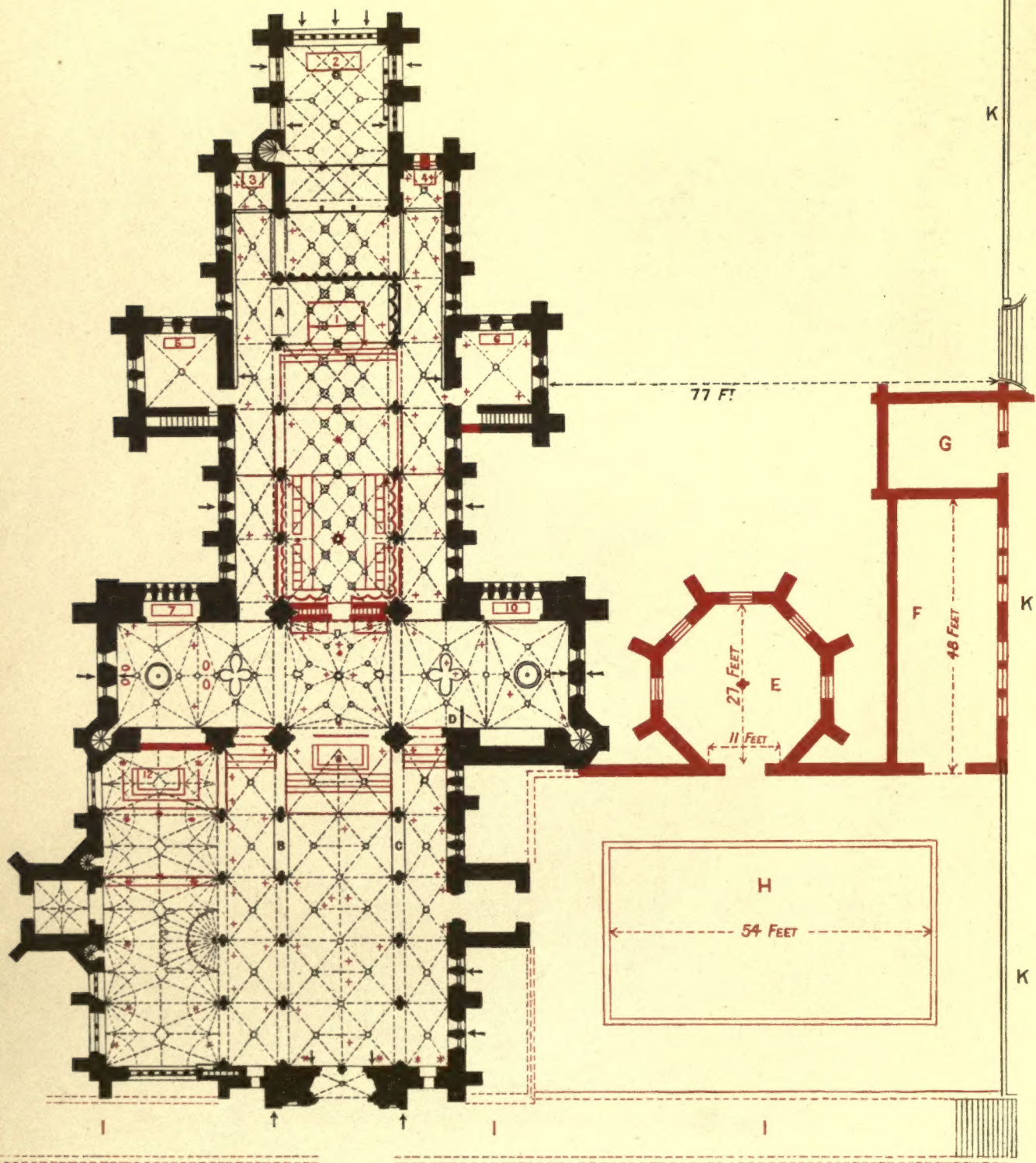
by

JOHN NEALE DALTON, M.A., F.S.A.

Canon of Windsor

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OTTERY ST MARY

INTERIOR DIMENSIONS

The length of the Nave plus the breadth of the Transept is equal to the length of the Choir, including the Choir Aisle Chapels; viz. 77 feet. The breadth of the Transept is the same as the breadth of the Lady Chapel, and as the breadth of the Choir proper; viz. 18 feet. The same proportions are observed as at Exeter.

From the Founder's Boss, in the Centre of the Crossing, to the High Altar Screen is the same distance as from the Founder's Boss to the West Door of the Nave: and the same as from the North Wall of the North Vestry, to the South Wall of the South Vestry; viz. 67 feet.

From the Founder's Boss to the end of either Transept is the same distance as to the Centre of the Choir (i.e., the lectern on the *Gradus Chori*), and the same as to the Centre of the Nave; the same also as from the High Altar Screen to the East End of the Lady Chapel; viz. 40 feet.

EXTERIOR MEASUREMENTS

From the South Wall of the South Choir Vestry to the South Wall of the Churchyard is 77 feet.

From the South Tower to the North Front of the Choristers' House was the same distance as from the North Tower to the Manor House, i.e., 100 feet 7 inches. Thus the Manor House and the College Buildings were equi-distant from the Transept ends; the Church was exactly in the Middle.

From the East End of the Lady Chapel to the East Wall of the Churchyard is 77 feet.

From the West Wall of the Nave to the West Side of the old Churchyard, as it existed till 1844, was also 77 feet; the distance now is 107 feet 6 inches.

Seventy-seven feet from the North Wall of the North Choir Vestry would come to within 26 feet of the Manor House, and have left sufficient space for a road to run between what was probably the Northern Boundary of the Churchyard and the Manor House, similar to the road that runs between the South Side of the Churchyard and the College Buildings; and to that which ran between the West Side of the Churchyard and the Canons' Houses. From the North Tower to the present Garden Wall is 41 feet 4 inches, the Wall is 1 foot 9 inches thick, and from the Wall to the House is 57 feet 6 inches. From the North Wall of the Stafford Porch to the Garden Wall is 30 feet.

The arrows show the position of the Consecration Crosses both on the outside and the inside of the Church.

The red asterisks mark the holes in the stone vaulting for the suspension of certain lights. All traces of such holes in the Lady Chapel and in the North Choir Aisle Vestry have been smoothed away, and doubtless some others elsewhere likewise. In the Choir three basons with wax lights were hanging in the centre at equal distances, one behind the other, as at Exeter.

The Foundation Walls of the Chapter House are in places 2 feet thick at about 4 feet below the present soil, but owing to interments in the present churchyard a sufficient portion of them has not been uncovered to determine whether the building was octagonal or oblong.

The position of the Library, Gate House and Cloister is conjectural; but the length of each is given in the Inventory of 1545.

The Altars may possibly have been thus arranged :

- | | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------------|---|
| 1. High Altar. | 7. The Holy Saviour or Jesus | 10. St John the Baptist and |
| 2. Our Lady's Altar. | Altar. | St Anthony. |
| 3. St Stephen and Martyrs. | 8. St Katharine or Courtenay | 11. Parish Altar, All Saints. |
| 4. St Gabriel and St Anne. | Altar. | 12. St Edward the Confessor. |
| 5. | 9. Day Altar for Morn Priest, | |
| 6. | B.V.M. " <i>Exterius</i> ." | |
| A. Easter Sepulchre. | D. The Clock | G. Gate House. |
| B. Sir Otho de Grandisson. | E. Chapter House. | H. Cloister. |
| C. The Lady Beatrice. | F. Library. | I. Pentice for " <i>Deambulatorium Cimiterii</i> ." |
| | K.K.K. South Wall of Churchyard. | |

Distance from one flight of steps to the other, 148 feet.

PREFACE

IT is now some twenty years since my attention was first directed to Bishop Grandisson's Statutes for his collegiate church of St Mary at Ottery. It was impossible to proceed far in this study without perceiving that in order to understand their details it was necessary to acquire a thorough knowledge of the church itself for which the Statutes were so carefully drawn and designed. Every facility was afforded me for this purpose during my frequent visits to Ottery by the late W. R. Coleridge, one of the governors of the church, the present Lord Coleridge, and the late Rev. F. B. Dickinson, then resident at the Manor house, as well as by the Rev. W. E. Pryke, then Vicar, but now Canon and Chancellor of Exeter. The memory of their kindnesses I shall ever gratefully cherish. I am also much indebted to the Rev. Walter Marshall, now vicar of St Patrick's, Hove, for the personal assistance he gave me in the attempt to unravel and spell out the riddle of the construction of the various portions of the edifice; though naturally it would not be fair to consider him responsible for any of the conclusions arrived at in the text.

To the most casual observer it is at once apparent that the church is an exceptionally interesting building. But so bald is it of detail, externally at any rate, that it has been suggested that the builder "decided to do without an architect." The costly works in progress at Exeter left the Bishop only limited means to spare during the four years 1338 to 1342. Be this as it may, there are sufficient signs, I think, to show how the work here gradually grew under his hands and personal direction, whether we assume that the remains of the older church of Bishop Bronescombe were being transformed, or that he was proceeding altogether *de novo* in the erection. In either case the Bishop would apparently begin with what are now the Transepts. The two lower stages of these would probably suggest the conception of making the church a miniature copy of that at Exeter with its two towers, and of that at Geneva which he remembered in his boyhood. The interior and exterior dimensions of the building and its immediate surroundings (as shown on the accompanying ground plans) exhibit plainly with what meticulous care they all were laid out, when once this notion was entertained. And this extraordinary attention to small matters is very characteristic of the Bishop's action and habit of mind (p. 162 n.). Next to the transepts he would naturally undertake the choir, to which he gave six bays and placed at the eastern end seven lancet windows. The heads only of these are now visible (p. 71), since the lower portions of them were necessarily interfered with, when it was determined to erect the Lady Chapel further eastward of the choir. This would probably be the next project that would occur to the Bishop. The nave was then laid out with five bays, as this had become the length of the choir, since the sixth or easternmost bay would be cut off as a passage to the Lady Chapel behind: and he terminated the nave with five lancets similar to those he had previously intended for the eastern end of the choir. Other manifest after-thoughts as the

work progressed are the square vestries added both on the north and south sides of the choir aisles (pp. 15, 65); the projecting recesses on the eastern and western sides of the two towers (pp. 17, 48) which were added after the transepts had been vaulted (p. 50); the chapels at the eastern ends of the north and south choir aisles (p. 67)—as it became evident that more altars would be required for the use of members of the foundations (pp. 128, 149, 169)—each of which chapels blocked the westernmost of the three windows on either side of the Lady Chapel (p. 70); the gallery at the western end of the Lady Chapel, which would necessitate the addition of the staircase in the octagonal turret erected on the north side (p. 30), which thus blocked one of the double windows that originally terminated the north choir aisle as they did the south choir aisle; and lastly, the curious thickening of the wall at the easternmost end of the Lady Chapel (p. 15) and at the western end of the nave (p. 19) by an addition to their exterior surface for niches and ornaments; such additions being a development of the principle embodied in the somewhat similar erections affixed to the eastern and western sides of the towers.

The letters recorded in the Bishop's Episcopal Register enable us further to trace the origin and gradual growth of his conception for the founding of the collegiate church.

Before he was appointed by Papal provision to Exeter in 1327 he had passed the greater portion of the thirty-six years of his life abroad, and in various confidential commissions connected with the Papal court. Like many another, he did not at first take kindly to what was to be the great work of his life, but imagined he would be happier elsewhere than at Exeter. Writing the year after his arrival in England to the Bishop of Lausanne, he asks that when the property of his lately deceased uncle Otho de Grandson (he died 2 April, 1328) in that diocese was divided, if any books *de usu Anglicano* were found, they might be reserved and sent him by the hands of the bearer, and adds "*Nec velitis, ut satis confidimus, amicales inter nos ab olim noticias oblivisci, eo maxime quod spem solidissimam gerimus—ut vobis secreta loquamur—quod ad partes illas propinquius, cum dei adiutorio, sedes apostolica nos reducet,*" *Reg.* 174. Several of his relatives had been Bishops of Lausanne, Geneva, Basle, Toul and Verdun; and in that direction his strong Burgundian family instincts would draw him. In a letter to Pope John XXII that same year he says that he feels "*et iuris et consuetudinum istius regni noticia, in multis ratione et iusticia carencium, extraneus,*" *Reg.* 93; and "*supra vigilias gregis elongatus maneo in extrema regionis solitudine,*" *Reg.* 106; and again on 22 Feb. 1329, "*Ad sanctitatis vestre pedes, licet corporaliter absens, semper tamen mentaliter presens, humillime prostratus, quales infimus ac inter facturas vestras modicus et extremus valet, pro ineffabili vestra bonitate in tam miserum diffusa, supplices refero graciaram acciones....Et certe, pater piissime, si que nunc exuperior indies prescivissem, alium me magis ydoneum per sanctitatem vestram destinandum ad hunc populum mirabilem Angularem procurassem. Tamen, ex quo, dei nutu et vestro iussu, a domino factum est, iuxta parvum posse et tenue nosse, quod incumbit exequi conor, de vestris sacris confisus precibus et patrociniis opportunis. Nec hoc, teste deo et domino nostro Jhesu Christo, dico quod aliud aut alibi affectem vel intendam imposterum optinere; quia satis novi, cum apostolo, quod periculum est ubique,*" *Reg.* 103.

After however his return to England from a visit to the Papal court at Avignon towards the end of 1331, the outlook had considerably cleared. The three thousand marks, one thousand a year for each of the first three years of his episcopate, due as fee to the Curia

for the Papal provision to the see, had been paid off: and his personal power and influence on this side the Channel had been gradually but firmly established. He had obtained a Papal indult, 20 December, 1331, in accordance with the expressed wishes of Edward III (*Reg.* 140), granting him and his diocese absolute freedom from all subjection to the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Priory of Christchurch, similar to that which had been granted by Innocent III in 1298 to the Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln for their dioceses; and in 1332 he had successfully resisted Archbishop Meopham on his arrival at Exeter in his attempt to hold a visitation. He himself had been residing continuously in his diocese, and personally ministering discipline where required throughout the length and breadth of Devon and Cornwall. He was organizing the constitution of the Chapter, whose development was behind that of others in England, and reforming abuses in the service as regards resident canons and dignitaries, priest-vicars, men and choir. The work on the cathedral appealed more and more to his affection, the nave was nearing completion, and at the western end of this he arranged his own burial-place. "*Ecclesia Exon' fere ad medium constructa, mirabili, si perficiatur, pulcritudine renitebit,*" *Reg.* 97; "*fabrica eiusdem ecclesie decenter et magnifice inchoate, que pro maiori parte adhuc remanet construenda*" (*Reg.* 104). His connexion with the Mortimers (p. 58) through his elder brother Peter, and with the Montacutes (p. 59)—his sister Katharine had married, 1327, the head of that house, created first Earl of Salisbury, 1337—and with the Courtenays, through his mother's family (p. 52), all tended to strengthen his attachment to England and to outweigh the pull of the more ancient family ties in Burgundy.

In January 1334 he was at Ottery and began his negotiations for purchasing the manor and church from Rouen (p. 12). In the spring he attended the Parliament at York; in the autumn, 21 September, his mother died; in the winter, 4 December, his friend and patron John XXII, and in the following summer, 27 June, his father. "*Ipsa mater mea,*" he writes to Benedict XII, "*Anglica genere, in domo Cisterciensis ordinis, nomine Dora (Dore Abbey, Herefordshire), a suis progenitoribus fundata, noviter humi tradita,*" and his father "*licet Burgundus genere*" had determined there to be buried beside her, *Reg.* 111. In the same year he tells the same Pontiff that at Ottery Saint Mary, "*ob honorem ipsius gloriose virginis et beati regis et confessoris Christi Edwardi,...iam ecclesiola inter omnes regni istius iuxta statum suum venustior est constructa,*" *Reg.* 117. The next two years of his life he spent near Exeter. In 1337, after an official visitation of the Chapter in person, he issued his *Ordinale Exon'*, of which the natural successor would be the Ottery Statutes issued 22 January, 1338. As he was minded to make the outline of the church at Ottery a miniature of that at Exeter, so the services therein to be celebrated were to be a reflexion of those he had organized with such care and beauty at Exeter. On 25 May, 1338, he provided for his own and other family obits at the cathedral by appropriating to the chapter the rectory of St Merryn in Cornwall, and on 29 September, 1339, for the fifteen family obits at Ottery, namely those of his father and mother, his own, his four brothers and four sisters, his uncle, his brother the Earl of Salisbury, Pope John XXII, and the cardinal Peter des Prés. Afterwards his brother Otho, in 1359, was brought to be buried in the nave at Ottery, and further endowments were made to the warden and canons in his name: and finally they were appointed the trustees for the proper upkeep of the Bishop's Chantry at Exeter, after his death in 1369.

The three strong motives that actuated Bishop Grandisson to the erection of the Collegiate Church of St Mary at Ottery were:

1. The glory of God, and the good of His people. That God whose fatherly love, he held, watches from generation to generation over each and all from the cradle throughout their mortal lives.

2. His pre-eminent devotion to our Lady, as testified by Adam de Murimuth (p. 148) and as manifested throughout the Statutes in everything connected with her hours and masses.

3. His desire for insuring the preservation of the never-ending remembrance of the deeds of valour and charity wrought by his family and friends, noble and gentle, who together with their willing followers and loyal comrades, whether in England, in France, in Scotland or the Holy Land, helped to fashion the realm and win the nation's place in the world's history which we now gratefully inherit; and who had found their strength at the altar of the church, and their delight, as he had done, in serving the Lord. Their names were to be pleaded for mercy before the Saviour's throne, and their example was to inspire all that came after. May he and they, with all Christian souls, find eternal rest and light and peace. God accept and Christ receive them.

The notes on the Statutes have become far more diffusive than I could have wished. One cause of this is that instead of merely giving the reference to such well-known works as Wilkins' *Concilia* or Lyndwood's *Provinciale* I have been led to quote the passages themselves, as I was writing for the ordinary reader rather than for the professional student. The latter of course would have these works at his elbow, and could at once turn up the reference: but the former might, I fancied, like to have the actual words before him in illustration of the text. And, as regards Lyndwood, I would feign hope that the average churchman might be led by these examples of his teaching to a better and fuller recognition of the robust common sense of the ecclesiastical lawyer and the simple piety of the English Bishop of St David's, in whose book, according to his own words to Archbishop Chicheley, "plurima ad fidei fortificationem, morum reformationem, ac simplicium directionem, animarumque salutem necessaria continentur."

Another cause that has added to the somewhat diffusive nature of the commentary is that when comparing the constitution and ordering of the Exeter and Ottery Chapters, I was compelled to give the details themselves from the MSS. at Exeter as the papers relating to the first have never been published. And yet a third cause is that I have thought it right to dwell at length upon the difference between the Sarum and Exon' Obit services (pp. 216, 217) and the curious and varying details of the Christmas Day, the Holy Week, Easter and Whitsun ceremonies (pp. 238, 243-247, 251-255).

My two longest notes are those on Papal provisions (pp. 116-127) and the dress of the secular clergy (pp. 194-202). As regards the first of these, I have taken the concrete case of Bishop Grandisson himself, and endeavoured to show what the effect of such provisions was upon him from his boyhood to his old age. If any one will patiently follow that story in all its details, as there set out, I think it will be clear why—human nature being what it is—the Papal provisions, if not exactly popular with all classes (except of course the Bishops), yet were found exceedingly convenient, as long as foreigners were not appointed to any of the endowments of the national church, which was the cause of the chief groans; and why therefore all statutes of the realm passed against them were futile. In fact the principle

underlying the theory of Papal provisions was the same as that adopted by Henry VII and the Tudor sovereigns, who sold and granted by letters patent the next presentation of pretty nearly everything in Crown patronage whether it was an ecclesiastical or secular post.

The other note, on clerical dress, will perhaps be chiefly of interest to those who sometimes wonder at the extraordinary number of articles and wrappings wherewith our bodies are daily covered, and how they came to be invented. Each and every one of these seems to have an ancient ancestry, and those we use now are the direct descendants of those our forefathers employed. The main object however of this note, as of all others on the Statutes, is to help the reader to live again for a short time amid the surroundings and to realise the ways of thought and feeling of our forefathers in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The ten large plates of the exterior and interior of the church are taken from photographs by Messrs Valentine and Sons of Dundee: the smaller ones, of various interesting architectural details, are from photographs by the Rev. Walter Marshall. The corbel of the Bishop's head and that of his sister are by Mr H. D. Badcock of Ottery. Although it might perhaps be precarious to endeavour to identify the individuality of episcopal features in an ordinarily sculptured head, yet taking into account the intense personal affection Bishop Grandisson evinced for the place and church, and the position this head occupies in the Lady Chapel, the balance of probability would at any rate tend to allow the supposition that it represents him as he would appear when between 40 and 50 years of age in 1338 to 1342. A red suit of vestments with the founder's arms embroidered were also kept for 200 years afterwards in this same chapel (p. 294). For the photographs of the Bishop's ivory diptych and triptych I am indebted to Mr Ormonde M. Dalton, M.A., F.S.A., assistant keeper of the department of British and mediaeval antiquities in the British Museum. In his *Catalogue of the Ivory Carvings of the Christian Era*, 1909, pp. 88-91, they are both fully described. They have been introduced here as samples of the sculpture that Bishop Grandisson would probably have placed in the niches above the high altar at Ottery. The plate (XXV) of the photograph of two pencil drawings of buildings that have now passed away, which the late Mr W. R. Coleridge sent me, is most interesting, and so is the larger plate (XXVI) of the photograph of the sepia drawing which the present Lord Coleridge so kindly gave me. The "squint" in the gate-house commanding the approach from the Close to the morn-priest's house is worthy of notice: and, as his lordship writes, "the finial" of the choristers' house "is a lovely bit of Grandisson." This picture to my mind, more than anything else in the volume, serves to link together the present, the mediate and the far distant past of the Collegiate Church of Ottery St Mary.

J. N. D.

WINDSOR.
Christmas, 1916.

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FRAGMENTA DE REGISTRO 116-132

Bishop Grandisson's personal relations with the three Pontiffs, viz., John XXII (his patron), Benedict XII (his old tutor at Paris) and Clement VI. His life of St Thomas of Canterbury and the Foundation of Ottery, 116-119.

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Fragments of the first draft or edition of the Statutes, originally entered in Bishop Grandisson's Episcopal Register, 127-132; Chapter Mass, 129, 130.

STATUTA COLLEGII 133-259

Statutes i-v. *Of the Persons on the Foundation* 133, 134

Each Canon is to have a copy of the Ordinacio and of the Statuta; the Priest-vicars also one copy and the Secondaries another copy. These last two are to be used for reading through at their tables four times a year, as well as by the whole body in Chapter after Prime on the week-days in Advent. The Bishop or his commissary will induct the Warden to his office, Canonry and Prebend, the

Archdeacon will induct the Minister to his office, with care of souls, but to his Canonry and Prebend he will be inducted by the Warden: and so too will be all other Canons whether officer or simple, 133-135; of what sort and age the Priest-vicars, the Secondaries and the Choristers are to be, and what they are to know. The Tonal and the Invitatory, 134.

Statutes vi—xiii. *Of the Services generally* 135-140

Hour for Mattins and Lauds, 135; careful demeanour of all in choir. The *Ordinale* and *Consuetudinarium* for Ottery. *Pausacio* and *punctatio*, 137; all carelessness and disorder to be avoided, 138; both in standing and in mode of chanting. Every service to be carefully looked over beforehand in Chapter on the day preceding, if possible, or at any rate at the Saturday Chapters, 139; certain parts to be learnt by heart and sung without book, 139; whatever portion of the service was monotoned without inflexion—(as for instance *ad preces*, the penitential psalms and ordinary vigils for the dead)—was to be done with due care and without haste, 140.

Statutes xiv—xx. *Of our Lady's Hours and special Masses* 141-148

Special indulgence for those present when her Mattins are said *in conventu*, 141-145; method of bell-tolling for our Lady's solemn Mass every day in her chapel before Prime, 142; summer country walks, study, writing or votive Masses during the interval between Mattins of the day and our Lady's Mass, 143; of St Anne, St Gabriel and blessed Mary's Presentation, 144; indulgence for those attending these three Masses. The Chanter and our Lady's Chaplain to train the Boys and Secondaries in music and part-singing, 145; one Canon at least to be present every day at our Lady's Mass: a third Indulgence for other Canons and Priest-vicars who attend. Devotion to our Lady, 146-148.

Statutes xxi—xxiii. *Of Proper Attendance at Church, and Choir Attire* 148, 149

No boys or others shall come in or go out, or run about while service is going on. No one may come into church without a choir habit between the toll for our Lady's Mass and dinner-time, or after the toll for Evensong until supper-time. No one may go into the town in choir habit. The Canons are not to serve themselves of the Priest-vicars, Secondaries or Choristers so as to hinder in any way their attendance at church. Of the respect due by Priest-vicars to Canons, and of Clerks to Priest-vicars, 149.

Statutes xxiv—xxvii. *Of Masses and Confession* 149-155

All Priests to say Mass at least twice a week, and previously to confess to one of the more devout and elderly of the Priest-vicars, who is to be appointed by the Minister as Penitentiary for that purpose. Four Masses a day the *minimum* at Ottery, 150; as to Confession, 151, 152; the Warden or Minister on greater Doubles, the Chanter or Sacrist or other Canon on lesser Doubles are to sing High Mass, 152; one of the Canons always on Sundays and Doubles to sing the High Mass, and another Canon, if possible, our Lady's Mass, 153; hour for votive or private Masses, 153; on bowing to the altar on entering, leaving or crossing the choir, and to the Warden or other dignitary present, 154-155.

Statutes xxviii—xxxiii. *Of the Books* 156-162

Care of books, 156, 157; number and arrangement of anthem-books, grayles and psalters in choir: three at least of each on either side, and one at the choir step and another for the ruler. Boxes in the lower stalls for locking up the books out of service hours. Three lights at most on either side of the choir at night for early Mattins; and every Canon to provide one for himself, 158; in processions every Canon and every Priest-vicar is to have a book to himself to avoid

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Statutes xxxiv, xxxv. <i>Careful use of the Vestments</i>	163, 164
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Statutes xxxvi—xxxix. <i>Of Places and Discipline in Choir</i>	165
How, and when to sit or to stand. No one allowed in choir except in choir habit. The choir itself is to be locked up from Compline to Mattins, and from Mattins to Prime, and from Nones to Evensong. Church clerks are to be always on guard in the church night and day. They and the holy water clerks are to take each their turn for a week in preparing necessities for the Masses, 166, 167.	
Statutes xl, xli. <i>Of the Residence to be kept by the Four Officers and of the Care of the Parishioners</i>	167-170
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Statutes xlii—xlvi. <i>Of the Church Furniture and the Sacrist's Duties</i>	170-178
Each altar is to be severally assigned to the special charge of a particular Canon or Priest-vicar: and each altar is to have its own furniture, and one wax serge at least, 170; no images or votive tapers near, but only the figure of the Saint or Saints in whose honour it is dedicated, with a Cross in the middle, and two wax lights suspended one on either side of the altar, 170, 171; what vestments and furniture are to be renewed yearly by the Sacrist, 172; who will see to it that the holy water clerks and the church clerks duly and devoutly perform their trust, 173; he will inspect the altars and their furniture every week; and sometimes the bells and the roof, 174; use to which crysom-cloths may be put, 175, 176; the church is to be thoroughly cleaned three times a year, viz., before Christmas, Easter and the Assumption, 177; all images are to be veiled in Lent, and the two angels on the riddel-posts by the high altar to be removed till Easter, 178; the Rood and the Cross above the high altar may be uncovered on Palm Sunday from procession time until after Evensong, 178.	
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Statute lxiii. *Of the Fabric* 209

A monthly inspection is to be made of the exterior and of the interior by the Warden and Sacrist, in order that necessary repairs may be at once effected to keep it wind and weather tight. A skilled workman from Exeter at a fixed stipend is to visit it frequently.

Statutes lxiv—lxvii. *Of the Stewards and their Duties* 210, 211

Canons who decline the office when elected thereto are to forfeit that year's salary, except the corpus of their Prebend, 210; the Stewards are to have one-half and the Marker the other half of the fines levied for absence from service, 210; no College property or tithes to be alienated: the domain lands may be let on lease for seven years, or for the term of one life, 211.

Statutes lxviii, lxix. *Of the Sacrist, and his Duties* 211

Order to be observed in seating the choir. He will have a careful inventory of all things in his charge, and will render a yearly account.

Statutes lxx, lxxi. *Of the College Seal* 212

It is to be kept under three keys, with the chalices, crosses, relics and other jewels in the Cheker. All these are to be inspected at Easter and at Michaelmas by the Canons with two or three Priest-vicars as witnesses, 212; the seal is only to be brought out for use by consent of all the Canons in residence, 213.

Statutes lxxii—lxxiv. *Of the Obits* 213–223

Obits are to be carefully entered in the Kalendar before the Martiloge, in order that notice may be duly given after Prime of those that will occur next day. Fourteen principal obits instituted by the Founder, 214; to be kept after Exeter not Sarum use, 216–218; fifteenth century list of Ottery obits, 218–222; of the Death Peal, 223.

Statutes lxxv, lxxvi. *Of the Ordinale, Consuetudinarium and Statuta* 224–228

Sarum books may supplement, but are not to supersede or override, anything laid down in the present Ordinal, Customary or Statutes, 224; the sealed copy of the Ordinal and the Statuta are to be produced at the Bishop's Visitation of the House. Subsequent visitation by Bishop Grandisson, 225–226; indulgence for visitors to Ottery, 226, 227.

DE LUMINARIBUS ECCLESIE 228–259

Statute lxxvii.

1. The Sacrist will provide at the Chapter's charge all things necessary for Divine Service of the College. The parishioners will provide all things necessary for that in the Nave, and in the North Transept, 228–230.

2. One light to be ever burning night and day in the church, 231.

3. Extra peals on double feasts, the church to be properly lit up while the bells are ringing, 232.
4. As to the light suspended in front of the high altar and of those on the iron-beams, 233.
5. The Taperers, 234.
6. Sixteen wax lights at least in choir, 235.
7. The lights in our Lady's Chapel, 235; at every altar in the church on their special saints' days tapers shall be lighted while mattins and evensong and mass of the day are said in choir. One light always to be burning before the Great Rood, 235, 236.
8. Two wax torches for the elevation at High Mass daily, and two similar ones at our Lady's Mass, and at the first Mass at Christmas and at Easter, 237-239.
9. Sevenfold difference in the dignity of festivals. The greater Doubles consist of two classes, Principal and Secondary: the other Doubles are Middle Doubles and Lesser Doubles. The next class are half-doubles with triple Invitatory. Then come Sundays and simple feasts when the choir is ruled: and the rest when the choir is not ruled, 239.
10. On the principal feasts, viz., Christmas-day, Epiphany, Easter-day, Whit-Sunday, the Assumption and All Saints' Day, how the bells are to be rung and the lights lit, 240, 241.
11. And how on the Secondary Greater Doubles: viz., the Purification, Annunciation, Ascension Day, Trinity Sunday, Corpus Christi, St Peter and St Paul, our Lady's birthday, St Edward the Confessor, and the Dedication of the church, 242, 243.
12. And how on the vigils of Easter and Whit-Sunday, and about the Paschal light, 243-247.
13. How on the Middle Doubles, viz., St Stephen, St John the Apostle, St Thomas of Canterbury, the Circumcision, Easter Monday and Whit-Monday, the Finding of the Cross, the birthday of St John Baptist, the octave of the Assumption, Michaelmas-day, St Andrew the Apostle and the Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, 247.
14. How on the Lesser Doubles, viz., the Holy Innocents, Conversion of St Paul, St Peter's chair, St Matthias the Apostle, St Gregory, Tuesday and Wednesday after Easter and after Whit-Sunday, Low Sunday, St Ambrose, St Mark, St Philip and St James, St John before the Latin gate, Translation of St Thomas of Canterbury, St James the Apostle, St Peter's chains, St Bartholomew, St Augustine, Exaltation of the Cross, St Matthew, St Jerome, St Luke, St Simon and St Jude, and St Thomas the Apostle, 248.
15. How on All Souls' Day and at the five chief Obits, 248.
16. How on Advent Sunday, on the 30th and 31st December, on Palm Sunday, on Thursday, Friday and Saturday after Easter-day and after Whit-Sunday, and on the Sundays which fall within the octaves of the Assumption and of our Lady's birthday and of the Dedication of the church, 248.
17. How on Half-Doubles when the Invitatory is sung by three, and the versicles with the third, sixth and ninth Responds by two, viz., the octave of the Epiphany, of Ascension Day, of Corpus Christi, of St Peter and St Paul, and of our Lady's birthday. On the feast days of St Nicholas, St Augustine of Canterbury, St Barnabas, the commemoration of St Paul, St Mary Magdalene, St Lawrence, the beheading of St John Baptist, St Michael on the Mount, St Martin, St Edmund the Archbishop and St Katharine, 248, 249.
18. How on Sundays and on feasts when the choir is ruled, 249.
19. How on simple feasts, 249.
20. On the Wednesday in the Advent Ember week, at the greater O's, at Christmas

Eve, at Evensong on the Wednesday before Easter: at Mass on both festivals of the Holy Cross, and in all processions before the Rood, 250.

21. On feasts with three lessons, on week-days when the choir is not ruled, on Good Friday and until Easter Day, 250, 251; Creeping to the Cross, 252.

22. On the three nights before Easter and of the Paschal Candle, 253-255.

23. On Christmas Day for the verse of the first Respond which is sung by five boys, and on All Saints' Day for the eighth Respond and its verse which is sung by five boys, 255.

24. On the Purification, 256.

25. The 200 lbs. of wax, that will be required for all this every year, are to be bought at Winchester fair, or at Torrington and Barnstaple; and the serges are to be made in the fortnight after Michaelmas, and kept till wanted, 257.

26. Besides this 60 lbs. of tallow will be required for other lights; and 6 lbs. of frankincense at least every year, 257.

27. Of our Lady's Anthem to be sung daily after Curfew before her altar outside the choir door by the church clerks on duty for the night in the church, with the *De profundis* for the dead to follow, 258, 259.

Appropriation of Ilington 260-264

25 May, 1338. Annual pension of £5 reserved to the Prior and Convent of Plympton. The Warden is to have £4, the Minister, the Chanter, and Sacrist £2 each: special payment to all members on the foundation who attend the five chief Obits: our Lady's Chaplain is to have one mark, and the Schoolmaster half a mark extra. The residue to the Cheker for Michaelmas audit: half then to be paid to the Reserve Fund, and half for dividend to Canons in proportion to the residence they may have kept, 261-263.

Appropriation of Northam 264-269

1 Sept., 1361. In furtherance of Sir Otho de Grandisson's desire, and on his behalf. Two extra Priest-vicars, who will pray specially for the soul of Sir Otho, are to be appointed and to receive the same salary as the other eight. The whole ten Priest-vicars and the Morn-priest are to have a mark a year for their better clothing. A sub-Sacrist is to be appointed, and both he and the Succentor are to have half a mark for their extra duties. The eight Secondaries and our Lady's clerk are each to have 3s. 4d.: the Chorister boys 1s. 4d. each, the two church clerks half a mark each, and so too the Parish Priest and the Schoolmaster. All these sums are to be paid quarterly. At Sir Otho's Obit £1 is to be divided amongst those of the College who are present. An extra wax-light at the cost of 8s. 8d. is to be provided at Mattins and Evensong on Sundays and on such days when the choir is ruled, 266; the residue to the Cheker, to be employed in entertaining strangers. If however there remain more than what may be required for this purpose, then out of such dividend the four officers are to receive double what the other Canons do. Letter of Bishop Grandisson to the Warden and Canons, 267, 7 January, 1362, as to their neglect in providing the extra light ordered for Sir Otho. The Chapter's reply, 22 January, thereto. The Bishop's Ordinance for the Vicar of Northam's salary, 3 December, 1363, 268.

LONDON RENTS FROM BLOSMYS-IN 269-276

22 February, 1403. Ordinance of Bishop Robert Braybroke of London and Bishop Stafford of Exeter. Out of these rents all members of the College are to receive an addition to their salary. An Obit for Nicholas Braybroke and Theobald Mounteney is founded: another for Nicholas Braybroke at Exeter, and also one for the two Bishops. Provision is also made for the upkeep of Bishop Grandisson's Chantry at Exeter.

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INTRODUCTION

§ 1. THE EXETER MANUSCRIPT.

By the courtesy of the Dean and Chapter of Exeter the following copy of the Statutes, given by Bishop Grandisson in 1338 and 1339 A.D. to his Collegiate Church of St Mary, St Edward the Confessor, and All Saints, Ottery, is taken directly from a small, thick quarto volume, now marked No. 17 (and 3,521) in their Cathedral Library. It measures 9 inches in height, 6 inches in breadth, and 2 inches in thickness: and is still in its original binding, apparently of the fifteenth century. The oak boards are covered with white deerskin somewhat frayed and torn. The clasp is gone, but the small metal knob in the centre of the underboard for the clasp to catch to still remains. Four vellum folios of a well written manuscript of the fourteenth century in double columns on civil law have been used in the interior binding of the volume.

On a paper leaf at the beginning the contents are thus described in a seventeenth century hand.

"Hic Liber diversas (*sic*) Tractatus continet, videlicet

1. De omnibus Obitibus in Ecclesia Beatæ Mariæ de Ottery collegiata fundatis.
2. Joannis Seguardi Ludicra cum Epistola ad Universitatem Oxoniæ directa. (Claruit anno 1414, *vide* Tanner de Scriptoribus sub titulo Seguard.)
3. Statuta Ecclesiæ de Ottery.
4. Statuta Thomæ Button, Johannis Grandisson, et Edmundi Lacy Episcoporum Exon. pro Ecclesia Sanctæ Crucis de Crediton.
5. Adjecta sunt quædam de Re medica sermone Anglico et Latino."

On the same leaf, but above the table of contents, and in the same large, bold sixteenth century hand as the entries on p. 421, is inscribed: "Hei mihi quod tanto virtus perfusa decore, Non habet æternos inviolata dies,"—a regret perhaps at the overthrow of the old religion.

The volume is said to have been paginated throughout by Dean Lyttelton (1748 to 1762), President of the Society of Antiquaries, and contains in that enumeration 430 pages.

The list of Obits at Ottery in a fifteenth century hand occupies the first page and three lines on the top of the second. (This list has been here printed at the end of the Ottery Statutes.) Pages 3 and 4 are blank. These first four pages are paper of the same kind as that on which the Ottery Statutes are written; but the handwriting and the ink employed are different.

Pages 5 to 28 are vellum. On them is written in a fifteenth century hand, "Ludicra Johannis Seguard."

Pages 29 to 82 are also vellum, but of a thinner texture and lighter yellow than the preceding, and contain, in a different hand from the last, "Epigrams and Verses by Segward and William Scheffeld."

Pages 83 to 86 are vellum, of the same character as pages 5 to 28; on them is the "Epistola Johannis Seguard ad perspicacissimam et disertissimam universitatem Oxonie." It is dated at the end "Scripta primo London' mense Januarij die quo celebrari consueuerant encenia concordie. Anno regni regis Henrici quarti post conquestum Anglie tercio decimo" [1412]. Then follows a note in another hand, "explicit epistola Johannis Seguard ad perspicacissimam et disertissimam universitatem Oxonie. Incipiuntque ludicra eiusdem Johannis." It is evident from this that what are now pp. 5 to 28 have been displaced: they now precede, but originally followed here the letter to the University of Oxford. The three initial capitals, one on page 83 and two on page 5, are in blue with red flourishes.

Pages 87 to 110 are paper, and contain in a fifteenth century hand a work *Secretum Philosophorum*, beginning "Iste liber quem pre manibus habemus vocatur secretum philosophorum." This is a compendium of natural philosophy. There are more than thirty copies or versions of it in the British Museum—e.g. Add. MSS. 26, 770 and 32, 622. The original was attributed to Aristotle and was said to have been written for Alexander the Great. The work was compiled in Syriac from Greek sources in the eighth or ninth century by a Christian physician, and first translated into Latin in the twelfth century; as it grew in popularity it expanded in size, and was translated into Spanish, Italian, French, German, and English, both in prose and verse. (Lydgate and Burgh's *Secrees of old Philisoffres*, an English metrical translation of the *Secreta Secretorum*, was edited from the Sloane MS. 2464—the date of which is A.D. 1450—with introduction, notes, and glossary by R. Steele, for the Early English Text Society in 1894. Lydgate was a monk at Bury St Edmunds, but connected with Windsor; and Burgh, from 1476 to 1483, was Canon of St Stephen's, Westminster, and "benefactor" thereto.)

Pages 111 to 286 contain on paper the Ottery and Crediton Statutes in a fifteenth century hand, with large blue initial letters and red ink flourishes. (The former in this reprint have been represented by leaded capitals.) Each page contains from 20 to 23 lines of manuscript with notes on the outer margin.

Pages 111 to 113 contain the conclusion of the document which begins midway down p. 121, runs on from there to the end of p. 133, whence it is continued on p. 111. It is written in a different hand from the statutes. The initial letters are not in blue; but each is a sketch in black ink of a figure of man, bird, rabbit, lion, or fish in various minatory or deprecatory attitudes. The space now covered by this document was originally left vacant when the statutes were written. (This document is made up of two entries. The first, extending from p. 121 to p. 132, is a copy of the Ordinances of Bishops Robert Braybroke of London and Edmund Stafford of Exeter regarding the Grandisson Chantry property in London, dated 22 February, 1403, approved by Ottery Chapter 5 April, 1404. The second, which covers pp. 133, 111 to 113, is a copy of Bishop Grandisson's appropriation of Northam Rectory to Ottery, 1 September, 1361, and his Ordinances regarding the same. It is written in a different hand from the preceding. Both are printed at the end of the Ottery Statutes, the second immediately following the appropriation of Ilsington, A.D. 1338, and the first following the list of Ottery obits.)

Pages 114 to 121 contain the *Tabulae* of the three groups of the Ottery Statutes. The initial letter of the title of the first statute in each group is in blue with red ink flourishes.

Page 134 contains only the title "*Iste liber diuiditur in tres partes,*" etc. The first letter in blue with red flourishes.

Pages 135 to 224 contain the Ottery Statutes. The manuscript is at this point foliated top and bottom, but in different notations. The numbers at the top run on continuously; those at the bottom repeat themselves every twelfth page, the first six in each case being only noted. The first twelve according to the lower notation are pages 111 to 134, the second twelve begin on page 135, "*primum folium*" according to top notation, and end page 158. The Ottery and Crediton Statutes occupy thus seven duodecimos altogether: the 76^v folio is page 286.

(For readiness of reference both Dean Lyttelton's pagination and the topmost foliation are here printed in the margin of the text.) Each statute begins with a capital letter in blue with red flourishes. The Ottery Statutes extend from folio 1 to folio 45^v.

Pages 225 to 229 = folios 46 to 48, and contain *Tabula ad reperienda statuta diuersa ecclesie sancte crucis Criditonie in libro gradatim.*

Pages 230 to 286 = folios 48^v to 76^v contain, written in the same hand as the Ottery Statutes, the various Statutes and Ordinances given by different Bishops of Exeter from time to time to the Collegiate Church of the Holy Cross at Crediton. They are set forth in continuous order one after the other: and an attempt is made to number them consecutively. Thus numbered they contain in all 46 Statutes. This arrangement was apparently made by some member of the Crediton Chapter for his practical guidance at some date after 23 March, 1440. On fo. 76^v he concludes, "*expliciunt statuta Criditonie a dominis episcopis edita pro ecclesie sancte crucis collegiate reformatione que in ruinas pene heu erat redacta.*" In his enumeration he sets out, on

Pages 230 to 248 = folios 48^v to 57^v, the Statutes given by Bishop Bytton in 1304 A.D.

Pages 249 to 262 = folios 58 to 64^v, those given to the same church by Bishop Grandisson in 1334 A.D.

Pages 263 to 270 = folios 65 to 68^v, earlier statutes given by Bishop Bronescombe, in 1261, in 1269 and in 1272. In the first of these Bishop Blondy's Statutes given in 1253 to the same collegiate church are recited.

Pages 271 to 279 = folios 69 to 73, further statutes given by Bishop Grandisson, 9 March, 1361.

Pages 280 to 286 = folios 73^v to 76^v, statutes given by Bishop Lacy, 23 March, 1440.

(The Crediton Statutes, though full of interest in themselves, are more in the nature of Ordinances issued from time to time by the Bishop of the see for regulating the conduct of the College. Oliver prints some of them in his *Monasticon Diocesis Exon.*, pp. 415 to 417, pp. 81, 82, pp. 79, 80, and gives them mostly as extracted from the Registers of the various Bishops, but with several misprints and misreadings, and he altogether omits Grandisson's Ordinances of 1361, though he quotes largely from our present Exeter manuscript, pp. 415 to 417. The college was a very ancient one—Crediton was the birthplace, in 680 A.D., of Winfrith, S. Boniface the Apostle of the Germans—and existed before the removal of the see to Exeter in 1050 A.D. The rules made for the Canons of Crediton by the Bishop of Exeter in the early years of the twelfth century are printed in Professor Napier's *Crawford*

collection of early charters and documents now in the Bodleian Library (Clarendon Press), 1896. There were eighteen canons and eighteen vicars. They apparently never possessed a body of proper statutes. The Precentor was the senior canon and head of the Chapter, as at St David's: the canon who was dean occupied a subordinate position.)

Pages 287, 288 = folios 77 and 77^v, were blank, but on them are written in an almost contemporary late fifteenth century hand various medical recipes.

Page 289. Two lines of musical notation; scales.

Page 290 is blank.

Pages 291 to 315. Medical recipes in English and Latin.

Pages 316 to 364. Medical recipes in English.

On p. 362 is the entry, "De accepcione librorum Magistri Johannis Excetre secum a camera sua Londonie ad curiam:—

In primis liber. 2^o folio. In principio de inceptiionibus historiaram.

Item: Historia Britannie. 2^o fo. Cum in omni fere librorum.

Item: Speculum stultorum. 4^{to} fo. Tabula libelli.

Item: Penitenciale Bartholomei. 2^o fo. Incipit liber.

Item: Cronica Britonum. 4^{to} fo. Tabula de Secretis.

Item: Liber musicalis. 5^{to} fo. In hoc presenti quaterno.

Item: Liber grammaticalis. 7^{mo} fo. Omnis sciencia.

Item: Liber musicalis. 6^{to} fo. De musica armonica.

Item: Blessensis. 7^{mo} fo. Incipiunt capitula epistolarum.

Item: Scotus super metheorum. 4^{to} fo. De primis igitur causis.

Item: quaternus Dictavensis. 6^{to} fo. quasi modo geniti."

This entry was subsequently cancelled, as if the books had been afterwards returned. They may have been taken "ad curiam" by John Excetre for evidence in some lawsuit or point in controversy—(perhaps connected with the appropriation of Ipplepen, 13 March, 1439—24 February, 1443)—or merely for his own private reading. It is worthy of note perhaps that none of these books would appear to have ever belonged to the Exeter Cathedral Library for none of them is entered in the Inventory of that library made in 1506. This inventory is described in the *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ*, fol. Oxon. 1697, vol. II, p. 56, as being then marked in the Exeter Library as 2094.40: and it is printed at full length in Oliver's *Bishops of Exeter*, 1861, pp. 366 to 375. Neither is mention made in that Inventory of our present quarto manuscript of the Ottery Statutes, or of either of the treatises therein bound together. This most interesting and valuable inventory is now missing from the Chapter Library.

Pages 365 to 403. Other medical recipes in Latin, in various hands, with a table concerning Fata infantium sub diversis natorum signis in quolibet mense.

Pages 404 to 416. More recipes in English, with a few in Latin intermixed.

Pages 417 to 419 are blank.

Page 420. Four more English recipes in various hands.

Page 421. "Sum liber Thomæ Drake ex dono amici mei W.M." in a late sixteenth century hand. This is the last of the paper pages.

Pages 423 and 429 are the four vellum folios mentioned above as used in the binding of the book. On the margin of these are written two or three more English recipes.

The entry on p. 421 is in the same handwriting as the entry on the first leaf of the manuscript, and continues: "Tho. Drake me possidet. Non valet æternum Pæon prestare salutem, Novit at in longos continuare dies," a reference perhaps to the medical worth of the many recipes in the book. As the lines on the first leaf would seem to refer to one half of the contents of the volume, so those at the end would seem to refer to the other half of its contents. They are exactly in the style of the elegiac inscription set up in 1618 in the church at Ottery to the memory of John Haydon, formerly bailiff and tenant of the Chapter, and afterwards much concerned in its reformation, and may be likely enough from the same pen. It is manifest from these entries, as well as from that on p. 362, that our present quarto manuscript has not been continuously in the possession of the Chapter of Exeter; we know, however, that it was in the Cathedral Library in 1697, for in the *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ*, fol. Oxon., published in that year, in vol. II, p. 56, it is given amongst those then belonging to the Chapter, and is there numbered 2077.23.

Combining the entries on pp. 362 and 421, we arrive at the probable history of the manuscript. John Excestre, Master of Arts, was collated to a bursal canonry and prebend at Crediton, 20 September, 1429, on the death of William Reyner (*Bishop Lacy's Register*, vol. II, fo. 92^b); and on 5 December, 1436, to a canonry at Ottery on the resignation of Thomas Flyghe (*Bishop Lacy's Register*, vol. II, fo. 147^b). He held both these preferments till his death. (On 21 November, 1448, William Hylle was collated to the canonry vacant by his death at Ottery; and on 24 November, 1448, John Hardyng to that vacant by his death at Crediton.) His will was made 28 July, 1445, and proved 20 February, 1449 (*Bishop Lacy's Register*, vol. III, fo. 513^b). "Ego Johannes Exetre, clericus, compos mentis, timens in mortis periculum imminere....In primis, lego animam meam Deo beate Marie et omnibus sanctis eius, et corpus meum ecclesiastice sepulture sepeliendum in ecclesia sancte Marie de Otery iuxta capellam sancte Marie et capellam sancti Stephani. Item, lego omnes libros meos cxxxvi. in numero, quos manu mea propria scripsi pro majori parte, ad concathenandum in libraria de Otery....Item, pro obitu meo lego ad dividendum inter ministros ecclesie ad voluntatem executorum meorum secundum quod videtur eis expediens. Item, lego xl. denarios pauperibus. Item, lego omnia bona mea mobilia ad voluntatem executorum meorum ad dividendum, et illa pecunia que provenit inde volo quod presbiteri missas celebrent, pro relevacione anime mee, C. de Trinitate de Sancta Maria de Sancto Spiritu de Angelis et de defunctis cum reputacione (*sic*)."

His brother-canon at Ottery and sacrist, Henry Waterslade, and his servant, James Chevethorne, were his executors.

The contents of the volume are such in themselves as would lead us to perceive that it had been originally put together in order that it might serve as the personal companion and prompter of one who was connected with both the collegiate churches of Ottery St Mary and Holy Cross, Crediton, in the fifteenth century. Within the oak boards of this small quarto manuscript are exactly such items as a practical canon of Ottery and Crediton would like to have always handy by his side "in camera sua." One third of the bulk of the book contains literary jokes and epigrams for pastime and amusement, such as might be retailed to his comrades and acquaintances as fit occasion offered, with reminiscences of his own life at the University of Oxford; next follow useful memoranda as to the secrets of natural science for compounding inks, paints, colours for glass, etc., etc. Another third is concerned with his professional and Chapter business; and the remaining third with medical recipes for his own

or others' ailments and weaknesses (some of them simple enough and doubtless efficacious, others however, marvellous concoctions of nauseous ingredients); a list of lucky and unlucky days for blood-letting, and the fate and character of children according to the month in the year on which they may be born. All these items, whether serious or playful, would be of fit use and service for reference in the daily life of a canon of Crediton and Ottery St Mary both in college and among his neighbours in the wide and extensive country parishes attached thereto. This fifteenth-century copy of the Ottery Statutes would, therefore, have been one of the working copies, such an one as each canon for himself and all the vicars and clerks as a body were bound by Bishop Grandisson's first statute to possess, read, and study. The Statutes of Ottery and of Crediton are most probably then in the handwriting of John Excetre himself. At the death of the industrious and learned canon the volume would be one of the hundred and thirty-six "quos manu propriâ scripsit pro majori parte" that were taken from his camera and mansio and deposited in the Collegiate Library at Ottery. There it rested for a hundred years. When the college was wrecked in 1545 it had to find a new home. Among the pensioners of the college there appears the name of William Martyn, one of the two "parish clerks," who may possibly be the W. M. who rescued this (one of the ten copies that by the first statute ought then to have been in the college) so far from destruction and gave it, a waif from the college library, the gift of an old man to a young man, some years afterwards, to his friend or acquaintance Thomas Drake, probably of the Drakes long established at Ashe, in the neighbouring parish of Musbury (where in the south aisle they had a chantry, as well as one in the south transept at Axminster, *Exeter Dio. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, 2nd Series, III, 353—358), in order that at any rate the domestic recipes and advice therein inscribed "might prolong his days and prosper in his hand." As was remarked before, the Latin verses on the first leaf would lead us to suppose that this Thomas Drake was more or less a "laudator temporis acti." As a boy or youth he may very well have conversed with William Martyn in his old age, who would retail to him his reminiscences of the days when the collegiate church was in its full glory. He would naturally treasure the manuscript as a souvenir of his old friend, and of the past, when he was gone. He may have written the Latin verse inscriptions now in the church in memory of Mr Haydon, the Shermans, and the Cookes, as he was related to all of them. For Thomas Drake's great-aunt Margaret (daughter of Sir Bernard Drake of Ashe) married John, son of William Sherman (who purchased Knightstone in Ottery parish, in 1554, on the attainder of the Lady Cicely Bonville's grandson, the Duke of Suffolk, and died in 1583). She was his second wife, his first having been Bridget, daughter of Thomas Haydon. John Sherman's sister Katharine had previously married Gilbert Drake of the same family. Margaret Sherman (the daughter of John's younger brother Richard) married John Cooke, of Thorne, also in Ottery. The Drakes therefore had several relatives in the place. Robert Drake of Ottery witnessed a deed there May, 1590, *Windsor Records*, xv, 33. 5, and Philip Drake one in 1635. Here therefore Thomas Drake as a lad may often have stayed. The canting arms of the Drakes (argent, a wyvern wings displayed tail nowed, gules) are carved in stone and coloured on a large square panel let into the wall over the western arch of the north choir aisle of Ottery Church, where it opens into the transept. From the pedigree of this family of Drake, given in the Visitation of Devon 1620 (Harleian MSS. 1163, 4, and published by the Harleian Society 1872, p. 94, wherein also are given at pp. 142-144 and

260, the pedigrees of Haydon and Sherman respectively), it would appear that this Thomas Drake was the third son of Sir John Drake of Ashe who died in 1636, and of Elinor daughter of William Lord Boteler of Brantfield. John, Thomas's eldest brother, married Jane, daughter of Sir John Young of Stutcome, and became after his father's death, Sir John Drake, Bart., of Ashe: she died 31 July, 1652; he was living in 1660. Thomas's sister Elizabeth married Sir Winston Churchill, and was the mother of John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, who was born at Ashe, 24 June, 1650. From this Thomas Drake the book then passed mediately, either by gift or purchase, into the Exeter Chapter Library before 1697.

"It is a most remarkable fact, that the *only contemporary* evidence of the institution of the Order of the Garter is to be found in a tailor's account, and the *only contemporary* notice of the Prince of Wales's badge should occur in a memorandum in a treatise on Hemorrhoids" (Sir Harris Nicolas, *Archæologia*, vol. xxxii, p. 333). So, similarly, it is a curious circumstance that probably the only copy of the very important Ottery Collegiate Statutes known to exist (till Mr F. J. Baigent found a contemporary copy in the St Swithun's Cartulary) should owe its survival from the time that W. M. possessed it in the middle of the sixteenth century till the end of the seventeenth, when it is found at Exeter, to the fact that the volume was also practically a useful domestic medicine book, to which additional recipes were added from time to time by its subsequent possessors.

This volume is the same as that which Dr Oliver cites as the source of the Ottery Statutes, which he prints in his *Monasticon Diocesis Exoniensis*, 1846, pp. 268 to 275, and states to be taken "ex antiquo codice penes decanum et capitulum ecclesiae cathedralis Exoniensis." It is said that he used to work in the Registry copying MSS. in pencil, to take home and re-copy for the Press; but evidently he did not revise his proofs by the MSS. afterwards—a very dangerous omission. He neither gives the tables of the contents of the statutes, nor the title of each several statute as they stand in the manuscript. There are many minor variations between the statutes as he prints them, and the readings in the MS. Here it may be sufficient to note the following. Some are really important and materially affect the meaning:

Monasticon, p. 268.	Statute 16.	Oliver prints "in ferialibus."	MS. reads "in principalibus."			
,,	p. 269.	Statute 11.	He gives "musice."	,,	"uicario."	
		Statute 13.	,,	"musico."	,,	"medio."
		Statute 15.	,,	"terminatur."	,,	"tinniat."
		Statute 17.	,,	"si vero totum."	,,	"si bona etcetera."
,,	p. 270.	Statute 36.	Oliver prints "Volumus."	MS. reads plainly "Nolumus"	(just the reverse). This is not a mere misprint, for he also gives in the same sentence "et," whereas it is "set." The uses of Sarum and Exon are contrasted as different in a certain point, <i>not</i> , as he thinks, cited as being similar.	
	p. 272.	Statute 65.	He gives "eciam."	MS. reads "ecclesiam."		
		Statute 69.	,,	"per."	,,	"persone."
,,	p. 273.	Statute 1.	,,	"vel omnibus."	,,	"oneribus."
			,,	"propter."	,,	"proprium."
,,	p. 273.	Statute 3.	,,	"unum."	,,	"suum."

But enough of the ungrateful task of finding fault with details in what must ever remain a vast monument of well employed labour, to be admired and used with thankfulness—and caution—by the archaeologist; and indispensable to every one who would study the history of the west country collegiate churches and religious houses.

§ 2. THE WINCHESTER MANUSCRIPT.

As regards other manuscript copies of the Ottery St Mary Statutes, it may perhaps be worth noting that the “*Ordinacio primaria*” is found in Bishop Grandisson’s *Register*, vol. i, fo. 43 to fo. 48^v. This is printed in Prebendary Hingeston-Randolph’s edition of that *Register*, 1894, part i, pp. 121 to 130. Other documents relating to St Mary Ottery are also there gathered together by him from various parts of the *Register* and printed pp. 117 to 137. The “*Statutes*” themselves were also apparently once in the *Register*; but there now only remain fragments of what was an earlier recension of them, and even these in a mutilated form. These fragments bear the same date (22 January, 1338) as the “*Ordinacio primaria*” itself, whereas the present Statutes bear date 29 September, 1339.

The proof-sheets of the “*Ordinacio primaria*” here printed from the Exeter Chapter manuscript Prebendary Hingeston-Randolph has most kindly collated once more with the original *Register* of Bishop Grandisson.

On p. 137 of the first volume of his reprint of the *Register* there was mention made of a copy of the Statutes that existed in the Cartulary of St Swithun’s Priory at Winchester, vol. i, part i, fo. 89 to 114.

This, by the courtesy of the Dean of Winchester, I have been allowed to examine at leisure.

The Winchester manuscript consists of eighteen folios of thin vellum, each about 12 inches long and 8 inches broad, frayed slightly at the edges. On an average there are from thirty-five to forty lines written on either side of each folio. These are now numbered in the Cartulary, pp. 98 to 114; but in the table of contents of the whole Cartulary at the beginning of the volume, which table is in a fourteenth century hand, this particular MS. is the ninth quaternus. It is headed “*Ordinacio et Statuta ecclesie sancte Marie de Otery Exoñ. diocesis*” and is written in a beautifully clear bold hand of the first half of the fourteenth century; it is now, thanks to the careful way it has been preserved in the Cartulary, as fresh and clean as on the day it was written, though the ink is somewhat faded.

The first six folios contain the “*Ordinacio primaria*”; then follows a *Tabula* of the Statutes fo. 103^v to 104^v; on the next six folios, 104^v to 109^v, the Statutes themselves; and on the last five folios, 110 to 112^v, “*de luminaribus ecclesie*,” and on fols. 112^v to 114 the appropriation of the rectory of Ilington.

The Pope’s Bull of Sanction (1342) is not recited. The MS. leads off at once with Grandisson’s “*Universis Christi*.” A space has been left for the initial U to be inserted in colours; but this has never been filled in. It was to have occupied a depth equal to that of the first five lines of the MS. There are no marginal runs or divisions in the “*Ordinacio primaria*,” but the Statutes themselves are each numbered in the margin in the original hand, and the first word of each statute begins with a large letter, so written that its length

extends downwards, generally over three or four lines, sometimes over the same number of lines as are occupied by the particular statute of which it is the commencement.

Now, as there was no official connection whatever between the Priory of St Swithun's and St Mary Ottery, it might appear difficult at first sight to discover a reason for our finding this beautiful and most interesting copy of Bishop Grandisson's *Ordinacio et Statuta* for his collegiate church in Devon in the midst of other charters of various kinds, all relating to the possessions and business of the great Winchester Priory. But it appears more than probable that we have here before us the identical copy which Bishop Grandisson sent, or gave with his own hand, to Bishop Edyndone of Winchester, when the latter prelate was about to draw the statutes for both the collegiate churches of St George's at Windsor and St Stephen's at Westminster, by King Edward III's command. Grandisson was Bishop of Exeter 1327 to 1369; Edyndone was Bishop of Winchester 1346 to 1366, and was occupied in drawing our statutes 1346 to 1352. Grandisson too, like Edyndone, had been Canon of Lincoln. The former was Archdeacon of Nottingham in the Diocese of York and held the prebend of Heydore near Grantham in Lincoln Cathedral from 1317 to 1328. The latter held the prebend of Leighton Manor at Lincoln from 1341 to 1345. We cannot but recall also Grandisson's close connection with Edward III and with the founders of the Order of the Garter, and his personal gifts to the chapel of St George. The existence of this manuscript, which must have passed from beneath Grandisson's hand and eye to Edyndone's, will account most satisfactorily for the resemblance between the Windsor and Ottery Statutes. There was many an opportunity for personal communication between the two prelates when Grandisson would be staying at his episcopal manor of Faringdon, close to Farnham Castle, coming there straight from Ottery on his way from Exeter to London, as he did in 1347, 1350, 1351. Itinerary printed edit. of *Register*, pp. 1528, 29, 30.

Neither of the two Bishops could have foreseen that within two hundred years of their time a large part of the endowment of the senior collegiate church at Ottery, which its founder contemplated with such loving pride, would have passed away, even including that for the upkeep of his own chantry at Exeter, into the possession of the junior college at Windsor. The fact that it did so pass, cannot but cause the Canons of Windsor to hold his memory in pathetic reverence. They are bidden by their statutes to retain the name of their founder, William de Edyndone, in their daily orisons at St George's; natural piety might prompt the feeling that under the circumstances they could scarce do less for his brother Bishop of the west, John de Grandisson.

But beyond and besides these material links that must always render the memory of Bishop Grandisson venerable to the Windsor Chapter there were others of a more personal nature which it is pleasing to record, for they brought him into actual relationship with our predecessors here. Bishop Grandisson's sister Katharine was that Countess of Salisbury of whom the well-known anecdote connected with the founding of the Order of the Garter by Edward III is related. As we shall see directly, his collegiate church at Ottery was associated, next to St George's at Windsor, with more Knights of the Garter than probably any other church in England. In fact the history of St George's and that of St Mary Ottery run parallel to each other in a most remarkable manner. Both collegiate churches were founded and built within a few years of each other; many illustrious persons of Edward III's time were benefactors of each alike; both experienced large additions and alterations under

the fourth Edward, and again the same persons whose bounty then enlarged the one enlarged the other also: both have cause to regret the Protector Somerset's action, for both suffered severely for his personal aggrandisement; until lastly a large portion of the endowments of the elder foundation passed to the younger.

The collegiate church was dissolved 24 December, 1545, when its annual income in gross was rated at £338. 2s. 9d. and in nett at £303. 2s. 9d. and granted to Edward, Earl of Hertford, afterwards Protector Somerset. On 7 October, 1547, Edward VI and his council granted to the Dean and Canons of Windsor the garb tithes of Ottery St Mary, held in eight different mows or tithings (commuted in 1842 at a rent charge of £995. 15s. a year), the property in St Lawrence, and Honey Lane, London, and the appropriated rectories of Northam, Ilington, and Ipplepen. The patronage of these three livings, Ilington, Northam, and Ipplepen, still belongs to Windsor College; though all else passed in 1867, with all other Chapter property, into the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners: whereby better provision has been made for the performance of the divine offices in such churches as had been appropriated to them, and the residue otherwise employed.

When the collegiate church was dissolved the vicarage house and collegiate buildings, the church and the cemetery, were granted, together with the vicarial or small tithes (commuted at £250. 12s. 10d.), by King Henry VIII to "Four governors of the hereditaments and goods of St Mary Ottery." Out of them they pay the vicar £20 a year, and the chaplain £80 a year, and keep the church and the vicarage house in repair, etc. The rectorial or greater tithes are divided into eight mows or tithings—Rill, Gifford, Thorne, Alfington, Tipton, Wiggaton, Fluxton, and Town mows. In 1868 the advowson of Ottery St Mary was sold by the Lord Chancellor for £1500; and to this the Commissioners added a further £1500. The whole £3000 is invested by them for the benefit of the endowment of the living, and the interest paid to the vicar: he receives from the Commissioners £173 a year, from his glebe £24, from Queen Anne's Bounty £57; from bequest £12, and in fees about £6. In all £272 and house. The Commissioners allow £60 a year towards curate's stipend. The area of the parish is now 4370 acres, and the population 2450. In the original parish five other churches have been erected for the better accommodation of the outlying hamlets. Of these St Edward's, Wiggaton, is served by the parish clergy. The other four are independent cures. Tipton St John's contains 1990 acres, with a population of 434. The vicar receives £214 a year from the Commissioners, and has 6 acres of glebe and house. St Michael's, West Hill, has a population of 333. The vicar receives income of £200 a year, of which the Commissioners pay £190, and there is a vicarage house. These two vicarages are in the patronage of the vicar of Ottery St Mary. St Philip and St James, Escot, contains a population of 380. The endowment with house is £220 a year, of which the Commissioners pay £135. St James the Great, Alfington, contains 2400 acres, and a population of 180. The vicar receives from Queen Anne's Bounty £42, from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners £154, and has 2 acres of glebe with house.

Taking into account therefore the present value of tithe rent charge, and the fact that the payments made by the Commissioners are fixed sums, it would appear that, including what they have granted to meet benefactions, the mother church of Ottery St Mary, as far as the rectorial tithes are concerned, has now quite come by its own again.

§ 3. OTTERY ST MARY.

The parish, manor, and hundred of Ottery St Mary are conterminous. The average width of their extent across the whole valley of the Otter, from the summit of the high ground on one side, locally named the East Hill, to the summit of the West Hill on the other, is about four miles. The length from north to south is about six miles. The parish is divided into two nearly equal parts by the river Otter, which takes a somewhat circuitous but ever southern course through it, and falls into the sea at Otterton, at a distance of about eight miles from the town of Ottery. This latter is situated twelve miles east of Exeter, on a branch of the Icknield way or Roman road, and nearly in the centre of the parish, on the eastern bank of the river; its houses cluster on the southern and eastern slopes of a small hill, on the brow of which was built the manor house looking north, with the church on its south side. Bishop Bronescombe consecrated a church here on the Thursday following the Feast of St Andrew (30 November), *i.e.* on 4 December, 1259, in honour of our Lady and St Edward the Confessor, who in 1061 had given the manor of Ottery to the secular canons of the Cathedral of St Mary at Rouen, just as the neighbouring Otterton, with Sidmouth, Budleigh, and Harpford, was given by William the Conqueror to the Benedictine Abbey on St Michael's Mount in Normandy; before the battle of Hastings they had belonged to Harold's mother.

It is possible there was a Norman church here before Bishop Bronescombe's time. If so the reputed remains of a Norman font, and the heavy wall foundations that are said to exist outside the south-west corner of the nave in the churchyard, would seem to show that it stood to the west of the present Early English transept. "Underneath the old font (in 1851) was found a block of Purbeck marble, which had evidently been the foundation stone of a Norman font, the plan of which was left upon it. From this the present font was designed, which is of marble and of a square Norman form, a centre shaft and four smaller ones at the four corners. The bowl and centre shaft are of marble from Ipplepen; the block on which it stands is black marble, from Plymouth; the four corner shafts are serpentine from Helston" (*Trans. Ex. Dio. Archit. Soc.*, vol. iv, p. 213).

If any portions of the church at Ottery consecrated by Bishop Bronescombe still remain above ground besides the north and south transepts they are to be sought in the northern and southern exterior walls of the choir aisles, with their fine Early English windows, each consisting of two lights with bold splays, and shafts down the inner face of these splays supporting lancet arches of a character similar to those of the outer window. There is thus in the choir aisles a rear arch for each light in each pair of lancets. The two lower stages at least of the north and south transepts are also undoubtedly Early English. It is possible that the south exterior wall of the nave may be Early English likewise, but the signs here are not so manifest. The quasi Early English windows are not nearly so good in design as those in the choir aisles, and may have been repeated by Bishop Grandisson from them; for the two lights of each nave window are both contained in *one* rear arch of the characteristic flattened form so frequently used by Bishop Grandisson, instead of the arrangement used in the choir aisle windows. The principle that seems to have guided the Bishop (who had, it is very manifest, a pre-eminent love of neatness, regularity, and

symmetry), in his work here at any rate, was never to make insertions of a later style in work he found existing. When he was unrestrained he would work naturally in the prevailing style of his day, that is, in Decorated or even in Perpendicular; and any fresh additions he made *de novo* to an older building were in such style; for example, the arches in the nave and choir, the rood loft, the altar screen, the screen in the Lady Chapel, the vestries, the college school, etc. But when he was merely making insertions in an older building he frankly adapted such insertions to the style used in the part of the building he was dealing with, as for instance, the towers in the transepts, the chapels at the eastern end of the choir aisles, the Lady Chapel walls, and possibly the windows in the nave aisles. His Early English is not a slavish copy of what he found. There is no mistaking *his* Early English additions for original Early English; but his endeavour was to make each part tally in character with its immediate surroundings, and the general result is full of dignity and stateliness; the church is "unsurpassed among other churches of its size for the majestic austerity of its design," and the admirable simplicity of its construction. Bishop Grandisson was consecrated Bishop of Exeter 18 October, 1327. Bishop's Court, about a mile and a half to the south-west of the church, and on the other side of the Otter, was one of his country seats. In his letter to the Archbishop of Rouen, 10 June, 1334 (*Register*, part i, p. 273), he speaks of it as "quoddam predium cum ecclesia parochiali annexa de Otery prope satis ecclesiam nostram Exoniensem et maneria episcopalia situatum." Here, within half-an-hour's walk of his college, he sometimes resided¹. It was approached by a bridge over the river, where he had erected before 1 June, 1355, a chapel dedicated to the Holy Saviour.

The Chapter of Rouen completed their negotiations with Bishop Grandisson for the sale of the manor and advowson of the church, both together being then valued at 240 marks, or £160 a year, on 13 June, 1335. Edward III gave to the Bishop his licence for the foundation of the College 15 December, 1337, "in honore domini nostri Jhesu Christi et beate Marie virginis gloriose matris sue, Sancti Edwardi Confessoris et omnium Sanctorum apud Otery Sancte Marie sive in ecclesia parochiali eiusdem ville sive in aliquo alio loco ibidem ubi expedire viderit." It would almost appear from these words that Bishop Grandisson had not decided at the moment when he applied for the grant whether he would add his collegiate establishment to Bronescombe's parish church, or build entirely a new "monasterium sive ecclesia collegiata," with chauntries elsewhere at Ottery. On Christmas Eve of the same year, however, he gave the manor and church to the Warden and Canons; Hugh Courtenay, Earl of Devon, and his two sons, Hugh and Thomas, with others being witnesses to the deed. The "Ordinacio Primaria" for the government of the college is dated 22 January, 1338, and the Statutes 29 September, 1339. In 1338 then, at latest, Bishop Grandisson began to transform the parish into a collegiate church; though, as is

¹ Of this barton Bishop Grandisson granted a lease for lives to John Mercer, who was his steward, and it continued to be held by this family under the Bishops of Exeter until the reign of Henry VIII, who seized it and gave it with other church lands in Devon to the Earl of Bedford. The Mercers, however, continued to lease the property until the reign of James I, when they purchased the fee from the Russells. It still belongs to the Marker family, and is now an old farmhouse in a sheltered position on the road to Tipton with some small remains of Bishop Grandisson's work yet showing. He was resident there in January 1334 and 1338, September 1339, October 1342, November 1343, October 1345, September 1347, April 1350, February and March 1351, September 1353.

clear from several indications in the statutes, the work was going on for at least two years or more. It was practically completed at any rate before 1342, when he wrote the letter—(printed between the *Ordinacio Primaria* and *Statuta*)—to Pope Benedict XII, who died 25 April of that year. We seem, therefore, to be shut up between the years 1337 and 1342 as the probable date for the chief part, if not all, of the Bishop's work on the main fabric of the church; though, doubtless, he afterwards from time to time made additions to the arrangements of the interior, during the subsequent quarter of a century that he occupied the see of Exeter.

It may be difficult to trace exactly in detail the steps Bishop Grandisson took in the transformation of the parish church into a collegiate church. Apparently he retained the exterior walls of the choir and transepts (and perhaps those of the nave) of Bishop Bronescombe's Early English cruciform church; though it seems more likely he found only the chancel and transepts of such a church standing, with perhaps one bay of the nave, when he determined to complete it and raise its dignity. If there were any remains of an earlier hypothetical Norman church still standing they then disappeared with the possible exception of the font. If there ever had been a central tower at the intersection of Bronescombe's transepts and chancel he took it down, and transformed the north and south ends of these transepts into two towers. This transformation seems clearly evidenced by the way in which the exterior buttresses of the towers are added; and by the situation of the single-light lancet windows in the second stage in the eastern and western walls of the same; these windows are not in the centre of the towers, but they are in their proper places as the old windows of the transepts before the towers were raised. The process was, in fact, exactly the reverse of that which had just taken place at Exeter. There the Norman towers of Warelwast were transformed by Bishop Marshall (1194 to 1206) and by Bishop Quivil (1280 to 1291) into transepts: here the Early English transepts of Bronescombe were, fifty years later, transformed into towers by Grandisson¹. There the transepts were constructed by taking down the inner side of each of the massive towers to nearly half its height from the ground, and by erecting vast and substantial arches to sustain the remaining part. At Ottery, the transepts internally are vaulted irrespective of the towers raised upon their ends. They have been vaulted subsequently to Bronescombe's time, each transept in two bays, but distinctly as transepts, not towers. Bishop Grandisson's own characteristic pointed, almost triangular headed, arch may still be seen, by going up in between the stone and wooden roofs of the transepts, where he constructed it above the vaulting to bear the inner sides of the much smaller square towers he subsequently raised here. He proceeded further to reconstruct the whole church so as to be an exact model on a small scale of his cathedral at Exeter, which he was even then busy completing. The resemblance, even down to the small details of arrangement, between the two is most extraordinary. Here there are five bays in the choir instead of seven as at Exeter, and five in the nave instead of seven. The north and south vestries here take the place of St Andrew's and St James's chapels there. The transformation of the Norman nave at Exeter appears to have occupied him from 1334 to 1350, that is to say, was synchronous with his work here, 1337 to 1342.

¹ Archdeacon Freeman, *Hist. of Exeter Cathedral*, p. 116, states that there are only three cathedral churches in the world that have two towers exactly in the position of those at Exeter over the transepts, viz. Châlons-sur-Marne, Lyons, and Geneva. All three would be well known to Bishop Grandisson.

On the summit of the northern tower when carried up was placed a short wooden spire covered with lead. This still remains, and was carefully restored 1907. At Exeter the northern tower was once similarly capped. That spire was removed in 1752; but the grooves in the stonework for the foundation and "pitch" of the same, and also for one on the southern tower (removed before 1618; it was about 45 feet in height) are still clearly traceable at Exeter. This small spire affords a pleasing contrast and relieves the heaviness of the two square towers as seen from a distance. Exeter and Ottery are the only two churches in England where the transepts are thus formed of towers.

Grandisson apparently at the same time removed the Early English pillars (if such were then standing) that bore the roof of the chancel (and the nave), while he retained the outer walls of it (or them). He required a greater width for his choir than their retention would have allowed; but his retention of the exterior side walls, while he widened the central space, necessitated the very narrow side aisles of the choir and nave. There was, moreover, a further purpose for these narrow substantially constructed ambulatories. He vaulted the whole church throughout from end to end, choir, ambulatories, transepts, nave, aisles and Lady Chapel with stone. Now as there are no flying buttresses anywhere about the church to help to support the weight of this double roof, he seems to have sought to impart strength and support to the choir and nave roofs by means of these very narrow aisles. The foundations, uncovered in the church in 1849, show how he bonded together with cross walls laterally and diagonally the whole floor of the church with masonry to the depth of four or five feet all round, and firmly insured it in this manner against any possible settlement. Thus these narrow substantial vaulted aisles acted as continuous buttresses to support the upper walls against any thrust occasioned by the vaulted roofs of the choir and nave. The stone work in the roof of the aisles is as thick as the outside wall itself, and slopes upward therefrom at an angle of about twenty degrees, and thus forms a continuous flying buttress the whole length of the church against the upper walls of the nave and choir: the actual stone work in the vault itself of the nave and choir is of comparatively light construction.

§ 4. CIRCUIT OF THE EXTERIOR OF THE CHURCH.

The most picturesque view of the exterior of the church is that obtained from the south-east, whence the various features connected with its architectural history are very clearly seen. The first point that strikes the observer is the characteristic form of the arch of the windows in the Lady Chapel and clerestories. These are distinctively Bishop Grandisson's work. It will also be noticed that throughout all the windows of the building there is a complete absence of hood moulding. The east window of the Lady Chapel consists of eight lights (an unusual number in such a position) set under one containing arch. The two outer of these lights are more acutely pointed than the rest, but all eight lights are alike cinque-foiled. There is a complete absence of tracery in this window, a feature which is to be observed throughout all Bishop Grandisson's work in this church, as well as in many west country churches of this date both in Devon and Cornwall. On either side of this window is a large ogee canopied niche, with pedestal for figure, that occupies the whole space of the wall between the window and the buttresses.



Photo. Valentine

FROM THE SOUTH EAST

South side of the Lady Chapel, Choir Clerestory and Aisle, South Vestry, and East side of South Tower

For a clearer view of the Eastern end of the Lady Chapel see Plate VII, p. 30

Beneath the window are three consecration crosses. In the centre of the gable is another large niche with a smaller one adjoining on either side of it; the bottom of the central niche is higher than that in either of the side ones; all three are more richly canopied than the lower two. These five niches at the eastern end of the church, together with those at the western end, are the only exterior niches in Bishop Grandisson's building. Probably like those others these contained, the lower two our Lady and St Edward, the upper three our Lord returning to judgment with attendant angels on either side. The Bishop appears to have been so satisfied with their effect at the western end that he determined to add a similar group here, for the contemplation of the parishioners over their portion of the churchyard, as those were for the College over their more private portion of the same. All passers by he "would fain remind of the judgment day, and after that the life eternal, if haply he might thereby deter them from wrong and incite to right in their daily life" (Acts xvii, 30, 31). But as the eastern wall of the Lady Chapel as originally constructed was not thick enough to allow any cutting away for their insertion he was compelled to build them on to the face of the wall. The wall beneath the east window and the two side niches remained untouched; and the same original wall still forms the back of these two niches and of those over the window. But the pedestals of the side niches and their jambs protrude forward over a foot, and the wall from the top of their canopies right up to the point of the gable was thickened about ten inches. This treatment gives a deeper setting to the hood of the east window, and thereby increases its dignity, but the side niches are distinctly cramped, as was inevitable since they were an afterthought. Beneath the three top niches and above the east window runs a string-course slightly higher than the bottom of the parapet on the north and south sides of the Lady Chapel. There are two quatre-foiled openings, one on the north and the other on the south side of this group of niches in the gable, to afford light and ventilation into the space between the roof and the stone vaulting of the Lady Chapel. In the eastern gable of the choir, at the western end of the Lady Chapel, may also be seen four somewhat similar openings; and one at each of the eastern ends of the choir aisles for a like purpose in the space between the roof and stone vaulting there. There are smaller openings, one over each of the double light windows, in the nave and choir aisles, for the same object. The double buttresses at the corners of the Lady Chapel, the choir, the choir aisles, the vestries, the nave and the nave aisles, have pediments, and carry crocketed pinnacles at their junction. Each buttress has three set-offs: the moulding of the upper ones is always continued round the buttresses, and so is that of the lower ones on the buttresses at the two corners of the Lady Chapel, on all four at the west end of the church, on the tower buttresses, and on all others that do not carry pinnacles; whereas the moulding of the middle set-off occupies only one face. In all other cases the upper moulding is the only one carried round. There is an absence of plinth throughout the whole of Grandisson's building, with the exception of the tower buttresses, and those at the west end which possess it, as does also the turret to carry the staircase on the north side of the Lady Chapel.

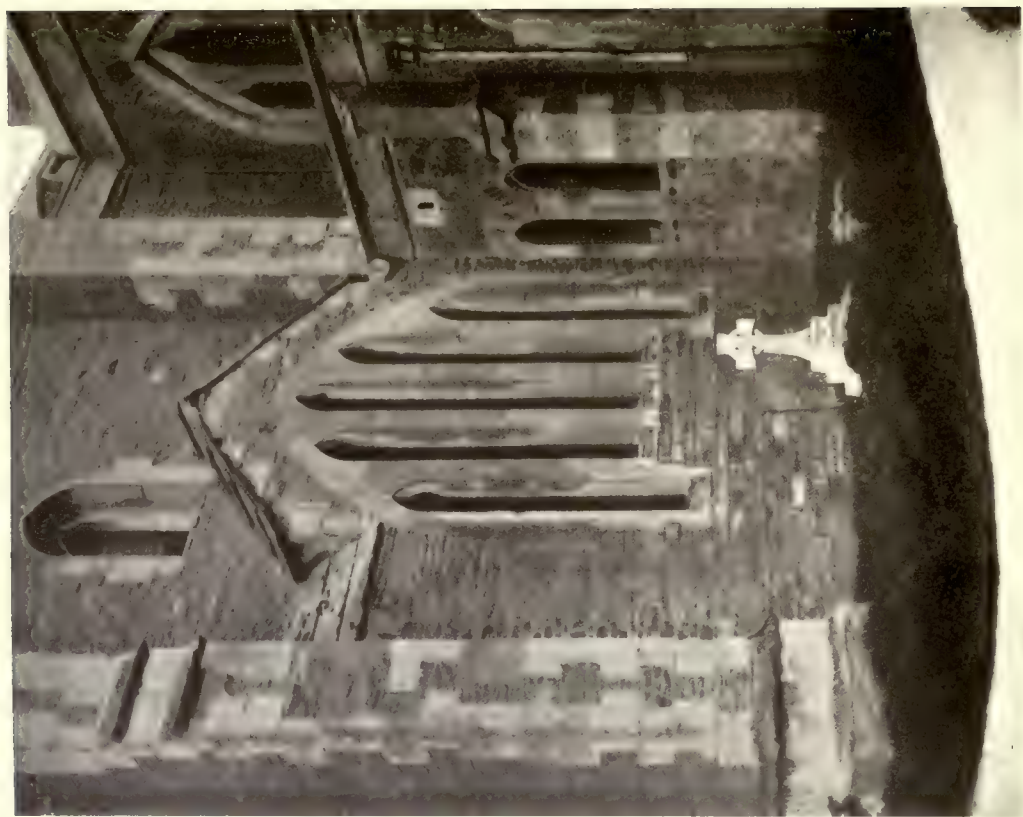
The square Vestries added on the north and south sides of the choir aisles are two-storeyed, and their height rises considerably above the aisle roofs. The gable of each, facing north and south, is of a much lower pitch than the gables of the Lady Chapel and choir, and carries at its apex a crocketed pinnacle of a similar character to those on the

buttresses of the Lady Chapel. There is a double lancet window on the south and east sides of the lower vestry; and over each of these a single square-headed oblong window for the upper chamber above it. (In Buck's view, 1734, there is shown on either side of that in the south wall another smaller square window.) There is no similar window on the west side of either vestry, for that wall is in each case occupied by the ascending staircase which in the south vestry is lighted by a slit on the west and another on the south. The corresponding staircase to the north upper chamber is treated in an exactly similar manner. (The present exterior doorway in the south vestry is an insertion of later date; it appears to have been square-headed in 1734.) The plain stone parapet on the east and west sides of the south vestry is similar to that on the choir, the choir aisles, and the Lady Chapel. The north vestry has none. The upper chamber over the north vestry was lighted before the restoration by a large square-headed three-light window on its eastern side, as is shown in Mr Coleridge's drawing of the Mount House, taken from the north-east corner of the churchyard; and there are very plain traces on the exterior wall there still of such window. It would have made the interior much lighter than the present arrangement, and was probably placed there when the chamber was no longer used as a treasury. The choir aisles originally consisted of six bays, each bay lighted by a double lancet window. The vestries, however, as built on, completely block the double windows in the third bay from the east end, and the easternmost half of the window in the fourth bay. But at the junction of the eastern wall of each vestry with the walls of the choir aisles the former is carefully splayed so as to avoid any blocking of the westernmost light of the windows in the second bay. The small chapel added by Bishop Grandisson at the eastern extremity of either choir aisle has now a single lancet window at its eastern end, and also one on its other exterior side, the bottom of which latter is about a foot higher than that of the other windows in the choir aisles, but its top is only a few inches above the tops of these others. It is to be remembered that the eastern window of the chapel at the end of the south choir aisle consisted of two lights before the restoration. (This made up "the xxiii litle lights" of the two ambulatories. *Inventory*, 1545, *infra*.) The clerestory of the choir consists of six windows of three lights each, of Bishop Grandisson's characteristic shape. The contrast between these windows and Bishop Bronescombe's earlier ones in the aisles below is very manifest.

The Towers for about two-thirds of their height appear to be Bishop Bronescombe's Early English transepts. The ground storey on their north and south sides contains a group of two plain lancet windows, and these are repeated in a more elongated form in the next storey; above them are the possible traces of two more short lancet windows, now blocked, and in their stead are inserted two quatrefoil openings of Bishop Grandisson's work to light the space between the transept vaulting and the belfry above it. The original ends of the transepts would ascend no higher than this, and in this work of Bishop Bronescombe there are no string courses marking out the several storeys. But the uppermost storey or belfry of the towers shows three attenuated lancet windows above a string course, on each face of the towers, except that the central lancet disappears to make way for the roof of the transepts on the north side of the south tower, and on the south side of the north tower. These three attenuated lancet windows are not deeply splayed externally like the lower ones of Bronescombe. The corbel table of each tower carries seven lion's



South side of South Tower, p. 16



East side of South Tower, p. 17

heads as gargoyles on its three outer faces: on the inner, or north and south, faces only plain stone spouts are carried. The north tower (which belonged to the parish) is capped by the leaden spire. Their parapets are a restoration made in 1872 of a previous restoration made in 1826: it is impossible to say with any certainty what Bishop Grandisson's parapets were. The buttresses, which are placed at right angles, are of three main stages, and terminate between three and four feet below the corbel table. It is possible that in their present state they may incorporate Bishop Bronsecombe's transept buttresses; the plinth is well developed in each, but in all other respects they correspond with Bishop Grandisson's work: and the buttress at the north-west angle of the south tower is manifestly wholly Bishop Grandisson's, as is demonstrated by its present position with reference to the original transept windows on the west side. The same is true likewise of the three other corresponding buttresses. The staircase to the belfry in each tower is placed in their south-west and north-west angles respectively. On the east and west sides of both towers in the ground storey are projections nearly three feet beyond the exterior of the original transept walls: they take up flush with the buttresses next to the choir, but the lower stage of the exterior buttress projects fourteen inches beyond them. These two projections on the eastern sides of the towers are each lighted by five lancet windows, and form recesses for altars. These recesses are each surmounted on the exterior by a narrow stone gabled roof which is set close against the inner buttress of either tower; but as this gable is not in the centre of the tower, because the recess on the interior was constructed in the centre of the east wall of the transept (that is, in the centre between the choir aisle and the outer wall of the tower), there is left therefore a space of four feet six inches between the eaves of the gable and the exterior buttress of each tower. The top of this remaining space is treated as a set-off. In the apex of each gable is an elegant trefoil resembling those at Exeter on Grandisson's nave buttresses there, as well as on many of the buttresses round this church. The projection on the western side of the south tower has no windows. Between the first and second bays at the eastern end of the south nave aisle there is to be noticed what looks like a trace in the exterior masonry of the juncture between Bishop Grandisson's work and Bishop Bronsecombe's: if it be such, then it would indicate that the former, when he added his nave, had found one bay of the same already erected by the latter as at Exeter. Furthermore it is to be observed that the window east of this supposed juncture is not precisely the same as the other three windows to the west of it; there is a sort of containing arch over it, and there are two rough stone projections from the buttress on the eastern side of this latter. It is possible that these projections may have supported the ends of the timber baulks that conceivably carried a tiled pentice when a door may have existed here from the cloisters into the nave, the usual position for such entrance. There is also to the west of the buttress distinct trace of the roof or lean-to. But the whole point is very obscure. This window on the inside is exactly the same as the others in the nave.

At a distance of eighteen feet to the westward of the south tower there is a stone porch that projects eleven feet nine inches outwards from the nave aisle. Its exterior breadth is fourteen feet. The lower portion of this porch for a height of three feet six inches upwards from the soil is apparently older than the present superstructure, and possibly carried originally the termination of the woodwork of the cloisters. The portion of this older base, on the eastern and western sides of the present exterior doorway to the

porch, extends only two feet seven inches inwards from each corner, leaving on each side a further distance of one foot three inches for the masonry of the inserted exterior doorway. To the casual observer it might appear as an ordinary plinth, but it does not project sufficiently for that purpose, and its top line of stones is finished off in the same way as many of the oldest stones now set on the south wall of the churchyard, in which there are manifest and unmistakable signs that they at all events once carried a superstructure, not necessarily *in situ* where they are now, but possibly when they formed part of the old cloisters. The battlements of the porch are enriched with tracery work unpierced, whereas the other battlements on the upper wall on the south side of the nave and south aisle are plain, with the exception of the one battlement of the aisle, midway between the porch and the south tower, which carries a shield in a quatrefoil. The central battlement of the three in front of the porch carries a shield in a quatrefoil, the battlement on either side of it a Tudor rose in a quatrefoil: the two side battlements of the porch carry one a shield and the other a flower in a quatrefoil. The arch of the present entrance to the porch is slightly pointed and has a hood moulding, with very large terminations of a grotesque character apparently a lion on the eastern, and a monkey on the western side, quite different from Bishop Grandisson's work (as are also the gargoyles above), and is evidently an addition of the same period as the rest of the superstructure. The front gargoyle is above the string-course; at each corner on the line of the string-course there are projecting animals as gargoyles, two meeting at the south-west corner; and another grotesque in a similar position in the middle of the western and eastern sides. On the string-course in front are two Stafford knots, and on that at the sides roses and bulls' heads. The porch has no buttresses; its battlemented parapet is nearly a foot lower than that on the south wall of the nave aisle; and the string-course beneath its battlements is still lower proportionately than the nave aisle string-course; neither takes up with that of the other. Bishop Grandisson's original parapets of the nave and nave aisles were plain, like those in the choir and choir aisles; and the original plain parapet still shows along the north clerestory of the nave. The battlements were probably added to the south parapets of the nave for the sake of symmetry when the Dorset aisle with its battlemented parapet was added on the north. The interior doorway of this porch has a square head containing a four-centred arch, and the juncture of the newer work with the older is there manifest, at about one foot from the ground. Although the southern face of this interior doorway was thus reconstructed, yet apparently the northern face in the interior of the nave was left intact. In each of the spandrils of this doorway there is a four-petalled Tudor rose. Over the door is a large panel supported by spiral pillars; at the base of each is an angel carrying a shield, on the western one is I and on the eastern H. It contains the royal arms, quarterly France modern and England, within the Garter, on the sinister side the dragon, on the dexter a lion, and is surmounted by the royal crown. (Henry VII, Henry VIII and Edward VI used a lion or for England as dexter supporter, and a dragon gules for Wales as sinister supporter. Mary and Elizabeth changed the tincture of the dragon to or. *Notes and Queries*, 8th series, ix, 288, 477.) Beneath the arms in old English characters (the synonym of the Haydon motto "*firme en foi*"), "*In te Domine speravi, non confundar in eternum*"; above them, "*He that no il will do, Do nothyng yt lang ytto. Anno Domini 1571.*" The work is very debased



Photo. Valentine

FROM THE SOUTH WEST

Western side of South Tower, South Porch, Nave-aisle and Clerestory

and in strong contrast to that over the north porch, of which it appears to be an imitation. The wooden door is evidently of the same date as the iron handplate which bears the initials I.H., with 1575 over them. John Haydon was one of the first four governors in 1545. A small square stone containing his unquartered arms (argent, three bars gemelles azure, on a chief gules a barrulet dancetée or), with helmet and mantling has been inserted above the exterior doorway of the porch. The crest is a lion argent vulning a bull sable. This south porch, over the door which would have originally led to the cloisters of the college, is altogether inferior in design to the north porch, which was the parishioners' chief entrance to the church; although probably it was erected either a little earlier or a little later than the Dorset aisle in 1520. The Stafford knots and Hastings bulls' heads tell their own tale. There would seem therefore, to be traces here of the constructions of four different successive dates connected with the entrance from the nave to the Cloister: Bishop Grandisson's original one next the south tower; subsequently when that was blocked, perhaps after the burial of his sister-in-law just inside, a more convenient one into a porch with its upper work of wood; this in its turn gave place to the stone porch of 1520 (erected either by the College or by the Marchioness of Dorset); upon which again John Haydon has left his further marks. Over this door in the interior of the church is a large oblong panel with a Latin poem 1618 in praise of him, and with the Haydon arms over it.

The western façade of the church consists of three divisions, and is flanked on either side by the terminations of the nave aisles; in each of these latter there is a pointed doorway quite plain and without hood mouldings. The interior however of these side doors is square with four-centred arch, and the window that opens into the nave aisle over each is a quatrefoil contained in a square. The western doorway of the nave is double, and sunk in a shallow vaulted portico under a four-centred arch; the portico is exactly six feet deep, measured in a straight line through from the exterior to the interior of the western wall of the nave. It is really formed by thickening the western wall of the nave on its exterior side for about twelve feet upwards from the ground, and it is terminated just below the west window by a horizontal stone roof. This thickening of the lower portion of the western wall of the nave resembles the thickening of the lower portions of the east and west walls of the transepts, and the treatment of the stone roof above this western thickening may be compared with that of the roof above those other thickenings. Between the two central doors (each of which is pointed), there rises a Purbeck marble shaft from the ground, carrying an image bracket. The sides of this shallow portico are formed by a sunk panel sloping outwards, and are treated in a very similar way to the panels in Bishop Grandisson's western entrance to Exeter Cathedral before Bishop Brantyngham's screen was added thereto. (These have lately been temporarily uncovered, and sections of them modelled by the Dean and Chapter.) On each side of this portico is an ogee cinquefoiled canopied niche with a rich finial, very similar to those on either side of the east window of the Lady Chapel. The hood moulding runs continuously round the heads of these niches and of the arch of the portico, which, however, has itself no finial. This portico is flanked on either side by a buttress, which is carried up above the corners of the nave roof. The whole treatment of the western end of the nave strongly resembles in general effect that of the east end of the Lady Chapel. The west window is of five plain lights set under

a segmental pointed arch. In the gable, which is marked off by a string-course, stands a large richly crocketed niche, cinquefoiled with a long narrow cusped light trefoiled on either side of it, that now open into the space between the nave vaulting and the roof. The effect of the two lines of dark shadow produced by these two narrow lights accentuates the central niche. It still contains the lower half of the life-size statue of our Lord seated and showing His five wounds, a favourite subject in the west country, "Fyve wellys, of pitty, merci, comfort, grace, and everlastingh lyffe." His pierced feet, bare, rest upon the surface of a globe, above them still remain the folds of His garment upward to the knees. The church was dedicated "in honore domini Jhesu Christi et beate Marie virginis matris sue ac Sancti Edwardi Confessoris et Omnium Sanctorum." Our Lady's statue and one of the Confessor probably occupied the south and north side niches respectively outside the portico below. The bases of the pedestals they stood upon are still *in situ*. If in the tympanum over the double doorway there had been a group of All Saints in adoration of the Lamb, then we should have not only the third consecration cross for the western end thus introduced on the Lamb's banner¹, but also the complete title of the dedication of the church illustrated on its western façade.

The church is exceptionally happy in retaining so many of its consecration crosses. The full number would be three to face each point of the compass, both inside and outside the building. Of those on the exterior, besides the three under the east window of the Lady Chapel, the remaining ten are arranged as follows. One under each of the north and south windows in the easternmost bay of the Lady Chapel; one under the window in each of the choir aisles midway between the vestry and the transept; one at the end of each transept; two more, one under each of the windows in the south nave aisle that lie west of the south porch. (Of these two last it is evident that the one nearest the porch is a later insertion, it is set four inches higher than its neighbour and part of the sill of the window has been cut away to make room for it; possibly it was removed to its present position from the north nave aisle, when Bishop Grandisson's wall was pulled down on the north side at the time that the Dorset aisle was added. It was where it is now in 1734.) Each of the buttresses that flank the western entrance carries another consecration cross. On the outside of the church there are thus now thirteen in all². They all retain on the lowest part of the circular rim the socket with metal plug (for affixing the sconce that carried the light on the anniversary of the dedication) with the exception of three, the one on the south transept and the two on the western buttresses. Close alongside the south transept it would appear that the Chapter House originally stood, as at Exeter; and the

¹ In an eleventh century tympanum over a door at South Ferriby, in Lincolnshire, there is "a bishop carved in relief in the centre, and plain cross with expanding ends at each side" (i.e. for consecration crosses); and at Roscrea, Ireland, "in the gable over west Norman door there is a relief carved with figure and similar crosses at his feet, the whole design very like that at South Ferriby." *Archaeologia*, vol. XLVIII, pp. 463, 464. "The Lamb and Cross" is still the sign of one of the hostelrys in Ottery.

² The statements as to these crosses in *Archaeologia*, vol. XLVIII, p. 460, are inaccurate. The crosses are not "carved in high relief on shields borne by angels," there is no trace of a shield in any one of the crosses: "thirteen still exist, six being inside"; this would seem to mean there were only seven outside. There are thirteen outside and eight inside. "Those outside are placed under the centre of the windows"; some are under windows, but four at least are not thus placed. Such loose statements naturally shake one's confidence in the accuracy of other parts of the same paper.



Western doorway of Nave, p. 19



Consecration Cross, p. 21

Showing space for inscription plate beneath

eaves of its roof actually seem to have left traces where they cut into the two projecting buttresses of the tower on that side. Hence probably this consecration cross was almost, if not quite, hidden from view, within one year after the dedication of the church, by the erection of the Chapter House¹, and there was no necessity for it to carry a sconce. It is also worthy of notice that it is in a better state of preservation than any of the others; as would be expected under these conditions. The two at the western end of the church are about six inches higher from the ground than any of the others, and appear to have once had inscriptions affixed beneath them, of the same length as the breadth of the square, and each just four inches deep. The lights here may have been affixed to these; or if there was a pentice that ran from the western entrance to cover the walk that led round the college cemetery at the west end of the church to the canons' houses that once stood between the warden's and chanter's houses, and to the cloisters on the south, its woodwork here may also have interfered with these two carrying sconces at all. All the consecration crosses are exactly alike in design, the simplicity and dignity of which are only equalled by their richness. A quatrefoil set in a circle within a square contains in each a full-faced three-quarter length figure of an angel with expanded wings and habited in a loose flowing robe, fastened at the waist with a knotted girdle. The squares that contain the quatrefoil are each twenty inches in diameter, and vary in height from the ground from four feet six inches to five feet three inches—the height ordered by the later rubrics was seven feet six inches. The plain Greek cross, with slightly expanded ends, is placed over the angel's breast, and rests on the palm of his right hand, and his left hand supports the left arm of the cross². Each cross is three inches broad and the same in height. The angel's wings are visible on either side above the shoulders. The consecration crosses on the outside of the church are all original, untouched by restoration, and are considerably weather-worn. The figures in the one on the south transept and in that on the north-western buttress at

¹ "In claustro si habeatur," Stat. lj, would seem to imply that the cloister was not completed in the autumn of 1339 A.D.; and if not, neither perhaps was the Chapter House. This latter was, however, completed before 1345, for on the 10th of October in that year Bishop Grandisson held a court therein. *Register*, vol. i, fol. 125^b.

² "There are no similar examples in England, but in the Liebfrauenkirche at Trier, the dedication crosses are said to be very beautiful, being circles containing angels who bear the crosses. B. Webb, *Sketches in Continental Ecclesiology*, p. 75. London, 1848" (*Transactions of St Paul Ecclesiological Society*, vii, 186. "Notes on consecration crosses" by Rev. E. S. Dewick, M.A., F.S.A., who also gives, pp. 177, 178, quotations from Parker MS. 79, and Lansdowne MS. 451, descriptive of the ceremonies both according to the Roman use and according to the *modus Anglicane ecclesie* at the consecration of a church. "Hec sunt que ante dedicationem preparanda sunt, scilicet duodecim cruces piete deforis, duodecim deintus cum cereis uel candelis, viginti quatuor cerei, xii. deforis, xii. deintus, viginti quatuor clauis quibus cerei infigantur" (Lansd. MS. 451, fo. 115^b). "In circuitu ecclesie eat pontifex intus et faciat crucem cum pollice suo de ipso crismate in xii locis signatis cruce introrsus, incipiendo iuxta altare ad meridiem a dextris ita dicens in unoquoque *Santificetur hoc templum per istam sanctam unctionem et nostram benedictionem in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. Amen. Pax huic domui. vel Pax tibi. Responsio Et cum spiritu tuo.* Then the choir (*scola*) was to sing the antiphon and psalm—*Lapides pretiosi omnes muri tui et turres ierusalem gemmis edificabuntur. Ps. Lauda ierusalem*" (Lansd. MS. 451, fo. 132^b). Afterwards the Bishop is directed to make the circuit of the church on the outside, repeating the same ceremony, and using the same words—but the antiphon sung by the choir is changed to *Unxit te dominus oleo leticie pre consortibus tuis. Ps. Eructavit.* For the fuller account of the Ritual connected with consecration crosses, *Archæological Journal*, lxxv, 4—10.) The Pontificals here referred to were probably the two left incomplete by Bishop Grandisson.

the end of the nave are the least imperfect, although this side of the church was naturally most exposed to the south-west; the latter cross may have been protected by the pentice. There are apparently holes in the stonework over the west door to which it would have been affixed. The figures in those at the east end of the Lady Chapel have been nearly obliterated, either by accident or design; the stone framework, however, of these same three crosses is in unusually good preservation. The consecration crosses inside the church appear to be all new (1851). (It is not quite impossible that Mr Butterfield may then have placed some of the old ones from the interior on the exterior of the church to make way for these new ones.) They are thus placed: two in the Lady Chapel (one halfway down each side), two in the choir aisles (one to the east of the entrance to each vestry), two in the transepts (one midway between the two lower lancet windows in the centre of the north and south sides, and two at the west end of the nave (one either side of the central doorway), making in all eight in the interior¹.

Just as to Edward III's Collegiate Church at Windsor, which was itself an enlargement of Henry III's original chapel of St Edward the Confessor, great additions were subsequently made by Edward IV and the first two Tudor kings, amounting to nearly the whole of the present chapel of St George, so at Ottery St Mary, to Bishop Grandisson's Collegiate Church that was contemporary with Edward III and the original Knights of the Garter, a similar enlargement (apparently in honour of St Edward the Confessor) was likewise made under Edward IV and the first two Tudor kings; and this work commemorated some of the self-same Knights of the Garter, who also contributed toward "the New Church" that was rising simultaneously at Windsor.

The northern wall of Bishop Grandisson's north nave aisle was then removed, and a very handsome addition made to the nave on this side. This extension reaches from the north transept (into which it *now* opens), right down to the exterior west end of the church, and consists of five bays, exactly corresponding with the five bays of the nave. This north aisle was erected some time between the years 1505 and 1530. The rebus of Bishop Oldham of Exeter, 1505 to 1519, an owl with a scroll in his beak, on which is sculptured "do," the "m" having been obliterated, is on the capital of the south-west pillar facing the nave. In Bishop Oldham's chantry chapel in Exeter Cathedral the scroll carried by the owl bears "dom"; and the compliment paid to the Bishop here is there returned by him, for on the cornice in the north-east corner of the interior of his chantry chapel are sculptured the Stafford and Bouchier knots. The arms of Bishop Veysey, formerly Dean of Windsor, and Oldham's successor in the see of Exeter (argent, a cross sable charged with a buck's head couped between four doves argent, on a chief azure a cross fleury between two roses or), on a shield borne by an angel, form the corbel in the south-east corner of the interior facing north. The ancient mansion and estate of Knightstone, in the southern part of this parish, belonged to the family of Bittlesgate. John Bythelysgate was canon of Ottery, 3 November, 1366, and died 1404. Richard Bittlesgate died in 1494, and the right of succession passed, on failure of issue of that family, to the Lady Cicely, great-

¹ There is no record in Bishop Grandisson's Register of the consecration of Ottery St Mary, any more than there is any record to be found of the consecration of St George's Chapel at Windsor, or of the actual use of the beautiful consecration crosses there, but it would be very unwise to conclude therefore that neither building was ever properly consecrated. Bishop Bronescombe's church was dedicated 4 December 1259.

granddaughter and heiress of William Lord Bonville and Chuton¹, who also held Ashe in this parish, Marchioness of Dorset, Countess of Wiltshire, Baroness Harington, Bonville,

¹ Sir William de Boneville, Kt, of Shute, in the parish of Colyton and of Wiscombe, both near Axminster, was Sheriff of Dorset and Somerset in 1381 and 1382, and Sheriff of Devon in 1390. He died 14 February, 1408. His will was proved 18 April of the same year. It is in the Arundel Register at Lambeth, i, 252, 3; and in Bishop Stafford's Register at Exeter, and is printed at full length in Prebendary Hingeston-Randolph's edition of the latter, pp. 391-3. His body was buried before the Rood in the Abbey of Newenham in Devon, and he endowed a Hospital for twelve poor men and women in Exeter.

His eldest son John died in his father's lifetime, 21 October, 1396, having married Elizabeth, only child and heiress of John Fitz-Roger, of Chewton Mendip, and daughter of the first husband of his father's second wife.

John's son William, born at Shute 31 August, 1392, succeeded his grandfather, 14 February, 1408, and his own mother in her own lands of Chewton, near Wells, in Somerset, 15 April, 1414, and came of age in 1413; he was Sheriff of Devon in 1422, was in France and Seneschal of Aquitaine, 1442; summoned as Lord Bonville and Chewton to Parliament from 23 September, 1449, to 30 July, 1460; Governor of Exeter Castle, 1453; Lieutenant of Aquitaine, 1454; next year had a sharp skirmish on Clistheath near Exeter with Thomas Courtenay, fifth Earl of Devon, who had married a granddaughter of John of Gaunt. (This Earl's three sons, Thomas, sixth Earl, and Henry and John, his brothers, lost their lives in 1462, 1466, and 1471 for the House of Lancaster, and left no issue. Lord Bonville lost son and grandson and his own life for the House of York.) After the battle of Northampton, 10 May, 1460, he was one of the six lords to whose custody King Henry VI was entrusted. He was elected a Knight of the Garter 8 February, 1461, by the last act of that monarch as Sovereign of the Order, in the Bishop of London's palace near St Paul's: but was never installed; for after the Yorkist defeat at the second battle of St Alban's, on Shrove Tuesday, 18 February of that same year, when all the other Yorkist lords fled, Henry VI begged him at any rate to stay by his side, and assured him no ill should befall him. But Queen Margaret, and his old rival and wife's nephew Thomas Earl of Devon, coming up shortly after, called up her young son, a child of seven, to doom him to death, and took off his head the following day. He married as his second wife Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Courtenay, third Earl of Devon, by Isabel daughter of Sir Nele Loryng, K.G. Founder. She was the widow of John, fourth Lord Harington, who had died sine prole 11 February, 1418, whose mother was Katharine Banestre, nurse to Queen Philippa. The effigy of this Lord Harington is in Porlock Church, Somerset, with that of Elizabeth Courtenay, Lady Bonville, by his side. This lady, as Lord Bonville's widow, was richly provided for by King Edward IV, before the year was out, with manors in Somerset, Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall; amongst these were Combe Seton, Combe Pyne, Combe Umfraville, Charletone, Heide and Pole, Northoote, Sidford, Axminster and Torridge. She died 28 October, 1471, sine prole.

William Bonville, Lord Bonville's only son by his first wife Margaret, was born in 1416, and in 1440 married Elizabeth, only child and heiress of William, fifth Lord Harington (K.G. 1415), who was brother and heir to his stepmother's first husband, and died 3 March, 1458. She died in her husband's lifetime, 10 March, 1458. He died in his father's lifetime, and with his own son at Wakefield, 31 December, 1460. "Lord Bonville was an eye-witness at the battle of Wakefield of the death of William Bonville his only son, and of William Bonville, Lord Harington, his grandchild by him" (Camden's *Britannia*).

This youth William was sixteen years old at this mother's death in 1458, and was summoned to Parliament as sixth Lord Harington in right of his mother, though he was still under age when slain at Wakefield 31 December, 1460, just two months before his grandfather's death; he left an only daughter and heiress Cicely; for he had married Katharine, daughter of Richard Nevill, Earl of Salisbury, K.G. 1438, whose mother was Jane Beaufort, daughter of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and Katharine Swinford, and whose wife was Alice, only child and heiress of Thomas de Montacute, K.G. 1413, fourth Earl of Salisbury and great-great-granddaughter of Katharine de Grandisson, and who was created for his wife's sake Earl of Salisbury 1442; he too was slain at Wakefield 1460.

Cicely, Baroness Harington Bonville and Chewton, was only a few months old when she inherited her great-grandfather's property in the west country (though apparently Knightstone in Ottery St Mary did not come to her till Richard Bittlesgate's death in 1494); and afterwards she inherited her great-grandmother's property as well, in 1471, at ten years of age. The Bonville arms were sable, six mullets argent, three, two and one pierced gules. The Harington arms were sable, a fret argent.

Ferrers of Groby, Astley and Stafford, and, curiously, great-great-great-granddaughter of Katharine de Grandisson, the Bishop's sister, Countess of Salisbury.

The Lady Cicely's widowed mother Katharine, who had lost father, husband and brother at Wakefield, was sister of George Nevill Bishop of Exeter, and Richard Nevill Earl of Warwick, "the Kingmaker," and so aunt to that earl's two daughters, to Isabel (who married George Duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV, and whose son Edward was beheaded by Henry VII, and whose daughter Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, and her son were executed by Henry VIII), and to Anne (who married first Edward Prince of Wales, son of Henry VI and secondly Richard III). After her first young husband's death she married secondly William Hastings, to whom Edward IV gave William Lord Bonville's vacant Garter in 1460, and created him Lord Hastings of Ashby-de-la-Zouche, 26 July, 1461: and constituted him and Lady Hastings, Cicely's own mother, her legal guardians with custody of her great estates till she should come to the age of sixteen. Lord Hastings was beheaded by Richard III 15 June, 1483. In accordance with his will, made 27 June, 1481, he was buried in the chantry erected by him and his widow, and dedicated to St Stephen, in the north choir aisle of St George's Chapel, Windsor. She died in 1504, and was buried at Ashby-de-la-Zouche. His crest was out of a coronet, a bull's-head affrontée, sable couped at the shoulders, the arms argent, a manche sable.

As regards the family of the Lady Cicely's first husband it may be noted that Sir John Grey, eighth Lord Ferrers of Groby, tenth Baron Astley, married Elizabeth daughter of Richard Widville, Earl Rivers, by Jacquetta, daughter of Peter of Luxembourg and widow of John Duke of Bedford, third son of Henry IV. Sir John was slain at the second battle of St Alban's, 18 February, 1461, and his widow married 1 May, 1463, King Edward IV. She had had two sons by her first marriage, Thomas Grey and Richard. Thomas Grey, born 1451, ninth Baron Ferrers of Groby, and ward of Lord Hastings, was (for his mother's sake, now Queen) created 12 August, 1472, Earl of Huntingdon (this title he subsequently relinquished), and knighted on 18 April, 1475, then created 30 May Marquis of Dorset; "upon which day he sat in his habit at the upper end of the Table amongst the Knights in Saint Edward's chamber"; he was made Knight of the Garter 15 May, 1475, at the same time as Edward IV's two boys, the Prince of Wales and Duke of York. Next year he was married to the Lady Cicely, and in 1482 was declared of age. Shakespere in *Henry VI*, Third Part (act iv, scene 1, l. 56) makes Clarence complain that Edward IV had "bestowed the heir of the Lord Bonville on his new wife's son, and left his brothers to go speed elsewhere." The first years of their union were troublous ones, but during the nineteen years of their married life that ensued they had fifteen children, seven sons and eight daughters. At his stepfather Edward IV's death in 1483, both he and his brother Richard Grey were attainted of treason by Richard III; the latter was beheaded at Pomfret 1483, but the elder fled into Brittany to Henry Earl of Richmond (the earl subsequently, 18 January, 1486, as Henry VII, married the marquis's half-sister Elizabeth, the daughter of his own mother and Edward IV); was left by him at Paris with John Bouchier in pledge for money borrowed. In 1491 he was sent into France to the aid of Maximilian with Gasper Earl of Bedford and John Earl of Oxford. In 1496 he overthrew Lord Audley and the rebels at Blackheath. He much enlarged his own father's castle at Groby, and was buried in his college at Astley in Warwickshire, founded by Thomas, seventh Baron Astley, in 1343, where the Dean and Canons were to pray for his soul, King Edward IV's and his Queen Elizabeth's (i.e. his own mother's), for his father's, his wife Cicely's and all Christian souls. He appropriated Lutterworth to that college. To each of his eight daughters he left one thousand pounds, and died 20 September, 1501. (The daughters were: 1. Dorothy, who married Robert second Lord Willoughby de Broke, and secondly William Blount, fourth Lord Montjoy, K.G. 1526. 2. Cicely, who married John Sutton, seventh Lord Dudley. 3. Mary, who married Walter Devereux, third Lord Ferrers of Chartley and Bouchier, created Viscount Hereford 1549 and K.G. 1523. 4. Margaret, who married Richard Wake, of Hartwell, Northants. 5. Elizabeth, who married Sir John Arundel of Lanherne, in Cornwall, K.G. 1501, and died 1545. 6. Eleanor, who married Gerald FitzGerald, ninth Earl of Kildare, and died 1554. 7 and 8. Anne and Bridget.)

His eldest son, Thomas Grey, born 22 June, 1477, was summoned to Parliament as Lord Harington 1494 to 1501, and succeeded his father as second Marquis of Dorset 18 November, 1502; he was also at the same time elected to fill his father's vacant stall as K.G. At St George's, Windsor, his badge, a unicorn ermine armed, or, in front of foliage, appears on the large boss on the southern side between the first and second bays from the west end in the vaulting of the choir; this was erected in 1506. His arms are also emblazoned in the centre of the transept, erected after 1518, over the organ gallery. Quarterly of eight,

She married first Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset, K.G. 1476. He died 20 September, 1501. In 1503 she was married secondly to Henry Lord Stafford, Earl of Wiltshire (K.G. 1505). He died 6 March, 1523. Both her husbands held Knyghtestone in her right

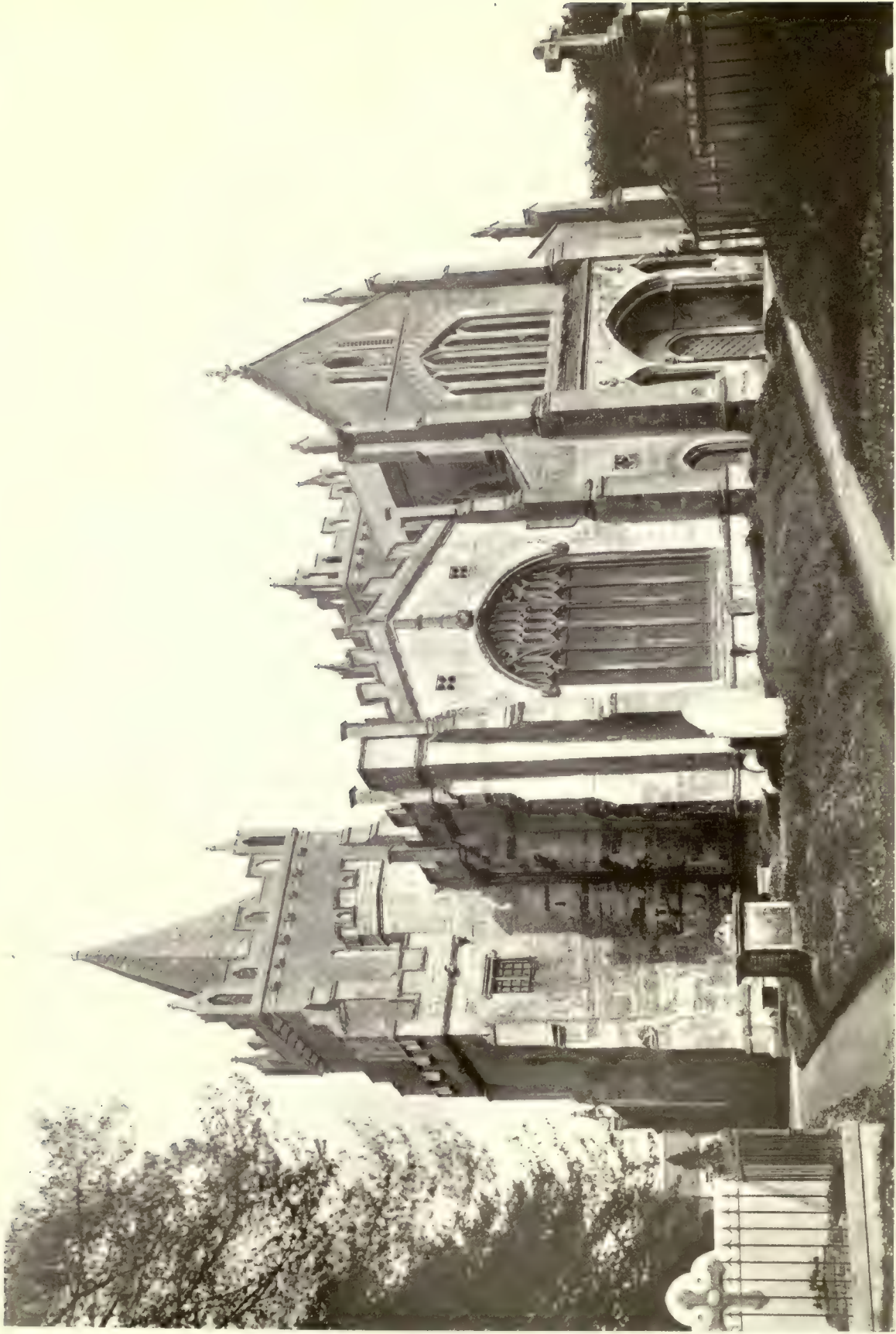
four and four. 1. Barry of six argent and azure, in chief three torteaux. Grey. 2. Or, a manche gules, Hastings. 3. Barry of ten argent and azure, an orle of martlets gules. Valence. Over these first three only, a label of three points ermine. 4. Gules, seven mascles, three, three and one or. Ferrers of Groby. 5. Azure, a cinquefoil ermine. Astley. 6. Argent, a fess and canton gules. Wydville. 7. Sable, six mullets, three, two and one argent. Bonville. 8. Sable, a fret argent. Harington. His square banner, as enrolled at the College of Arms, contains the same quarterings. The supporter is a unicorn ermine. On his long standard, per fess white and murrey, are bunches of daisies, tufted proper, for badges, and the motto, *A ma puissance*. The arms of his brothers-in-law, Lord Montjoy and Lord Hereford, are contiguous to his in the same vaulting at St George's. He was companion and youth's friend of Henry VIII; carried the sword of state before that monarch at the Field of the Cloth of Gold 1520; attended Charles V into England 1522; took sides against Wolsey and favoured the divorce. He married, first, Eleanor, daughter of Oliver Lord St John, by whom he had no issue; and secondly Margaret, daughter of Sir Robert Wotton, of Bocton in Kent. (Of his daughters Elizabeth married Thomas Lord Audley of Walden, K.G. 1540, Lord Chancellor, and died 1544; and Katharine married Henry Fitzalan, fourteenth Earl of Arundel, K.G. 1544, Lord High Steward to Queen Elizabeth, and died 1579.) He died 10 October, 1530, the same year as his mother, and was buried at Astley, where he ordered a chapel and goodly tomb to be built over his own and his father's and mother's tomb in the chancel, and their yearly obits were to be there kept.

He was succeeded by his eldest son Henry Grey, third Marquis of Dorset, born before 1510, and summoned to Parliament as Lord Grey 1522 to 1530. He was Lord High Constable of England 1547, at the coronation of Edward VI; was the first Knight of the Garter created by that Sovereign, being installed 23 May, 1547. He married, first, Katharine, daughter of William Earl of Arundel; by her he had no issue, and secondly Frances, the eldest daughter and co-heiress of Charles Brandon, created Duke of Suffolk 1514 (he died 16 July, 1551) and of Mary, sister of Henry VIII, widow of the French King Louis XII. (She and her descendants were, by Henry VIII's will, to inherit the Imperial crown and realm immediately after his own children, Edward, Mary and Elizabeth, and before the issue of her elder sister Margaret, who had married the Scotch King James IV.) He was created Duke of Suffolk 11 October, 1551, and had two daughters; the Lady Jane Grey, who married Guildford Dudley, fourth son of the Duke of Northumberland (K.G. 1551, beheaded 22 August, 1553); she and her husband were both beheaded 12 February, 1554; and Katharine, who married first Henry Lord Herbert, eldest son of the Earl of Pembroke; and, after her divorce from him, secondly Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, son of the Protector Somerset (who was beheaded 22 January, 1552). He, however, lived till 1621. Henry Duke of Suffolk and third Marquis of Dorset lost his head on Tower Hill, having joined Wyatt's insurrection, 23 February, 1554, when the Barony of Bonville, with his other honours, became forfeited. His crest was a unicorn salient ermine armed and ungulated or, in front of a sun in splendour. His supporters dexter an unicorn as in crest, sinister a man-tiger or. The Duchess of Suffolk, his widow, aged thirty-two, married 1555 Adrian Stokes, Esquire, aged seventeen, and died 1559; he died 1586.

But to return to the Lady Cicely, heiress of Knyghtstone, Ottery St Mary. After the death of her husband, Thomas Grey first Marquis of Dorset, 20 September, 1501, she married, being then forty-five years of age, in 1503 Henry Stafford, younger son of Henry, second Duke of Buckingham. As regards her second husband's family it may be noted that Humphrey, sixth Earl of Stafford was created Duke of Buckingham 14 September, 1444, with precedence over all dukes (except those of Royal blood) 22 May, 1447—(since his mother was Anne, eldest daughter of Thomas Duke of Gloucester, youngest son of Edward III, created Earl of Buckingham 1377, and murdered 1397, and of Eleanor, daughter and coheiress with Mary, first wife of Henry IV, of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Essex, Hereford and Northampton). His brother was Archbishop of Canterbury 1443 to 1453. He himself was slain at the battle of Northampton 27 July, 1460. He had three sons, Humphrey, Henry and John. John was created Earl of Wiltshire; Henry married Margaret Countess of Richmond, mother of Henry VII, and died 2 October, 1481; the eldest, Humphrey Earl of Stafford, was slain at the first battle of St Alban's, in his father's lifetime, 22 May, 1455, leaving an infant son Henry, who at his grandfather's death in 1460 became second Duke of Buckingham; Edward IV made him the ward of his sister Anne, Duchess of Exeter, and K.G. 1474; he afterwards married Katharine

successively, and did homage for it to the Manor of Ottery. (It had been claimed by Thomas Grey's grandfather, Earl Rivers, in his own right, as heir of the Bittlesgates.) She died in 1530. This lady made similar additions to the churches of other parishes in

daughter of Richard Wydville, Earl Rivers, and sister to Edward IV's Queen. He was Lord High Steward at Richard III's coronation; but, having plotted with Thomas Grey Marquis of Dorset, for Henry Earl of Richmond, was beheaded at Salisbury 2 November, 1483. He left two sons, Edward the third Duke of Buckingham, K.G. 1499 (his badge a Stafford knot argent within the garter is on the easternmost of the three smaller bosses in the third bay from the west end on the south side of the vaulting of St George's choir), who was degraded 23 April and beheaded 17 May, 1521; and Henry Stafford installed K.G. 23 April, 1505, and created Earl of Wiltshire 3 February, 1510, both honours subsequent to his marriage with Cicely, Dowager Marchioness of Dorset. His investiture is described, *Historic Peerage of England*, Nicolas and Courthope, 1857, introduction pp. lii and liij, when he was hailed as "fitz et frere des ducs de Bockingham." His badge, a Stafford knot argent, differenced by a crescent sable to distinguish it from that of his father, Sir Henry Stafford, second Duke of Buckingham, K.G., appears in the centre one of the three smaller bosses in the first bay from the west end in the vaulting of the choir of St George's, Windsor; next to a boss bearing K and H united with true lover's knot (for Henry VIII and Katharine of Arragon), and next but one to the large boss that carries the badge of the Lady Cicely's first husband. His stall plate still remains on the north side of the choir with the arms quarterly: 1. France and England within a bordure argent. Plantagenet. 2. Azure, a bend argent cotised or between six lions rampant, of the last. Bohun. 3. Or, a chevron gules. Stafford. 4. Same as 2, with three mullets on bend. Bohun Earl of Northampton. On the fess-point a crescent argent for cadency. On helm with very large mantlings his crest a demi-swan, argent, beaked gules, the wings endorsed, issuant from a coronet. At the foot of the plate is engraved "Humble et loyal. Henry of Stafford sone unto Henry, late Duk of Bukyngham, the yere of oure Lord A mcecciv." On his standard per fess sable and gules he bore the same motto and the white swan of Bohun ducally gorged and chained with crescent on breast, amid semée of silver Stafford knots, each with a crescent gules. His supporter was an heraldic antelope (with straight horns, goat's beard, and long lashed tail), argent, spotted, armed, unguled, tufted, ducally gorged, and chained or, charged on the shoulder with crescent gules. He married first (the widow of his cousin Edward, second Earl of Wiltshire, who died *sine prole* 1499), Muriel, daughter of Sir Edward Grey—(brother of Sir John Grey, eighth Lord Ferrers of Groby, first husband of Queen Elizabeth Wydville, and father of the late Marquis of Dorset)—by Elizabeth, sister and heir of Thomas Talbot Viscount Lisle. Edward Grey for his wife's sake was created Viscount Lisle by Richard III, died in 1492, and was buried in "the new chapel of Our Lady in the college of Astley." Henry Stafford, Earl of Wiltshire, was therefore first cousin to the Lady Cicely's first husband maternally, and also further related to her by his first wife. He died 6 March, 1523, but left no issue by either of the widows he took to wife, and his title became extinct. It, together with his stall as K.G., was conferred on Thomas Boleyn, whose stall plate shows as crest a falcon issuing from a bank of feathers, and over it NOW THUS. The arms are simply or, a chief indented azure, for Butler, his mother's family. The dexter supporter is a falcon the sinister a griffin enflamed, gorged, and chained; beneath is "Scutum Thome Comititis Wyltshyre et Ormond ac vicecomes (*sic*) Rocheford A°. Rg. Rg. H. 8. 15," on each side of the arms is the Ormonde knot as badge. The Marchioness of Dorset survived her second husband, the Earl of Wiltshire, some seven years. Her will (at Somerset House, Janlyn qu. 22), is dated 6 May, 1527, and was proved 5 November, 1530, so that she must have been nearly seventy years of age at the time of her death. In it (ignoring her last husband, for his title was now borne by another family) she styles herself Marchioness of Dorset Lady Haryngton and Bonvyll. She desires to be buried at Astley in her first husband's tomb, where she orders one thousand masses to be sung, and two priests at £8 a year each daily to sing in the chapel of Astley for eighty years for her soul and that of her first husband. And there still her effigy reposes with pyramidal head-dress, the lappets falling low on her shoulders, the arms are gone, but evidently the hands were clasped in prayer. She leaves no money by will for religious foundations except for this purpose, which is to be a charge upon the issues of her manors and lands of Combe Pyne and Combe Umfraville in Devon. If she should not be buried at Astley one of the priests is to be maintained wherever she is buried. Her lands at Ottery St Mary and Knyghtstone and many other lands and manors in Devon, Somerset, Dorset and Sussex, immediately after payment of her funeral expenses, debts and legacies, are to remain to her son Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset, and his heirs, "of suche an estate of inheritance as to me dissendyd";



FROM THE NORTH WEST

Western end of Nave and of Dorset Aisle, North Porch and North Tower

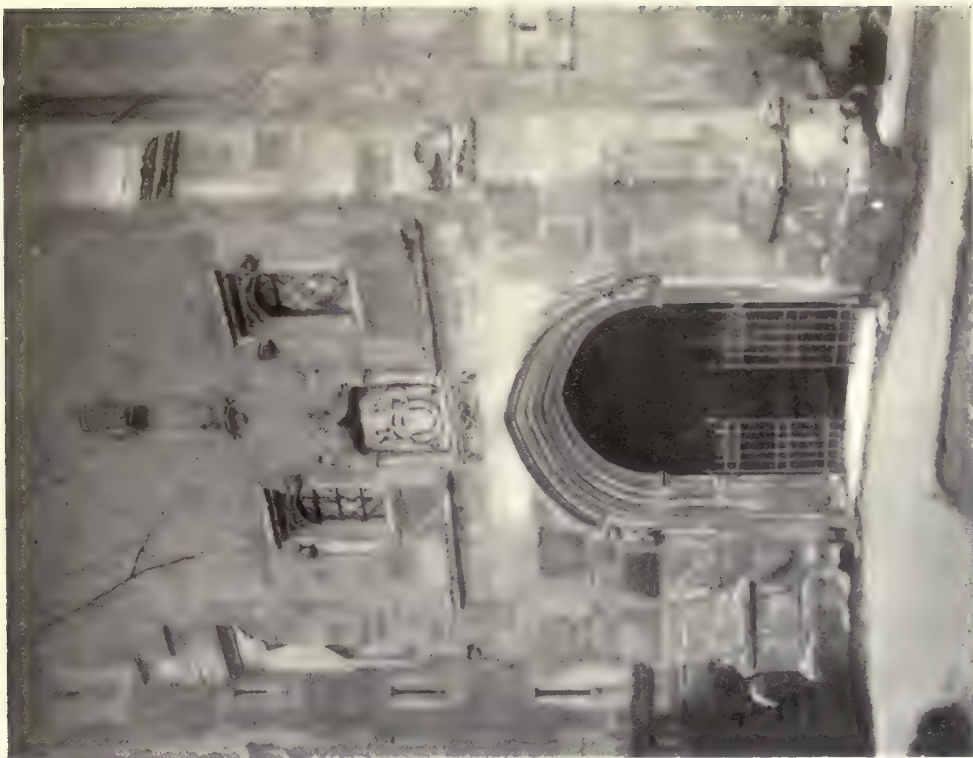
which she possessed property; as, for instance, in the neighbouring churches of Seaton and Axminster (in which parish the Manor of Uphay belonged to her; near which also was situated Shute, for many generations the chief residence of the Bonvilles), where the north aisle, erected between 1525 and 1530, is contemporary with this Dorset aisle, and closely resembles it both in general design and detail of execution. The three light windows there have precisely the same tracery as those here; there is a large porch on the north side with parvise over entered by a narrow staircase in the wall of the aisle as here; and the Stafford arms and knot occur on the pillars inside, there as here. If the erection of this aisle had been begun in 1519, the last year of Bishop Oldham's Episcopate (in honour of St Edward, the patron name saint of King Edward IV, to whom she and her family and both her husbands owed so much), it would probably have been completed before 1523; that is, in her second husband's lifetime.

There is a continuous plinth all round this Dorset aisle and north porch. It takes up with that on Bishop Grandisson's north-west buttress of the nave, which buttress is at that point incorporated into this addition. At the western end of this aisle is a fine six-light window with Perpendicular tracery under a hood moulding with large terminations of two winged angels bearing shields. There are above this window two large square openings with cruciform tracery, having a Tudor rose at centre of each cross, for giving light and air to the space between the stone vault of the aisle and the upper roof. The pitch of the roof (as would be expected) is much flatter than that of the nave; and the parapet is battlemented all round the west and north sides. The buttresses carry instead of pinnacles the more characteristic square shaft, placed angular-wise, with flat termination that rises above the battlements; they probably once supported heraldic beasts, like those at Windsor, outside St George's Chapel, which was being erected in the very years that were occupied by the building of this. There are five of these shafts in all, and between the two at the west end of the aisle there rises from the apex of the window, and resting on a winged angel in act of adoration as corbel, a semi-shaft of a similar character; but this does not mount beyond the battlements. On the string-course beneath the battlements at the west end

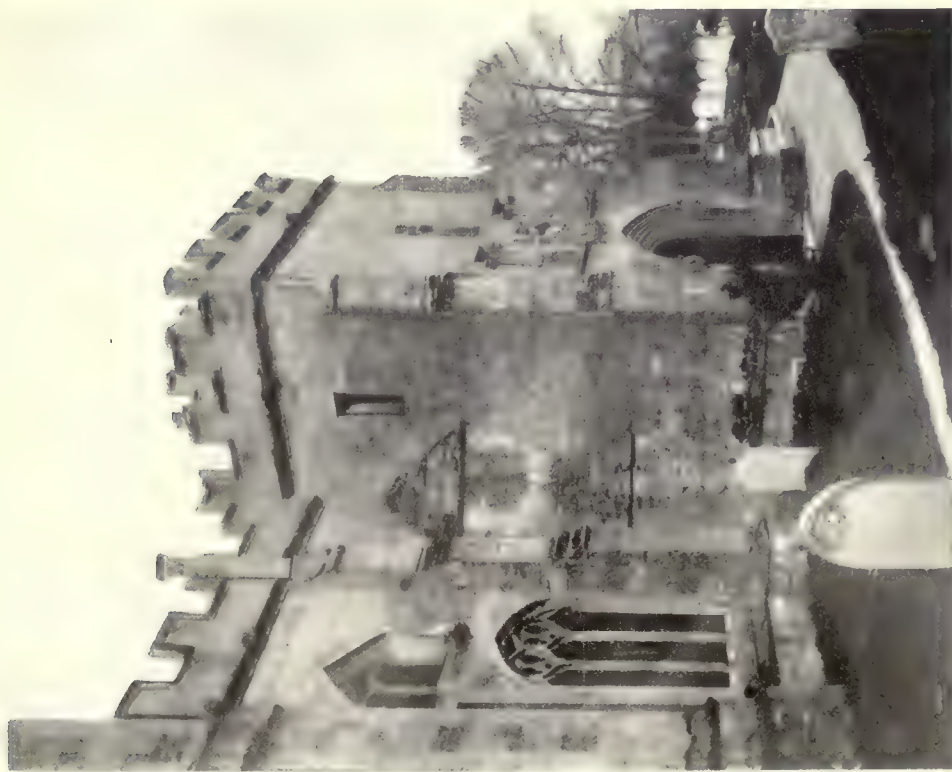
but if he and his heirs hinder the performance of any point of her will, they are all to be disposed by her executors "in dedis of charite by theyr discrecions." There is no mention of the aisle built by her at Ottery, or of any chantry there.

The Lady Cicely was thus in her lifetime the daughter-in-law of one King and Queen of England; the sister-in-law of another King, and was besides the great-grandmother of another Queen of England. Her grandson's wife was the granddaughter of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York (Cicely's sister-in-law) and daughter of the sister of another King of England and widow of a King of France. So she and her direct issue were for four successive generations closely related to three reigning Kings of England and four Queens. King Edward IV in 1475 resolved to erect the present Chapel of St George at Windsor. On St George's Day, 1476, it is on record that, that day being Sunday, the Sovereign and Knights, amongst whom were Thomas Marquis of Dorset, William Earl of Arundel, and Walter Lord Ferrers of Chartley, rode to mattins, and after breakfasting with Bishop Beauchamp as dean, proceeded to the choir for high mass. To this came the Queen, with her eldest daughter Elizabeth (afterwards Queen of Henry VII), the King's sister, the Duchess of Suffolk, Cicely the Lady Marchioness of Dorset, and Dame Anne Hastings, wife of Sir Richard Hastings; the ladies all took their places in the rood loft. This was not in all probability the only visit by any means that the Marchioness of Dorset paid either to the old or to the new Chapel of St George, more especially as towards the erection of the latter of these her two husbands, her own son, and her mother, Katharine Lady Hastings, contributed largely.

are sculptured two Stafford knots, and two Harington frets, a small owl (for Oldham) and foliage. On the north side of this aisle, west of the north porch, are two three-light windows with Perpendicular tracery; and at the east side of the porch a third, exactly similar; and above it a curious segmental pointed window of two lights, the space above the lights being cusped. It is deeply splayed externally. There is no hood moulding to either of these four windows on the north side. The north porch is a very handsome one of three storeys, and contains two parvises, one above the other. They are approached from the interior of the aisle by two separate staircases that are placed in the angles where the porch joins the building. These staircases severally break the plinth that is elsewhere continuous round this aisle. Access is gained to the lower parvise by that on the eastern side of the porch, and to the upper by that on the western side. This last is fully developed into a battlemented turret, and carried up so as to give an approach also on to the roof of this aisle. The eastern staircase, on the other hand, is terminated with a slanting stone roof just above the level of the floor of the second storey, and has one very small external light; whereas the western staircase is pierced with two diminutive ones. The lower parvise has two four-centred single-light windows on the northern face looking towards the manor-house, each contained under a square hood moulding with terminations. Each pair consists of a man's head and a woman's head: they suggest Henry VII and his Queen, and Edward IV and his Queen: the former the brother-in-law of the first husband of the Marchioness of Dorset, and the latter her and his stepfather and own mother. This parvise has also a quatrefoil opening into the aisle on its south side. The upper parvise has a double-light square-headed window with hood moulding and terminations, angels carrying shields, looking westward, and a single-light, square-headed oblong window without hood moulding looking eastward. The occupant of this upper parvise could thus command the approach from the parish. All these four windows are without tracery. The two buttresses of the porch are placed diagonally, and consist of three stages, including the plinth, and terminate some distance below the parapet. On their lower set-offs are the remains of large animals. The entrance to the porch is through a somewhat richly moulded arch with hood moulding terminated with large modern figures of angels bearing shields. Over the centre of the entrance is a richly canopied niche intercepting a string-course and rising between the two windows. In the middle of the vaulting of the canopy is a large Stafford knot between two Bonville mullets, the same three devices being repeated at its base, while on each side of the niche are three other Stafford knots. The niche is flanked by spiral shafts, the left supports on the top a female figure with flowing hair, and the right hand one a standing angel; each is supported at the bottom by an angel holding a shield. These shields are said to bear the merchant's mark and initial of Thomas Goodwyn, of Plymtree, who held that manor of the Hastings family at this time. The female figure carries in her hands what looks like a pair of organs, borne exactly in the way in which St Cecilia is depicted as holding them in Raphael's celebrated drawing, engraved by Marc Antonio. The attendant angel would be that described in Chaucer's "Seconde Nonnes tale," 153. "I have an angel which that loveth me, That with greet love wher-so I wake or slepe, Is redy ay my body for to kepe." If St Cicely is thus figured in compliment to Cicely, Lady of Knyghtstone, by some of her tenantry who joined in erecting this porch; they, too, may well have had Chaucer's lines in mind, and applied them to their lady:—



North Porch, p. 28



East side of North Porch, p. 28

*Shewing the segmental pointed quindow that gave light to the reredos
at eastern end of Dorset aisle, p. 32*

"Cecile may eek be seyde in this manere,
 'Wanting of blindnesse,' for hir grete light
 Of sapience, and for hir thewes clere;
 Or elles, lo! this maydens name bright
 Of 'hevene' and 'leos' comth, for which by right
 Men mighte hir wel 'the heven of peple' calle,
 Ensample of gode and wyse werkes alle,
 For 'leos' 'peple' in English is to seye,
 And right as men may in the hevene see
 The sonne and mone and sterres every weye,
 Right so men gostly, in this mayden free,
 Seyen of feith the magnanimitee,
 And eek the cleernesse hool of sapience,
 And sondry werkes, brighte of excellence;
 And right so as thise philosophres wryte
 Thet heven is swift and round and eek brenninge
 Right so was fayre Cecillie the whyte
 Ful swift and bisy ever in good werkinge,
 And round and hool in good perseveringe
 And brenning ever in charitee ful brighte;
 Now have I yow declared what she highte."

The niche is filled with an heraldic achievement; the arms are now indecipherable, except that the Harington fret can be distinguished in one quarter of the sinister half: they were probably the arms described p. 26, note, as those of Henry Stafford, Earl of Wiltshire, K.G. (who died 1523), impaling those of his wife Cicely, the Dowager Marchioness of Dorset, whose son's arms are described p. 25, note. The minute sculpture of the many quarterings would readily have weathered away. They are set within a garter, and the supporters are much worn, but are probably, the dexter one, the white heraldic antelope of the Staffords and the sinister the unicorn armed, or else the man-tiger of the Marquis of Dorset. The Hastings supporters were two heraldic tigers or lions with drooping tails. Above the shield is a helmet with rich mantlings. It carries the Stafford crest, a winged swan issuing from a coronet. Immediately above the heraldic achievement is another canopied niche of a different character evidently intended for a figure, possibly St Thomas, Lord Dorset's patron name-saint.

In its entirety this aisle is a grand sample of heraldic decoration. Studding the moulding or cornice, below the parapet on its external walls are the badges of various members of the family: "the four knots," i.e., the Harington fret, the Stafford knot, the Bouchier knot and the Wake knot (the two last as representing the Lady Dorset's two daughters) with roses and bulls' heads for Clarence Hastings and Walrond are often repeated. At the end next the tower is a large figure of a lion, and next to it a pair of crossed leaves (possibly the holly leaves of the Shermans in this parish) as if imitating in outline the shape of the Stafford knot, and next to them two twigs in saltire as if similarly imitating the Harington fret or the glazing irons in saltire of Kellaway. On the moulding below the parapet, between the porch and the west end of the aisle, midway between the buttresses, is a large ape (the crest of Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare, the Lady Dorset's son-in-law) climbing and looking round as he mounts upward. On the moulding on the eastern side of the porch itself is a large bird, and on that on its western side a shield, which is

said to contain another merchant's mark of the district, two trumpets in saltire above a Stafford knot, in chief a Latin cross between two annulets. Neither the battlements of this north porch nor the moulding beneath its parapet are on the same level with those of the aisle itself. But whereas the parapet of the south porch is lower than that of its adjoining aisle, that of the north porch is higher. These differences add variety to the outline of the building on either side.

Completing the circuit of the exterior of the church towards the east, we notice that on the eastern windows of the north vestry may still be seen the fragments of the ten or eleven iron bars that were inserted here in each of them to afford additional security for the chequer above. These bars were so close together that they must have tended to render the chamber within quite dusk. The window on the north side of this vestry is entirely new (1851). The octagonal turret on the north side of the Lady Chapel that carries the staircase to the minstrel gallery is terminated with a pyramidal stone cap, crocketed towards its extremity in a precisely similar manner as the turret that carries the staircase to the minstrel gallery in the nave at Exeter. There is also a low plinth to this turret, and it is pierced with two small lights. It is set in the angle between the Lady Chapel and the small chapel at the eastern end of the north choir aisle in such a way that it only just avoids obstructing the contiguous windows in these two chapels. Beneath the parapet on the north side of the choir roof on the head of the lead pipes is to be noticed the date 1742, with the initials T. S. and S. H.

Returning now to the great north porch (or "dead door" as it is called by the people of Ottery, since all parish funerals used to enter here) we find that it has a fan traceried vault, the central boss of which is sculptured with a human head amid foliage from which issue two swans' heads, and over it is a Stafford knot. There is a corbel for a figure both on the eastern and western walls, the former carries the initials I. H.; but these corbels and the central boss have all been re-cut at the restoration. Over the door of the church are inserted some remains of sculpture, possibly retained from that over the older north entrance to the nave before the erection of the Dorset aisle. The subject appears to represent a bishop seated and a figure with staff standing opposite to him. A stone seat runs on either side of the porch.

§ 5. CIRCUIT OF THE INTERIOR OF THE CHURCH.

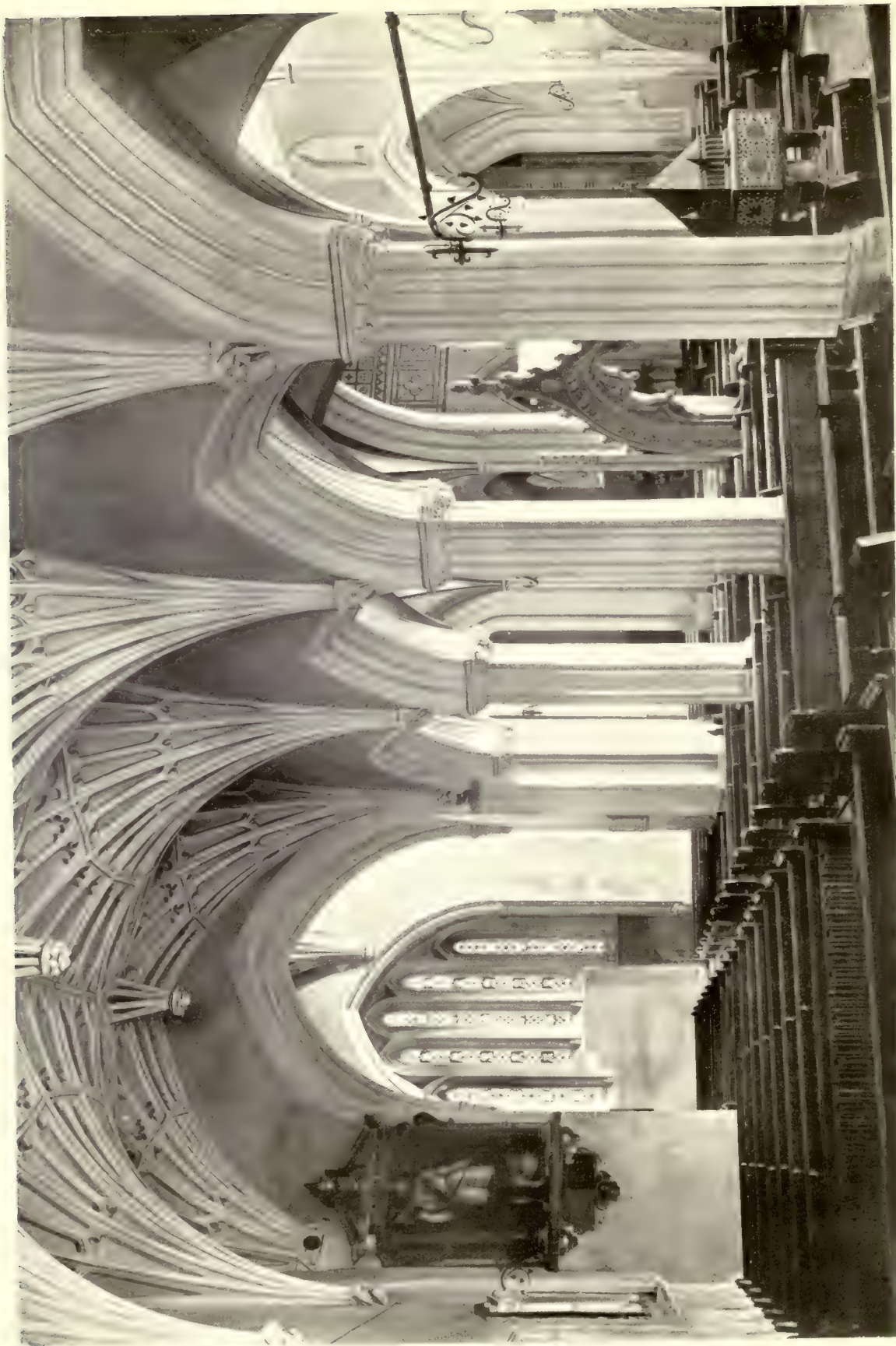
In the interior of the Dorset aisle into which the north porch opens, the four piers with their eastern and western responds (that now take the place of Bishop Grandisson's exterior wall of the north nave aisle) stand each opposite to those on the north side of his nave. The mouldings of these four piers, being just about 200 years later than Bishop Grandisson's, are naturally of a different character from those in the nave; so, too, are the arches they carry. Four of their capitals are surrounded with running foliage of a pronounced west country type, and the others with scrolls and roses instead of foliage. The corbels on the southern face of these capitals now serve to support the vaulting of Bishop Grandisson's north nave aisle in lieu of semi-shafts that must once have performed that function here as now they do in the south aisle; they consist of various heads of figures: the westernmost one is the owl (Bishop Oldham's rebus), another is an elephant's head. The easternmost



Photo. Valentine

FROM THE NORTH EAST

Eastern side of North Tower, Vestry, Choir-clerestory and Aisle, Staircase Turret, and Eastern end of the Lady Chapel



Dorset Aisle looking East and across the North Transept

The arch opening into the latter is modern on this side

one of all is a winged bird, probably the Bohun swan. Edward Stafford, third Duke of Buckingham, in 1515 (brother of the second husband of the Lady Cicely), had "his purple satin attire appparelled full of antelopes and swans of Bohun of fine gold." The stone fan-traceried vaulting of this aisle is very rich; the five pendentives are considerably elongated and of open work; each carries at its extremity a Tudor rose. The fans of the vaulting spring from corbels, and on the face of each of the eleven is a winged angel; five of them hold shields, and of the others one holds a scroll and the rest are in the act of devotion. The six corbels on the south side of the aisle are placed each in the spandril above a pier or respond.

The shields were originally all emblazoned: that in the south-east corner still bears Bishop Veysey's arms: that in the north-east corner is supported by two angels and carries the Courtenay arms within a garter. The arms of the contemporary Bishop of the diocese and of the Earl of the county are thus set over against each other at the eastern end of the aisle. The latter arms are either those of Edward Courtenay, seventh earl of Devon, who was made K.G. 1489¹, and died 1509, and who thus held his stall at St George's at the same time as did Thomas, first Marquis of Dorset; or else they are the arms of his grandson, Henry Courtenay, ninth Earl of Devon (son of William Courtenay, who married Katharine, seventh daughter of King Edward IV, half sister of the Marquis of Dorset, and died 9 June, 1511, and is buried at St Paul's). He was elected K.G. 24 April, 1521², on the degradation of the Earl of Wiltshire's elder brother, an unhappy reminiscence, and created Marquis of Exeter 18 June, 1525, and proclaimed by Henry VIII in 1532 heir-apparent to the throne, but beheaded 1539. (On the pillars of Powderham Church are also shields impaling Courtenay and Bonville.) Sir William Courtenay of Powderham, who died 1485, eldest son of Sir Philip, fifth son of the second Earl (p. 52, note) married Margaret Bonville, daughter of William, first Lord Bonville (killed 1460) and great-aunt of Cicely, Marchioness of Dorset. The families were also further related in that William, first Lord Bonville, had taken as his second wife Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Courtenay, third Earl of Devon; he had also a daughter Philippa, who married William Grenville, second son of Sir Theobald Grenville, and of Margaret, daughter of Sir Hugh Courtenay, and so was grandson of Hugh second Earl and Margaret Bohun. The arch now opening from this aisle into the north transept is not in the centre of the aisle, but is exactly opposite the altar recess in the eastern wall of this transept, and like it is pointed, and quite different from the five arches on the south side of this aisle. There are no mouldings on its western face, which is simply chamfered; the mouldings on its eastern are Bishop Grandisson's, as the eastern face of this arch is that of the original arch of the recess that he here constructed in the north transept, answering to the similar recess in the western side of the south transept. The shafts that formed the jambs on either side of that latter arch are still there *in situ*, and the northern one there still terminates in a human head for corbel; the head on the southern corbel has been destroyed.

¹ His badge (a bundle of sticks bound together as a fagot, or) is sculptured on the westernmost of the three smaller bosses in the third bay from the east end, on the south side of the choir at St George's, Windsor.

² His arms quarterly, 1. France and England, within a bordure; 2. and 3. Courtenay; 4. Redvers, or a lion rampant gules are blazoned in the vaulting over the organ-gallery at St George's.

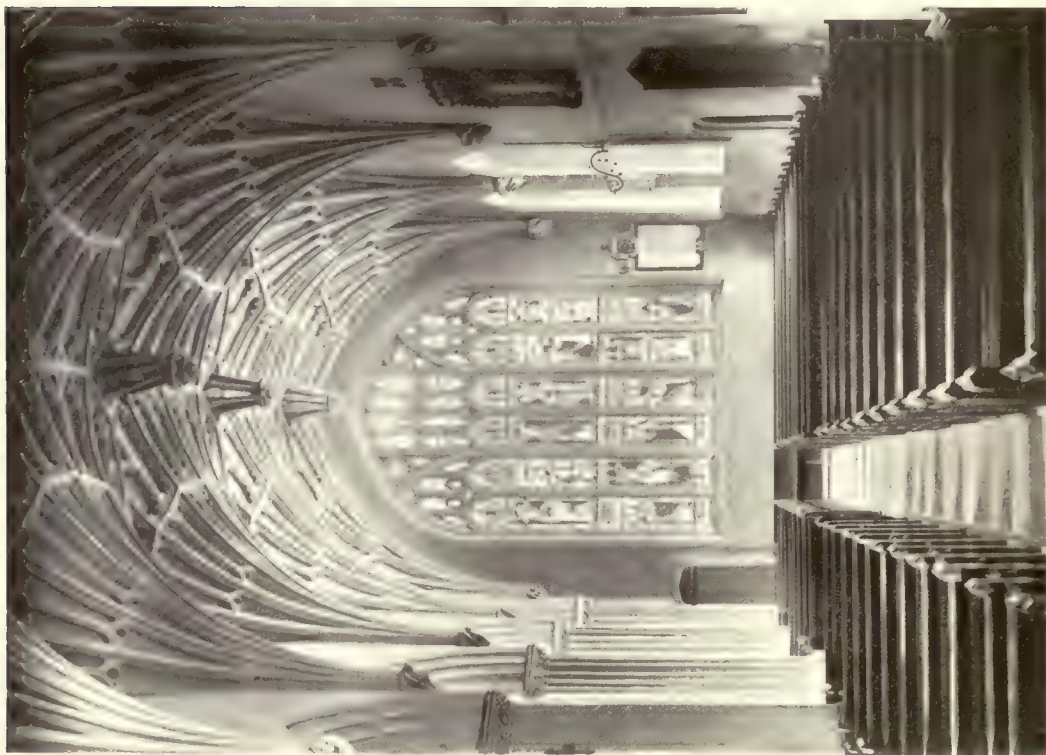
The width of the arch is twelve feet five inches (the exact width of the corresponding recess on the western side of the south tower), and its depth three feet ten inches. It presents every appearance of having been opened up since the Reformation. Originally the altar would have stood in the centre of the east end of this aisle; with a somewhat lofty and ornate reredos behind it in all probability, such as would be particularly characteristic of this period, and serve to give dignity to the eastern end of the aisle. At its back there would be a ledge seven or eight feet above the floor, and one or more feet broad. The figure of John Coke stands now just where any one when issuing from the door out of the tower staircase behind, would have approached to trim the lights and set the ornaments above St Edward's altar. Doubtless such reredos would have been destroyed in 1559 when the high altar screen was "hewen down." The curious small window to the north, p. 28, would have well lighted this erection, and there are many examples of similar windows in like position for such a purpose. The monument of John Coke of Thorne, Esquire, in the north-east corner of this aisle¹, where the thickened wall was cut away, forming an obtuse angle with the north wall, would appear to block the door which led on to the top of the reredos out of the belfry staircase in the north-west corner of the transept. The corbel, too, that carries the vaulting in the north-east angle of the aisle is at a higher point than any of the other eleven, so as not to interfere with the entrance to such loft. The stone steps, moreover, of this staircase from the north transept upwards to this level are very much worn away by the constant tread of those who used them for this purpose: whereas the stone steps of the upper portion of the staircase from this level upwards into the tower above are comparatively unworn. The thicker portion of this wall at its base contains the masonry of the original western wall of the north transept before the aisle was added. The upper portion of the wall is naturally not so thick, and only a few inches in thickness can have been left in that part of it where the western recess had been made. For the architect was constrained to carry the fan-vaulting of the roof as far eastwards as possible, in order to get in the requisite number of compartments. The limits within which he had to work were circumscribed for him, both as regards the length and breadth of the area he had thus to cover, by the western wall of Bishop Grandisson's church at one end and by the north-western buttress of the transept at one side. He could not go outside the parallelogram thus given. But it was chiefly because the width of Bishop Grandisson's bays set the width for the five oblong compartments (each a double square) required by the fan tracery which he had to get into this space, that he was compelled to carry the vaulting as far eastwards as possible. Hence he was forced to cut back into the upper portion of the transept wall as far as necessary, though he left the lower more intact².

¹ "The sone of Christopher Coke and of Joan, the daughter of Richard Copleston, Esq. He married Margaret, the daughter of Richard Sherman, Gent., and had issue Richard, John, William, Jane and Joan. He was of the age of forty-two yeares and seven moneths, and died the 28th day of March, 1632." He is represented life-size in armour, standing beneath a classic canopy; and his arms are emblazoned on several shields, and there are also Latin verses to his honour. This was newly beautified by his grandson, John Messer, Gent., 30 July, 1726.

² "The fan vault is planned in five oblong bays with intersecting conoids of polygonal form. The work is rough but the design is excellent, and the influence of the Sherborne vaults is strong, though the construction is not in separate ribs and panels. The large pendant bosses of simple open tracery work finished off with Tudor roses are a striking feature." F. E. Howard on "Fan-Vaults," *Archaeological Journal*, vol. LXVIII, 1911, pp. 16 and 25, illustrated.



Fifteenth century bench end



Dorset Aisle looking West

*On the left is door to staircase at end of Nave, p. 35;
on the right side is door from north porch and
door to staircase to upper parvise*



Fifteenth century bench end, p. 33

No mention appears to occur in the Registers of either Bishop Oldham or Bishop Veysey of the consecration of this aisle. There is also no sign whatever of its being intended for a chantry chapel. It was built and fitted apparently entirely for the better accommodation of the parishioners, as is further evidenced by the magnificent and richly carved seats of the same period as the aisle. Twenty-five original bench ends and three backs or fronts of these seats still exist in the aisle. Others were carried off and worked up as panelling of the present choir seats, when the church was restored. The north tower was the property of the parishioners, and the north transept, and thus the intention would seem to have been, by the addition of this aisle, to make an almost complete parish church on this north side of the collegiate church. (It is worth noticing that Knightstone appears to have been renovated at the same period. For the woodwork in the interior of the large porch there of the same date carries the same design as is found on some of the bench ends here, a pot of flowering lilies.) The stained glass in the western window, and in the three on the north side of this aisle would have been just contemporary with that in King's College Chapel at Cambridge (which was put in between 1515 and 1531), and possibly resembled it in character. The stone work of the roof, the altar screen and pillars would have been coloured and gilded. The floor of the two easternmost bays of this aisle appears to have been at a slightly higher level than that in the remaining bays; if dependence may be placed on the dark line set on the south side of the opening into the transept it was one foot higher. The base of the respond at the east end of the aisle is half a foot higher than the bases of the other pillars; and the easternmost of the two doors for affording access to the parvises over the porch is set a foot higher at least than the western. This is what we should expect if the parish altar, in honour of the saint to whom the church was originally dedicated, and its presbytery had been in front of the eastern wall of the aisle. Each door had a plate or inscription fixed on the wall above it. The interior of the lower parvise approached by the easternmost door was about 10 feet square, and 7 feet high; on its eastern side is an arched recess, and a similar one on its western side. The oak beams that carried the floor of the upper parvise and a portion of that heavy oak floor itself are still *in situ*; that chamber was much loftier than the lower one, and retains its original wooden door; the window looking eastward is set in a wide recess with stone arch over. The wooden doors alike of the north porch and of these two staircases appear to be original. The two holes in the longitudinal ridge of the stone vaulting are still visible, from which were suspended the two central lights in the two easternmost bays, in line with the piers: there are no holes in this ridge in the other bays. But in the lower panels of the fan tracery throughout this aisle there are twelve small apertures so arranged that the lights suspended from them should be over against each other in pairs, just west of the main transverse rib of each pair of fans. Those in the half fans at each end of the aisle are also opposite each other, but of necessity in a slightly different line to the others.

The Marchioness of Dorset did indeed make similar additions to other churches, where she possessed estates in the west country, but none of them are so fine as this, although her possessions at Ottery were not nearly so extensive as in some other places. She was perhaps stimulated to greater exertions here by the remembrance that she had Grandisson blood in her veins, and that if any addition at all was made to what was then undoubtedly the most beautiful collegiate church in the west, resplendent with its wall-paintings, images,

carvings and coloured decorations, it must not be unworthy of her great ancestor. When the parishioners were thus accommodated for their services in this aisle, then the nave, up to that time thus utilised, would have been set more free for processional purposes (a great consideration at this church); and all possibility of the eyes of those who were engaged at the college offices in the choir straying, as Bishop Grandisson dreaded (Statute xxvj), to catch sight through the door of the great rood screen of what was going on at the parish altar, would be completely obviated. In the two parvises over the great north porch the two clerks on guard night and day would have had more convenient watching places against the "*fures et latrones*" than in the transepts, for, as has been noticed, the windows in these two chambers are carefully constructed so as to dominate all approach from the exterior outside the college, and one from the lower parvise commands also in the interior of the church the two college entrances from the south porch and the western end of the church.

THE NAVE.

We pass next from this sixteenth-century Dorset aisle into the fourteenth-century nave. As we before observed, the nave, the clerestory of the choir, the arches on which it rests, the vestries, and the eastern Lady Chapel represent the main outlines of the church erected by Bishop Grandisson. It is at once manifest that the arches in the nave and those in the choir differ somewhat. In the choir the hood moulding of the clerestory is continued down to the main arches, and on its face is set the vaulting shaft. In the nave the vaulting shaft descends flush with the wall from clerestory to floor, and the hood moulding dies into the capital of the vaulting shaft. Over each of the ten arches in the choir is a niche. The niches in the choir have an ogee crocketed canopy, with finials, that projects forward from the wall; the canopy contains a cinque-foiled arch, and the supports of the canopy are terminated in richly crocketed pinnacles. The pedestal for the image rests on the apex of each main arch. The surface of the wall on either side of the canopies in the choir is sunk at least two inches, and the space thus formed on either side the main arch was filled with plaister for fresco painting. These were the "*picturæ*" and the "*ymagines*" which were to be dusted so carefully three times a year with bunches of feathers on long poles (Statute xlvij). In the nave the mouldings of the soffits of the arches are different from those in the choir; the niches over the ten arches in the nave have also ogee-shaped, crocketed canopies, but without side supports, and each contains only a trefoiled arch that is flush with the wall and does not project forward. The three lights, moreover, of each of the ten windows in the choir clerestory are all cinque-foiled, whereas in the nave clerestory the centre light of each window only is cinque-foiled, the side lights are simply trefoiled. These windows in the nave clerestory are unrestored; with the exception of the mullions in the two windows westward of the transepts, one on either side, they are original. As, however, we are told¹ that "the

¹ "The fabric of the church was in tolerable repair, and except the chancel clerestory there were only three or four windows the tracery of which had been seriously mutilated." "Above the arches, the whole way down the church and between them and the clerestory windows, were a series of niches supplying the place, and producing, to some extent, the effect of a regular triforium. Those in the nave were opened some years before, and somewhat rudely restored. Those in the chancel were laid bare in the course of the late restoration (1851). They had been utterly mutilated, and all the projecting portions of them pared away flat. It was difficult to collect from any of them materials for an authentic restoration, and the niches



Phot. Valentine

Nave from centre of the Transept looking West
For comparison with the arches in the choir see Plate XIII, p. 47

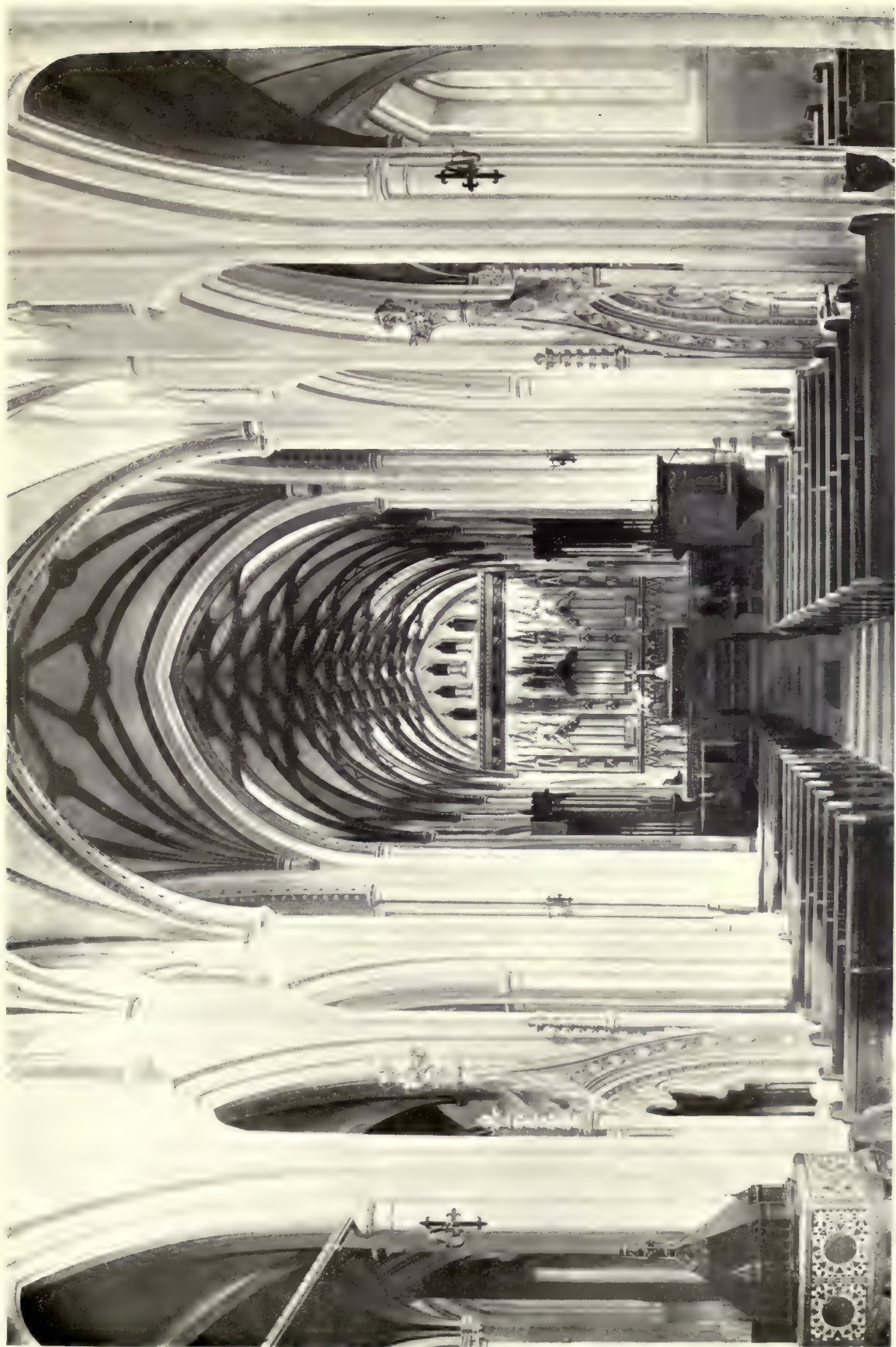
clerestory windows in the chancel had been systematically destroyed, and that there was not a single one remaining perfect in 1849," and that all those now there are Mr Butterfield's design, and also that nothing remained of the niches over the arches in the choir beyond the bare space in the wall with pedestal for statue, it is not certain how far the differences here dwelt upon between the windows and niches in the choir and those in the nave represent precisely Bishop Grandisson's intentions¹. His windows in the nave aisle are an imitation of Bronescombe's windows in the choir aisles, just as Stapeldon's windows in St Andrew's Chapel with detached shafts are an imitation of Bronescombe's work at Exeter. (Arch-deacon Freeman, *Exeter Cathedral*, pp. 39, 40.)

At the western end of the nave, under the window, there is an open passage approached by two square-headed doorways from the north and south sides. Access to this is obtained from a staircase in the western wall, the entrance to which is to the north of the north nave aisle, and now in the interior of the Dorset aisle, and so would appear originally to have been on the exterior of Bishop Grandisson's nave, though there may possibly have been an approach to it out of the westernmost bay on this side as into a turret, and in fact the stone work round this doorway has every appearance of having been cut down to adapt it for its present position: on the exterior also there are apparently signs in the masonry of this re-adaptation. Probably a stone gallery, pierced in the same way as the eastern side of the minstrel gallery in the Lady Chapel, once ran across to protect the front of this open passage, as it was the only way by which the warden and the canon who was sacrist could go up every month (Statute lxij) on to the roof. It would have been similar to the perforated stone galleries carried on corbels in the transepts at Exeter, and to the balustrade pierced with quatrefoils above the triforium that protects the passage across in front of each of the clerestory windows there, where also it is carried across the bottom of the west window in the nave for symmetry's sake, though no passage runs: and just as the rood loft for the choir, and the minstrel gallery for the Lady Chapel, so, too, in its turn, such a gallery here would also have been useful for musical purposes in connexion with the

which are now in place of the ancient ones, though beautiful and characteristic, must be admitted to partake largely of the conjectural element in their composition. The outline on the wall was all that remained, and this has been followed. The old ones were many of them full of sculptured fragments, some of great beauty and boldness, and most of them bearing the traces of bright and elaborate colouring. In each of them there was a pedestal on which in former times must have been a statue. A fragment of one of these, and only of one, could be found, and has been preserved. It is a winged wheel, with the feet of an angel figure standing on the wheel; wrought and coloured with great refinement of feeling, and showing us what we have lost in such a series of figures as have been destroyed." "In the niches the fragments were of all sorts and sizes, and the mouldings and carvings of very various characters, more various than could have been used in the niches themselves alone; and the probability is, that the reredos and the niches were destroyed, their projections broken off, and their surfaces made flat and plastered over at the same time, and that the fragments of each were indiscriminately laid in the many hollows that were to be filled up." *Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society*, vol. iv, pp. 202, 3. It seems a great pity that more of these fragments were not preserved.

¹ In Buck's view of Ottery Priory 1734 they are intact and the cusplings of the lights in the nave clerestory are just as they are now, and so too are those in the choir clerestory. Only the south-east window of the Lady Chapel is represented as a three-light perpendicular window with tracery in the upper part. The lead-work on the nave and choir roofs is shewn as of the same level as that on the transept roof: they have apparently both been lowered since then (if Buck's view is accurate), possibly in 1742 the date on the lead pipe on north side of Lady Chapel.

services performed for the parishioners in the nave, in the same way as Bishop Grandisson's far-famed minstrel gallery was used in the nave of Exeter Cathedral. The whole of the western wall of the nave was covered in 1902 by a replica in Beer-stone of the two tiers of arcade work at the back or eastern side of the altar screen, p. 68: and the carving below, and about the western doors is reproduced from the arches under the minstrel gallery in the Lady Chapel. Each nave aisle, eight feet and a quarter broad from outer wall to centre of shaft of nave arch, but only four feet ten inches broad in its narrowest part, where it opens into the transept with its peculiar, almost triangular-headed arch, was terminated westwards by a pointed doorway for exit and entrance of processions. The interior head of each doorway is a depressed four-centred arch, and over that in the south aisle is a deeply splayed quatrefoil window set in a square. In the north aisle the aperture opening into the aisle is arched, and the passage for the ascending staircase in the wall, there passes between this opening and the quatrefoil window in the exterior wall. The effect of these windows as seen at the end of each narrow aisle is most pleasing, inasmuch as they give greater variety of line than would be produced by an ordinary pointed window. In that over the north door has been placed a drawing of St Michael and in that over the south door one of St Gabriel, both by Pugin. The tops of the arches both in the nave and in the choir are in one line and level; so, too, are the clerestory windows throughout the whole length of the church. The stone vaulting also runs throughout the nave and choir and transepts at one level, that in the crossing is slightly higher. From the nave into the transepts, both from the centre and from the side aisles, there was originally an ascent of three or five steps, as the level of the pavement all across the transepts was two and a half feet higher than that in the nave and reached into the first bay westward. (See ground plan of church.) These steps came forward out of the transepts into the nave, and took up nearly one half of the ground space in the easternmost bay of the nave. Each bay is eight feet broad. On the summit of these steps stood originally the "cancelli" that bounded the Archdeacon of Exeter's jurisdiction in the church (Ordinacio xvij). The parish altar (Ordinacio xiv) stood probably on the top of the steps in the centre of the nave arch (which is seventeen and a half feet broad at its narrowest point); and the two old wooden screens (each now seven feet nine inches broad without the uprights into which they are fitted), which we are told were "brought from the back of one of the nave galleries in 1849, where they had formed one side of a sort of pew," would, when set end to end, reach across the narrowest part of the nave arch, and their open doors would have given access on either side of the parish altar from the nave upwards into the transepts. The design of these cancelli is heavy and bold, an imitation in wood of a stone arcade, not unusual at that date in the first half of the fourteenth century, when the capability of woodwork was not so well known as later. These old screens, set in new frames and supplemented by two new ones of similar design, are now employed to shut off the present chancel from the choir aisles. But they do not seem designed for that position, and they do not fit the narrowest part of the choir bay in which they are set. They look as if they had been cut down to fit a place for which they are too long. "The iron work on the doors of the choir," valued in the inventory of 1545, would seem to indicate that something more substantial than these once occupied their place, and closed the choir and altar from all possibility of molestation out of service hours (Statute xxxviii). It would be more in character with



Nave looking East across the Transept into the Choir

The bases of the columns on either side of the Transept show the former level of the floor on which the Parish altar originally stood in the first bay of the Nave

the substantial construction of the church if the two westernmost bays of the choir on either side had been closed by masonry, in front of which rose the wooden backs or canopies for the stalls, or against which the "curtains" of tapestry for the choir were hung. "The stalls in the choir," even as old rubbish, were valued in 1545, at what would be now equivalent to £100 in modern money; and therefore were almost certainly backed by carved oak or stone canopies.

The second bay westward from the parish altar in the nave is occupied by the monuments of Sir Otho de Grandisson and his wife Beatrix, daughter of Sir Nicholas de Malmaynes, of Ockley in Surrey, the knight on the north and the lady on the south side of the church. It would appear that, here, the south side of the church was reserved for the women's use, and the north for the men¹, and that the south aisle was St Mary's aisle (from her statue in the place of honour on the right hand outside the west door to our Lady's altar on the south side of the rood screen), and the north St Edward's. Similarly at Windsor, in the present chapel, the north aisle appears to have been especially St Edward's, for the Confessor's arms are repeated twice in the bosses of the vaulting of both the north choir aisle and the north nave aisle, but do not occur at all on those of either of the south aisles. At the eastern end of that aisle repose the bodies of Edward IV and his Queen, the father- and mother-in-law of the Marchioness of Dorset, and in the same aisle reposes the headless body of her step-father, Lord Hastings; so here, too, when she added the broader north aisle at Ottery, that, henceforth, would seem to have been called St Edward's aisle. In the inventory of 1545, we find "a table of Alleblaster in Saincte Edwards Ille praysed at iij s. iiij d." This would probably be more than half as large again as "the table of Alloblaster praysed at ij s." in our Lady's Chapel. The size of the latter we know was six and a half feet long, and three feet four inches high, and there is no other position in the church that would carry a table more than half as large again so well as the Dorset aisle, which is nineteen feet eight inches broad. In the inventory this table is enumerated after the contents of the south vestry, so the only other alternative would appear to be to consider the south choir aisle as St Edward's aisle, with the Confessor's altar in the little chapel at its eastern end; and then the "Alloblaster" slab would have been set behind the sedilia in this choir aisle, similarly to the magnificent arrangement behind the sedilia at Crediton, and to the memorial of Leofric and St Edward behind the sedilia at Exeter, and that again of the latter behind the sedilia at Westminster. (Freeman, *History of Exeter Cathedral*, p. 57.) But this is not nearly so satisfactory for very many reasons, as the supposition that the Dorset aisle was St Edward's aisle.

Sir Otho was younger brother of the Bishop, though he died ten years before him, on 21 May (the will being proved 3 June), 1359. Bishop Grandisson, therefore, with the Lady

¹ The sides set apart for men and women varied locally. In the first prayer book of Edward VI the rubric simply enjoins "the men on one side and the women on the other." A not unusual arrangement was for the men to take the left side when the Jesus altar stood on the north side of the rood screen, and the women the right when the Mary altar occupied that side: and so it would appear to have been at Ottery. When parishioners attended service in the Lady Chapel a similar arrangement would appear to have prevailed there, if we may judge from what is stated in the note on p. 67 regarding the side chapels there, and the corbels on the south side of the choir aisle consisting entirely of female heads. "An inscription of the fourth century in the portico of the Vatican Basilica, describing the position of a grave near the second column, 'quomodo intramus sinistrâ parte virorum,' shows that the women used to enter that church through the door on the right hand." Oliver, *Bishops of Exeter*, p. 226.

Beatrix, who survived her husband, and was his residuary legatee, planned and saw to the erection of this monument. His will is dated at Chelsfield (between Chislehurst and Sevenoaks, in Kent), which had originally belonged to his uncle Sir Otho, "die lune proxima ante festum Natiuitatis beate Marie anno domini millesimo ccc^{mo}lviii^o," and is in the Islepe Register at Lambeth, fo. 148^a. "In primis lego Deo animam meam, et corpus meum terre ad sepeliendum in ecclesia collegiata Sancte Marie de Otery, Exonⁱ diocesis, si me ibidem mori contingat, et si me contingat mori apud Chellesfeld tunc lego corpus meum ad sepeliendum in capella sancti Johannis de Chellesfeld. Rogans et supplicans omnes amicos et executores meos in dilectione caritatis quod non permittant aliquem hominem armatum [Rock, *Church of our Fathers*, 1903, II, 407] nec equum pergere ante corpus meum die sepulture mee; nec corpus meum cooperiri de aliquo panno depictato seu deaurato uel de armis meis consignato, set tantummodo de panno albo rubea cruce signato (St George's arms); uolens et concedens quod uniuersa debita mea pre ceteris legatis persoluantur. Et insuper, si compertum fuerit quod aliena bona iniuste cepi et habui, quod executores mei de omnibus rebus sic habitis pre ceteris legatis meis facient plenarie restitutionem." To a priest to celebrate divine service at Chelsfield for three years after his death he left £15; many bequests to the poor, and for wax lights in several churches.

The whole will is very interesting. There are various legacies to members of his family: "omnia arma mea Thome filio meo." The Lady Beatrix, his wife, Sir Theobald de Mounteney, Hamon atte Gate, and Geoffrey Waldron are his executors, to whom he committed "administracionem omnium bonorum meorum, plenamque potestatem omnia premissa exequendi, presens testamentum meum complendi, et pro anima mea faciendi prout melius uiderint expedire. Ego Otto de Grandissono suprascriptus omnibus amicis meis humiliter et deuote supplico ac executoribus meis firmiter iniungo ut aliud testamentum meum quod de terris et tenementis meis in Londiniis feci et pre temporibus istis sigillo meo signaui, quam cicius post decessum meum poterint apud Guildaulam Londiniarum probari et irrotulari secundum usum ciuitatis predictae faciant debito modo; que quidem terras et tenementa mea predicta Custodi et canonicis ecclesie collegiate sancte Marie de Otery in eodem testamento meo legaui in puram elemosinam imperpetuum, sub condicionibus in testamento predicto manifestis; quod quidem testamentum pro ultima uoluntate mea ratum et stabile confirmo, et quod quidem testamentum est in custodia domini Theobaldi de Mounteney." A copy of the will thus referred to is now conserved in Court of Husting, Roll 87 (86) Guildhall, where the entry runs thus:

"Placita terre tenta die lune proxima post festum translacionis sancti Edwardi regis et Confessoris anno regni regis Edwardi tercii tricesimo tercio [1359]. Testamentum Ottonis de Grandissono. Dictis die et anno venit Galfridus Waleyn [? Waldron] unus executorum testamenti Ottonis de Grandissono militis et probari fecit testamentum ipsius Ottonis quo ad laicum feodum per Nicholaum de Braybrok et Galfridum filium Roberti de Chel[s]hethe iuratores qui dixerunt quod presentes fuerunt ubi dictus Otto suum fecit testamentum in hec verba.—In Dei nomine, Amen. Ego Otto de Grandissono miles bone memorie ac corporis mei incolumis existens facio et ordino testamentum meum in hunc modum qui sequitur. In primis lego animam meam Deo omnipotenti Creatori meo et beate Marie ac omnibus sanctis, et corpus meum ad sepeliendum in ecclesia Collegiata sancte Marie de Otery, Exonⁱ. diō si competenter illuc adduci poterit. Item do et lego Deo ac ecclesie sancte

Marie de Otery predicte ac custodi et canonicis ecclesie eiusdem ac eorum successoribus in perpetuam elemosinam omnia terras tenementa mea et redditus cum pertinentiis suis quibuscumque que habeo in parochiis sancti Dunstani versus Turrin et sancte Margarete Patyns in Londoniis ad inveniendum inde duos Capellanos ydoneos in eadem ecclesia sancte Marie de Otery pro anima mea et animabus omnium quibus merito teneor et omnium fidelium defunctorum perpetuo celebraturos. Habenda et tenenda omnia predicta terras redditus et tenementa cum omnibus suis pertinentiis prefatis custodi et canonicis et eorum successoribus imperpetuum in forma predicta. Huius autem testamenti mei facio et ordino executores meos videlicet Beatricem uxorem meam, Theobaldum de Mounteny consanguineum meum, Dominum Johannem de Rokesle clericum et Galfridum Waleyn [?Waleweyn]. In cuius rei testimonium huic testamento ultime voluntatis mee sigillum apposui; Thoma Leggy tunc maiore Londoniarum Ricardo Smelt et Willelmo de Tudenham [cp. pp. 44, 46, note] tunc vice-comitibus eiusdem civitatis. Hiis testibus Johanne Lovekyn Petro Sterre Willelmo Doget Roberto Furneux Thoma de Santone clerico et aliis. Datum Londoniis primo die Marci, anno domini millesimo ccc^{mo} quinquagesimo quarto et regni regis Edwardi tercii post conquestum Anglie vicesimo nono regni vero sui Francie sexto decimo [1355].”

The charter for the purchase of a portion of this property by Sir Otho the year before, contiguous to other property already possessed by him, the exact boundaries of which are therein clearly defined, is also among the Guildhall Records. He bore on the bend gules of the Grandisson arms, in lieu of the three eaglets, three buckles, the same symbol of the bond of friendly fellowship and firmness as had been adopted by Edward III for the badge of the order of St George or the Garter.

To have placed these two monuments in the first bay of the nave would have been to crowd the space on the steps up to the transepts from the nave aisles too much. They were set, therefore, in the second bay, as near as could conveniently be arranged to the parish altar. Both effigies are of stone and repose beneath very handsome and elaborate ogee-headed canopies with cusps and foliage. They have been figured in *Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society*, 1866, 2nd Series, vol. II, p. 44, Plate X.

Sir Otho's figure is beautifully proportioned, and both the workmanship and the design are instinct with the very highest art. The slab upon which the effigy reposes is six feet eight inches long and two feet two inches broad. He is in full armour; his head rests upon his tilting helm, the closed vizor of which appears behind his right shoulder. There is a large crest on the helmet, two ram's or bull's horns rising one foot five inches above the place where they are attached to the tilting helm, and curving forward, each horn has three rings three inches in diameter affixed behind on the inside of the curve. The horns were coloured red, and the edges of the rings green, with a dot in their centre; if loose and of metal work such rings would sound at every movement of the head, and with the horns may have been assumed in allusion to his surname "Grandson." "Omnia cornua peccatorum confringam: et exaltabuntur cornua iusti" (Ps. lxxiv. 11)¹. He wears a pointed bascinet. All the

¹ Such horned appendages to the helm were not uncommon in the fourteenth century, and one somewhat similar is figured on Sir John Sully's Garter-plate (1361) in St George's, Windsor. To them was originally attached the contoise which displayed the distinctive colours of the knight during tourney or joust. But there are many instances, especially in German heraldry, of their being developed into personal crests with certain differences. The Duke of Bavaria (Sir Otho's relative) so carried them. "Among the earliest crests assumed were buffalo horns. This use by the Germans of horns as adornments of the helm is noted by so

features of his face are clearly seen, and the ends of a long and curly moustache droop forward on either side the mouth for some inches over the steel gorget. Both hands are gauntleted and crossed in front of the body, which is clad from the shoulders to the knees in a long surcoat, which appears to have been red, but with the forepart cut away from the upper thighs downwards, thus just showing the hauberk and beneath that again the haqueton; the left hand is lying halfway up the right fore-arm. The arms clearly show the brassarts, and the coudières. His drawn sword is grasped in his right hand, and is curiously carried resting in front and across the left fore-arm, with the upper point tucked back behind the rere-arm and under his left shoulder. There are still traces of blue colour on the baudrick, which is studded in the usual manner, and the misericorde is attached to the baudrick on his right side. But the place where the sword-sheath rested on the altartomb on his left side has been chipped off. The upper part of the cuisses is of studded pourpointerie work coloured blue and the lower of plate; on the knees are steel genouillères, fastened by red bands, and on the instep sollerets with rowel spurs.

His head is turned a little to the left, as if looking towards some image or painting that may have stood on the wall of the north aisle, in the same way as the head of John of Eltham (A.D. 1336) is turned at Westminster, looking towards St Edward's shrine. There are two holes in the stone vaulting of this bay of the north aisle, which would exactly do for the chains to suspend a lamp in front of the image that Sir Otho's eyes would be fixed upon. That image may well have been St George, the popular patron of all his knightly friends with whom he had campaigned successfully in England and abroad, and whose ensign he wished to enfold his body at burial. The Grandisson family had more relatives and connexions among the original knights of St George and the Garter than any other family in England. In the stained glass windows in both the choir aisles in Exeter Cathedral, St George's arms (and those, too, of St Edward) figure almost, if not quite, as often as Bishop Grandisson's own and those of Montacute. In the north choir aisle at Exeter, too, was St George's chantry. Both brothers had good reason to be attached to the national patron saint of Edward III. Sir Otho's son Thomas was afterwards made the fiftieth K.G. by that monarch in 1369, the same year in which Bishop Grandisson died; possibly on St George's Day, in the April that preceded the Bishop's death in July¹.

early an author as Diodorus Siculus; they were also used by the ancient Etruscans. The ox horns which appear so frequently in German crests were affixed one on either side of the helm and often sprang from its sides, not from its summit. Originally the horns were simply curved and pointed. In the more florid heraldry of later times they are recurved and have a mouthpiece in which are sometimes placed tufts or plumes of feathers. Sometimes, as in the crest of Hesse, small horizontal rods are fixed to the horns, and from them depend little linden leaves. This crest is borne for Thuringia in the full achievement of the Houses of Saxony." Woodward, *Heraldry British and Foreign*, vol. II, p. 236, ed. 1896, where in Plates XI, XV, XX, XXI, XXII many other examples of such horns as crests are given. Cp. F. T. Elworthy, *Horns of Honour* (Murray), 1900.

¹ The Grandisson arms were Paly of six argent and azure, on a bend gules three eaglets displayed or. The Lancastrian livery colours, "the devise of him who aduanced them," were argent and azure. The Counts palatine of Burgundy, their original lords paramount, bore gules, an eagle displayed or. The house of Lorraine, or, on a bend gules three allerions argent; as still impaled on the Imperial arms of Austria.

The Castle of Grandson stands at the south-west end of the lake of Neuchâtel, in the present Canton de Vaud. It was just on the borders of Savoy and the county-palatine—(not the Duchy)—of Burgundy, "in Burgundia imperiali," says Adam Murimuth, *Continuatio Chronicarum*, p. 56, and remained a fief of the empire till Louis XIV absorbed it in 1674. (Leland speaks of William Grandisson as "de genere Im-



Sir Otho de Grandisson

The recumbent figure of Sir Otho represents him as a knight in patient repose, yet ready for instant action, looking for the call, and awaiting only the word of command from St George to arise and strike once more "for God, for Right, for Truth." At his feet is peratoris, qui frater fuit nobilissimi Dni Othonis de Grandisone in Burgundia diocesis Laucenensis ubi Castrum de Grandisone est situm firmis saxis.") The village is probably of Roman origin, and the ancient church once belonged to a Benedictine monastery. The railway now skirts the lake, and passes through the precincts of the picturesque old château, with its ivy-clad towers. Part of it has been put in order, and contains a small collection of antiquities and natural history specimens. The view from the Castle terrace is very fine. General Meredith Read describes the castle in his posthumous work on Vaud, Berne and Savoy. It was taken by Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, in February, 1476, when he treacherously massacred the Swiss garrison, but he was subsequently, on 3 March, 1477, defeated at the battle of Grandson, when enormous booty fell into the hands of his victors. The capture of the Castle and the battle of Grandson are described by Sir Walter Scott (after Comines) in his *Anne of Geierstein* (vol. II, chap. xiv, pp. 292-301, ed. Cadell, 1833). The feudal proprietors of the Castle were among the most powerful in Switzerland, as early as the ninth century. They held under the Counts of Neuchâtel, who were vassals of the Emperor as Earl Palatine of the county of Burgundy. Otho de Grandson, the last of the family to whom the Castle belonged, was the poet and warrior Chaucer referred to at the end of his *Compleynt of Venus*, when he said: "To me hit is a great penaunce Sith rym in English hath swich scarsitee To folowe word by word the curiositee Of Graunson, flour of hem that make in Fraunce." Skeat's *Chaucer*, vol. I, p. 404. In that edition Graunson's original French ballade is printed beneath Chaucer's translation from Dr Piaget's *Romania*, tome XIX, on "Oton de Grandson et ses poésies," 1890, where also many other of his poems are given. Chaucer undertook the translation at the bidding of the Princess Isabel, wife of Edmund, Duke of York (her sister Constance was second wife of his elder brother, John of Gaunt). This lady was the Venus of Chaucer's two ballads, the *Compleynt of Mars* and the *Compleynt of Venus*; she died in 1394, and was buried at King's Langley, in Hertfordshire. This Sir Otho de Grandisson is mentioned by Froissart four times. He fought on the side of the English in 1372 and 1379. In 1391 he was accused of being concerned in the death of Amadeus VII, Count of Savoy, his sovran seigneur, in consequence of which he returned to England. In 1393 his ancestral estates were confiscated. Richard II on 17 November, 1393, granted him an annuity of £126. 13s. 4d. With the hope of clearing himself of the serious charge laid against him, he fought a judicial duel at Bourg-en-Bresse on 7 August, 1397, in which, however, he was slain by Gerhard de Estavayer, and is buried in the choir of Lausanne Cathedral, where his handleless effigy still exists, armed cap-à-pie and on his shield the arms of Granson. He left two sons, and their descendants for four generations up to 1476 are given in Guichenon, *Histoire Genealogique de la royale maison de Savoie*, tome III, p. 1275.

The possessor of the Castle and territory at the beginning of the thirteenth century was allied in blood to the Dukes of Burgundy. Peter de Grandisson, married Agnes, daughter of Ulrick, Count of Neuchâtel nearly related to Eleanor of Provence, Queen of Henry III. His brother Aymo de Grandisson, sub-dean of Lausanne 1210 and Cantor 1212, was Bishop of Geneva 1215-1260, and died 21 October, 1262. His nephew William was sub-dean of York 8 November, 1266, dean of Seliriac in diocese of Geneva 1267, and Bishop of Lausanne 27 July, 1273; he died 21 March, 1301. His nephew Otho was rector of Havant, Hants, dean of Seliriac and rector of Teverington, Yorkshire, 1289. Peter's son William, Seigneur of Granson and Ste Croix in Burgundy, married Blanche of Savoy, daughter of Louis, Baron de Vaud, and Lord of Chillon. Three of his sons came to England, (a) Gerard, (b) Otho, and (c) William.

(a) Gerard, the youngest, was canon of Salisbury and prebendary of Abthorpe, in York Cathedral, 12 November, 1273, which he held till 1275, when he was consecrated Bishop of Verdun on Palm Sunday by the Archbishop of Canterbury at Merton Priory, Surrey. He died 13 October, 1278.

(b) Otho, the Bishop's uncle (Otho "primus" of the *Ordinacio Primaria* xvii to distinguish him from Sir Otho, the Bishop's brother), "cousin-german to the Emperor of Constantinople, the King of Hungary and Duke of Bavaria," attended Edward, eldest son of Henry III, to the Holy Land for the last Crusade in 1270, and was appointed one of his executors 18 June, 1272. In 1276 he was made by Edward I governor of the Channel Islands, and in 1280 had grant for life of the town of Tipperary, Kilsale, etc., in Ireland, and other lands in Kent and Surrey. In January, 1281, he did homage to the Emperor as Earl Palatine of Burgundy. In 1289 he was the King's secretary, and was sent as ambassador to Rome and to Lucca, and next year he granted by the King's leave all his lands in Ireland to his brother William. He was again in the Holy Land 1290-1292, and a third time in 1308. In 1295 he treated of peace with France; in 1302

the body of a full-maned lion (typical of strength and vigilance) with its fore paws extended forward almost to his right knee. The tension of the muscles, as clearly indicated in these paws, points to the conclusion that the animal was regarding the knight in an equally

he went into Gascony with Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln; he was summoned as Baron Grandisson to the English Parliament 21 September, 1299, to 22 January, 1305. He died at Lausanne *sine prole*, 2 April, 1328, and was buried in the cathedral after his nephew had been made Bishop of Exeter, but before he had actually entered into possession of the see; if he had lived a little longer the three Grandissons would have been "peers of the realm" (the nephew as lord spiritual and himself and his brother as lords temporal) at the same time. There would appear to be an impression of his seal in the British Museum thus described, No. 10,200, "a plaster cast from indistinct impression, $\frac{7}{8}$ in.; fourteenth century. A shield of arms; paly of six, on a bend three escallops (?) Grandison. Between three branches of foliage SIGILLVM. OTHONIS. DE. GRANDISSONO." The scallop shells recall his visits to the Holy Land.

(c) William, his brother and heir, the father of the Bishop, was summoned as Baron Grandisson to Parliament from 6 February, 1299, to 10 October, 1325. He came into England attached to the household of Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, brother of King Edward I. [By his first wife, name unknown, he had two sons—1. Theobald, canon of Geneva and of Wells in 1300, canon of Lincoln 1302, who in 1309 conveyed the manor of Moreton Hampstead, Devon, to Hugh de Courtenay (afterwards Earl of Devon) and he in 1310 granted it to his younger son Robert de Courtenay. 2. Otho, canon of Lausanne and of Autun in 1300, and rector of three English parishes in Sussex and Yorkshire. On 4 March, 1301, he was provided to canonry at York, was Bishop of Toul 1306, and afterwards of Basel: he died in 1309 and was succeeded by his cousin Gerard, translated from Lausanne.] He married as his second wife Sybilla, daughter and co-heiress of John, Lord Tregoz, of Castle Ewias, in Herefordshire, and granddaughter of Juliana (sister to St Thomas de Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford); she had married Robert, Lord Tregoz of Ewias—who possessed lands in Essex, Norfolk and Nottingham in 1255, and in 1256, with Humfrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, was warden of the Welsh marches); his mother Sibyl was daughter of Robert de Ewyas, and had married Robert de Tregoz, who was Sheriff of Wilts in 1191. Their son Robert, the husband of Juliana, was killed on de Montfort's side at Evesham in 1265. John, his son, in spite of his father's rebellion, was in favour with Henry III and succeeded to his lands 1268: was with Edward I in Wales in 1281, and in Gascony in 1294, in Scotch wars in 1296. He died 21 August, 1300, and was buried at St Augustine's Priory, Bristol; when his lands in Herefordshire, Wilts, Surrey, Northampton and Somerset were divided between his two daughters, Clarice, who had married John de la Warre, who had Castle Ewias, and Sibylla, 1285, who had married William, Lord Grandisson.—This William had grant 11 October, 1282, of manors in Gloucestershire, and in 1292 was allowed to crenellate his house at Ashperton, in Herefordshire. He fought in Gascony in 1294, and from 1296 to 1302 in the Scotch wars, and was at the siege of Carlarverock. He died 27 June, 1335, and his wife Sibylla predeceased him 21 October, 1334. There is a plaster cast from a fine impression of his seal in British Museum (A.D. 1283). No. 10,210. $\frac{7}{8}$ in. "A shield of arms, paly of six, on a bend three eaglets displayed. Within a carved Gothic panel of six cusps S'GVILL' DE GRAVENCON"; and another cast from one of his wife (A.D. 1286) No. 10,203. "Three shields of arms, conjoined in the centre of the seal at their bases. 1. Paly of six, on a bend three eagles displayed; 2. Quarterly per fess indented (Fitz-Warine); 3. Two bars gemels, in chief a lion passant (Tregoz); within a carved trefoil panel ornamented with a countersunk trefoil opening in each spandril. SIGILL' SIBILIE DE GRANDISSONO." Catalogue of Seals in the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum, vol. I, p. 227, vol. III, pp. 28, 30. They were both buried at the Cisterian Abbey of Dore, in Herefordshire. They had five sons, three of them in holy orders, and four daughters:

1. Peter, Baron Grandisson. He married Blanche, the daughter of Roger de Mortimer, first Earl of March; took part in Thomas Earl of Lancaster's rebellion in 1321; in 1345 was engaged in wars in France, summoned as peer to Parliament 23 April and 21 June, 1337, 20 November, 1348, and 1 January, 1349. His wife died 3 June, 1347, and he 10 August, 1358. They left no issue. Both are buried in the Lady Chapel at Hereford Cathedral, near the shrine of his great-granduncle St Thomas of Hereford. His will is in Register Islepe, fo. 144, at Lambeth. There is a fine impression of his seal in red wax 1353 A.D. in Brit. Mus. No. 10,201. Harleian Charters, III G. 36, 1 in. A shield of arms, paly of six, on a bend three eagles displayed. Between five escallops, two on each side and one at top over shield, within a Gothic rosette of 8 points, ornamented with ball-flowers along the inner edge. SIGILL PETRI DE GRAVNSOVN.

expectant attitude, on the alert and eager for a sign from his master to arise and spring. The Grandisson motto in allusion to the eaglets on the bend, was "Petit ardua Virtus."

2. John, born 1292, at Ashperton or Ashton, in Herefordshire: studied theology at the University of Paris, and at seventeen years of age was made Prebendary of Masham in York Cathedral, 1309 to 1315, Archdeacon of Nottingham in York diocese 12 October, 1310, till 1327. He succeeded his brother Thomas by papal provision of John XXII in Heydore Prebend at Lincoln 1318, and was appointed to the Prebend of Stoke in the same cathedral by papal provision in succession to Robert de Northburgh, Bishop of Lichfield, in 1322, but only held it one year; was made Bishop of Exeter, also by papal provision, and consecrated at the same time as Thomas de Cherleton (Canon of Exeter), Bishop of Hereford, by Cardinal Peter de Bez, Bishop of Preneste, in the Dominican church at Avignon, 18 October, 1327, being then thirty-five years old. He remained at Avignon till 23 December; crossed to England in February, did homage to Edward III at York, and received the temporalities 9 March, 1328, and was enthroned at Exeter on the octave of the Assumption (22 August). He dedicated the high altar in the choir there 18 December same year, thus completing "the life's labour of his three predecessors—Quivil, Bitton, and Stapeldon." He began to transform the Norman nave from the second bay westward 1334, this was completed 1350, and consecrated probably 18 January, 1351. He was found heir to his brother Peter, Baron Grandisson, in 1358, being then sixty years of age. He died on St Swithun's Day, 15 July, 1369, in his seventy-seventh year, and was buried outside the western end of the nave. His will bears date 18 September, 1368, and was proved 25 July, 1369. (Register Whittlesey, fo. 103 to 109, at Lambeth.) There is an impression of his seal A.D. 1337, Add. Charters 15,453 Brit. Mus. Thus described in Catalogue, No. 1557: "Bright red; embedded in a boat-shaped mass of fine uncoloured wax; in good preservation. $2\frac{3}{8} \times 1\frac{1}{8}$ in. Pointed oval; within a trefoiled niche, the Bishop lifting up the r.h. in benediction, in the l.h. a pastoral staff: seated on a throne, the sides of which terminate in lions. In the field, the emblems of SS. Peter and Paul. In base a shield of arms, paly of six, on a bend three eaglets, Grandisson, with the name De Grandissono above it. s. ioh'is . DEI . GRA . EPI . EXONIENSIS." And a smaller seal, No. 1560, a cast in red composition $2\frac{1}{8} \times 1\frac{1}{8}$ in. "Pointed oval; perhaps a counterseal. The Virgin and Child between SS. Peter and Paul each with emblems, and each beneath an arched Gothic canopy with ornamental finials. Above, an estoile between two birds regardant. In base, under an arch, the Bishop kneeling to the left between two shields of arms each with the same charges, paly of six, a bend. TV . FAVEAS . ANNIS . PATRVM . PRECE . VIRGO . IOHANNIS." There is a perfect specimen of this seal in the Windsor Erary A.D. 1361, in red wax exactly as described above, with an impression in green wax of the second as also above described for its counter-seal: and on the margin of the uncoloured wax a third small impression in red wax as of a signet ring, the Virgin and Child, in roundel with motto, "Prosum mater misericordie." This additional impression of his seal-ring appears to be referred to by the Bishop in his revocation of permission to the mendicant orders to hear confession, 18 October, 1354, unless they bear "litteras nostras patentes, sigillo nostro una cum impressione annuli nostri in dorso eiusdem signatas, et post datam presencium sibi factas." *Reg.*, vol. I, fo. 178. In *Reg.*, vol. III, fo. 54^v, 55, there is a description of the Bishop's seals in a document relating to Bosham, to which document they were appended: "In cuius sigilli circumferencia sunt hee littere,—*S'. Johannis Dei gracia Episcopi Exoniensis*. In cuius medio quasi ymago Episcopi pontificalibus induti, super Cathedram sedentis, ad modum dandi benedictionem manum dextram extendentis, baculum pastorem in manu sinistra tenentis, mitram in capite habentis; et in eius dextera parte quasi due claves, et in eius sinistra parte quasi gladius. Et supra capud diete ymaginis quasi tabernaculum; et sub pedibus eiusdem ymaginis quasi scutum, palliatum, cum una benda, et in eadem benda tres mitre; et supra dictum scutum quasi in minutis litteris scriptum *de Grandissono*, hec sculpta apparebant." Another "Littera mandati" follows, with a different seal thus described: "In cuius sigilli circumferencia sunt hee littere,—*Tu faveas annis patrum prece Virgo Johannis*. In cuius medio quasi tria tabernacula, in quorum medio quasi ymago beate Marie Virginis, Filium suum in brachio sinistro tenentis. In cuius dextera parte quasi ymago beati Petri tenentis claves in manibus, et in sinistra parte quasi beati Pauli tenentis gladium in manu. Et supra, in capite eiusdem sigilli, quasi duo volucres; et in pede eiusdem sigilli quasi ymago episcopi Pontificalibus induti, genuflexi, tenentis baculum pastorem, iunctis manibus ad modum orantis. Et ex utraque parte eiusdem ymaginis genuflexi, quasi scutum de armis dicti Domini Episcopi Exoniensis, hec sculpta apparebant." [A.D. 1344, 1345.] The "volucres" may be the "sacred birds," the eagle the rebus of John, and the mullet his mark of cadency as second son.

Sir Otho was the donor of Northam to the college, and in that church there was also a St George's chapel. In his memory the "Northam pelvis," or wax light (at a cost of 8s. 8d. a year) was to be suspended in mid-choir here and ever lighted at time of divine

3. Thomas, born in 1293, rector of Chelsfield, Kent, and Prebendary of Heydore in Lincoln Cathedral. He died in curia Romana 14 July, 1317.

4. Sir Otho de Grandisson. In 1318 was in Scottish wars, in 1324 in Gascony, in 1338 in Flanders, in 1342 with Bartholomew de Burghersh (afterwards one of the first Knights of the Garter) in France, and again in 1345. Edward III granted him the county of Tipperary in Ireland for life. His will (in Register Islepe, fo. 148) bears date Monday before 8 September, 1358, and he died 23 May, 1359. He left a daughter Elizabeth (who died without issue before her brother), and a son Sir Thomas de Grandisson, K.G. 1369 (Baron Grandisson after his uncle the Bishop's death), who, after taking part in the wars in France under the Duke of Lancaster and Earls of Salisbury and Warwick in 1369, was in 1370 with Sir Robert Knolles in Picardy and Vermandois, where he was taken prisoner after a desperate conflict. In 1375 he sailed with the Duke of Brittany from Southampton and landed at St Mahé in Brittany about the beginning of Lent in that year. From that expedition he probably never returned, for he died in the fifty-first year of his age 5 November, 1375 "sine prole, the last heir male of the family in England," says Dugdale. His wife Margaret did not die till 16 October, 1394; at her death his property was divided among the descendants of his three aunts as below. There is a fine specimen of his seal in red wax in Brit. Mus. No. 10,214; 1½ in.; A.D. 1375. A shield of arms, paly of six, on a bend three eagles displayed: suspended by a strap from a forked tree. Within a carved Gothic border, ornamented with ball flowers, along the inner edge, "*Sigillum Thome Graunson Militis*." His brother William was prebendary of St Crantock, Cornwall, 10 April, 1345, but died before 9 June, 1349.

5. William, canon of Salisbury in 1317, of Wells in 1327, was collated Canon of Exeter 30 March, 1330, and also Archdeacon of Exeter, on resignation of John Northwode (the Bishop's nephew), 18 April, 1330; died 5 June, 1330.

The four daughters were:

1. Mabel, married to Sir John de Patteshulle. He was the son of Simon de Patteshulle and Isabel, daughter of John de Steyngreve, and was possessed of lands in Yorkshire and Bedfordshire; was summoned as peer of the realm (Baron of Bletshoe) 1342, and died July, 1349. William, his son and heir, was born 1312, and died sine prole 1368. His eldest daughter Sibil (sister of the said William and heiress of Sir John), married Roger, summoned to Parliament as Baron Beauchamp of Bletshoe, from 1 June, 1363, to 20 October, 1379, and from her the present Lord St John of Bletshoe is descended. The barony of Tregoeze and the viscounty of Grandisson (in the peerage of Ireland) were revived in this family 1620, and the earldom in 1721. The earldom is extinct, but the viscounty is held by the Earl of Jersey. Mabel's other three daughters were Alice married to Thomas Wake of Blisworth, Catharine married to Sir Robert Tudenham of Kent, and Maud married to Walter de Fauconberg. Thomas de Patteshulle was collated to a canonry at Exeter 3 October, 1342, by Bishop Grandisson. John de Patteshulle's arms were argent, a fesse sable between three crescents gules.

2. Katharine. She married 1327 William de Montacute, first Earl of Salisbury. He died 30 January, 1344; she died 23 April, 1349. The Montacute arms and those of her brother the Bishop alternate throughout the vaulting of the church at Ottery. She was buried in the Augustinian Priory of Bisham, Berks, founded by William de Montacute, her husband, not far from Windsor, on the banks of the Thames.

3. Agnes married Sir John de Northwode, and died 4 December, 1348. The Northwodes, like the Grandissons, were landowners in East Kent. Roger de Northwode (his grandfather) died 1285. His son John married Joan de Badelesmere (sister of Elizabeth who was mother of Bishop Grandisson's nephew, Roger de Mortimer), and was in France with Edward I in 1294, in Flanders 1297, Sheriff of Kent in 1300, in 1310 in Scotland, and again in 1317 with his father-in-law Bartholomew de Badelesmere of Ledes Castle, in Kent; was peer of the realm 1312 to 1318, when he died. His well-known brass is in Minster Church, Isle of Sheppey, and so is that of his wife Joan. It was their son John de Northwode who married Agnes de Grandisson, the Bishop's sister; in 1302 he was engaged in Scottish wars, but died during his father's lifetime. Roger, their son, married Juliana, daughter of Sir Geffery de Say, and was in Flanders in 1340 with William de Clinton, Earl of Huntingdon, and in France in 1342 with the Earl of Suffolk. Summoned as peer of Parliament 1360, and died 5 November, 1361. His son Sir John Northwode married Joan Hert

service in token that he, too, like those present, was "ever watching unto God." By his bounty he had endowed two additional priest-vicars, who were specially to pray for his soul, but fulfil also all the other duties incumbent on the original eight priest-vicars of his brother's foundation. He provided for them, out of Northam Rectory, a regular vicar's pay (£1 a year and one shilling a week), and added to the pay of each of the ten vicars and of the morn-priest one mark extra a year for their dress, and to their succentor half a mark more besides. Another vicar was to be elected by the canons to help the canon-sacrist, he was to have another half mark a year. To each of the eight secondaries and St Mary's clerk he ordered an extra 3s. 4d. for dress; to the two clerks that kept the church half a mark extra apiece, and to the parish priest and the schoolmaster the same; to each of the eight chorister boys 1s. 4d. extra. Thus even each of the chorister boys would find themselves with about a guinea and half extra in modern money to remember the good knight yearly. "Dispersit, dedit pauperibus: iusticia eius manet in seculum seculi, cornu eius exaltabitur in gloria" (Ps. cxi. 9).

"Domine quis habitabit in tabernaculo tuo? aut quis requiescet in monte sancto tuo? Qui ingreditur sine maculâ, et operatur iusticiam; qui loquitur ueritatem in corde suo nec facit proximo suo malum; ad nihilum deductus est in conspectu eius malignus, timentes autem Dominum glorificat. Qui facit hec non mouebitur in aeternum" (Ps. xv.). "Protector in Te sperancium Deus sine quo nihil est ualidum nihil sanctum, multiplica super nos misericordiam tuam, ut Te rectore, Te duce, sic transeamus per bona temporalia ut non amittamus aeterna."

The Lady Beatrix's effigy on the south side of the nave has suffered a good deal more than her husband's. The slab that carries it is six feet five inches long and two feet two inches broad. She is habited in plain dress (the folds of the dress about her feet are very ample); her hands are rested in resignation on her breast, but not crossed, the fingers of the right hand just touch the under side of the left hand, and the thumb of the left hand is passed under the cordon that fastens the mantle at the neck rather low down. Her hair is braided in the same way as Queen Philippa's on her tomb in Westminster Abbey, in the caul headdress, with a heavy roll of hair on either side the face, and a flat coronal of eight flowers across her brow. Two unusually large winged angels support her head; the angel

of Faversham, Kent; he was born 1330, and in 1355 and in 1359 was in the French wars. Peer of the realm 1363 to 1375. He was found to be cousin and co-heir of Sir Thomas de Grandisson, son and heir of Sir Otho de Grandisson, the last heir male of the family in England in 1376, and died 27 February, 1379. There was a brass in Ottery Church to the memory of John de Northwode, D.D., Chancellor of the University of Oxford 1345 to 1348, and who had been Archdeacon of Exeter 1330, when he resigned for William Grandisson (the Bishop's brother), and became afterwards Archdeacon of Totnes. He was nephew of the bishop and his sister Agnes's younger son (*Grandisson Register*, part i, p. 192, and part ii, p. 770); he held in 1328 the same Prebend of Stoke at Lincoln that the Bishop had resigned in 1323, and in 1333 by special papal permission was appointed by Bishop Grandisson to a canonry at Exeter also: he was Canon of Bosham at the same time, 1342. Thomas de Northwode, his uncle, S.T.P. (brother of Sir John, who married the bishop's sister), was subdean of Lincoln 14 June, 1328, Treasurer 18 May, 1329, and Archdeacon of Leicester in 1344. And Otho de Northwode, another of the family, was collated by Bishop Grandisson to a Prebend at St Teath in Cornwall, 29 March, 1334, and to a Canonry at Ottery 31 August, 1348, was Treasurer and Canon of Exeter, March, 1349, and Archdeacon of Exeter 3 February, 1350.

4. Maud, prioress of the Augustinian Convent of the Holy Cross and St John at Aconbury, in Herefordshire, in 1353, and died before 1368.

on her left side has his left hand on her shoulder, and the other his right hand on her right shoulder. There is no cushion for her head; it rests on the outspread wings of the angels. Two dogs, emblems of fidelity, are at her feet, their noses are on each other's body as if asleep. The ogee-headed canopy of each monument contain no less than fifty shields for arms to be emblazoned on—*i.e.* 100 shields in all¹. Her paternal arms were azure, 3 hands argent. On her father's seal (Brit. Mus., No. 11,534) besides these are: 1. Three lions passant. 2. A saltire engrailed. 3. A cross flory. 4. Chequy a fess. 5. Barry of eight.

¹ Risdon, in his *Survey of Devon* (written 1605–1630), ed. 1811, p. 48, says that “the windows of Ottery Church, little and low, are so bedecked with the armories of divers benefactors, more especially of the founders, that instead of ‘Lux fiat,’ it may be verified that they are umbrated thereby.” They, therefore, had escaped injury as not being “superstitious” in 1559. Looking at the long connexion of the church with Rouen in early times, it is not unlikely that the ancient glass had been supplied from that city, as was the case at Exeter Cathedral, where we learn from the fabric rolls of 1317–1318 a large quantity of glass, both plain and coloured, was imported from Rouen and landed at Seaton; the former at 4*d.* per foot and the latter at 8*d.* The images and pictures of saints covered the spandrils over the arches in nave and choir, the niches on the screens and the aisles were filled with them so that there were not probably many figures on the glass of the windows. The arms were probably arranged in them very much as they still remain in the windows of the choir aisles at Exeter. The glass would be brought by water straight from Rouen to Otterton and Budleigh Salterton by ship, and thence it was only eight miles by road to Ottery; the Otter then may have been navigable for small craft up to within even a shorter distance of the church.

Risdon's account of the church is confirmed by reference to the *Roll of Arms collected from the Churches and Houses of the Nobility and Gentry of the county of Devon in the reign of Elizabeth*, by Joseph Holand, 1585, where it appears that numerous armorial decorations, twenty-three in all, were then extant in Ottery Church; they are in this college of arms roll set forth in colours, and would seem to have been arranged about three coats in each small window, one above the other. In this roll the arms are drawn and painted (not described). The roll is a long one with small paintings of the coats with the name and place over them. Those relating to Ottery St Mary are scattered about. Thus, “This coat standeth in St Marie Awtrety Church, and is borne by the name of *Straunge*.” Argent, two lions passant guardant gules. [Richard Lord Strange, of Knockyn, was son of Maud, sister of Elizabeth, wife of William de Montacute, second Earl of Salisbury, K.G., founder, and her heir.] “This, with another over hit,” gules, three lions passant guardant impaled or, on a chief azure a crosslet between two roses or. [Bishop Veysey.] “This also,” per pale azure and gules, a pale engrailed between two lions rampant or. [? Bishop Alley 1560–1570.] “*Norwode*, this coate standeth in St Peter's in Exon, and in St Mary Awtrety Church, impaled with Graunson,” ermine, on a cross gules, five bezants. [The bezants probably as mark of difference for Archdeacon Northwode, the bishop's nephew.] “This in Staverton and in St Marye Awtrety, and was borne by *Nevile Lord Furnivile*,” gules, on a saltire argent a martlet of the field. [Thomas Nevill, brother of Ralph, first Earl of Westmoreland, married Joan de Furnival, only child of William, fourth Lord Furnival, and became in her right Baron Furnival, 1383 to 1412. The Nevill arms were gules, a saltire argent; the Furnival argent a bend between six mascles or martlets gules.] “*Willelmus Dominus Graunson*, this in St Peter's in Exon., and he was founder of the Church and Colledge of St Mary Awtrety.” Paly of six argent and azure, on a bend gules three eagles displayed, or. “*Maleherbes* [Holcombe in Ottery belonged to them] quartered by *Kirkham*. This coate standeth in Plympton Abbey (*sic*) church. Ottrey St Mary and Vyneton Maleherbe were his, 7 Edward III,” Or, a chevron gules between three leaves vert. “*Kellaway*, quartered by *Pyne* and *Cooke*,” Argent, two snippers a saltire sable between four pears or. “This coate standeth in St Peter's in Exon, and impaled with Graundson in St Mary Autrey, I had hit of Mr Somersett by the name of *Tudenham*, Widworthy, Cotley and Woborneforde weare his 9 Edward II,” Gules, three pales argent, on a chief of the last a mullet sable. [Katharine daughter of Bishop Grandisson's eldest sister Mabel, was married to Sir Robert Tudenham.] “*Esse* or *Ashe* quartered by *Hals*. This coate standeth in Kirton and St Mary Autrey,” argent, two chevrons sable. “This, and was borne by *Spencer, Earl of Winchester*” quarterly or and gules, in second and third fret or, over all a bend gules. “This, the armes of the *abbeye of Bokeland*,” quarterly argent and gules, in bend a crozier or. “*Graunson Episcopus Exoniensis*, this coate standeth in St Peter's in Exon, and in St Mary Awtrety, he gave the bell called Graunson bell



South side of Choir and Aisle, East side of South Transept
The bases of the columns shew the alterations in the level of the floor, p. 50

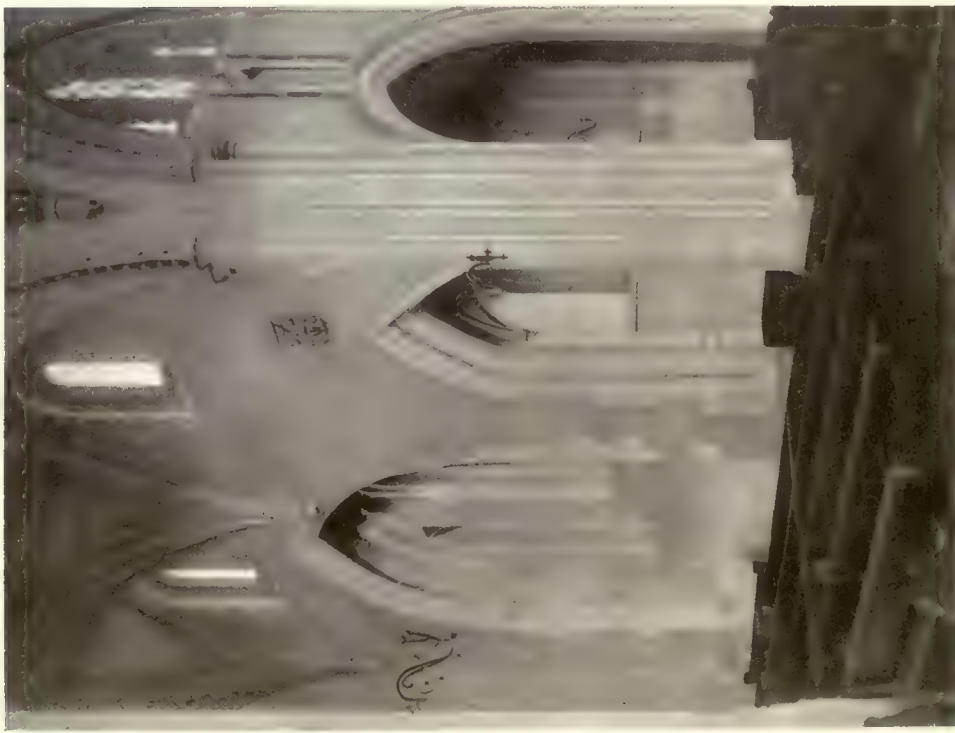
THE TRANSEPTS.

Proceeding eastwards through the "cancelli" up the three or five steps from the nave into the transepts we should have been on the central level which extended all across them in front of the rood screen into either of the towers north and south, which level was continued on into the choir and choir aisles. The present level of the entrance to the doors of the staircases in the towers, and of that to the old wooden staircase to the clockworks (which were erected in the western recess of the south transept), still clearly mark all round the transepts the line of the old level of the floor. The level of the nave floor is the same now as it has always been, and there the original proportion of the pillars and arches has not been interfered with; but in the other half of the church a great change was effected in 1850. It is best to describe what actually took place in the late Lord Coleridge's own words. In the *Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society*, vol. IV, he says: "The nave level was prolonged through the transepts eastwards to the third bay beyond them, reducing the whole of this area to one level and that the level of the ancient nave" (p. 192). "With the transepts the work of excavation and lowering the levels commenced. It was rendered unexpectedly laborious by the unusual strength and solidity of the foundations. Not only were the piers themselves rooted into the rock on which the church is built; but from pier to pier, in a longitudinal direction, strong walls were run of the breadth of the piers and of the most solid and massive construction. Here and there these walls were not only longitudinal but ran across the church also, the whole breadth of the centre aisle. They were met with immediately upon removing the flooring of the pews, their top being level with the floor of the church. They did not appear like the remains of the walls of any former edifice which we might have supposed to have existed before the church which Bishop Grandisson erected; still less were they the walls of a crypt, of the existence of which there is not the smallest trace nor the faintest tradition." [They served, in fact, effectually

unto St Peter's in Exon." Paly of six argent and azure, on a bend gules a mitre between two eagles displayed or. "This coate too, and was borne by the name of *Graunson*," Paly of six, argent and azure, on a bend gules three round buckles or. "This coate and 3 of these armes before stand in one window in St Mary Awtrey Church, and weare borne by the name of *Graunson*," Paly of six argent and azure, on a bend gules three escallops or. "This coate, and on his tumb is written, *Orate pro anima Johannis Lawrence*. He was 40£ in land in the subsydy booke 14 Henry VI." Chequy or and azure, on a bend gules three escallops or. "This coate standeth impaled with *Courtney* of Autrey in Autrey Church, and is borne by the name *Huntingdon*." Ermine, three waterbougets sable between two bendlets, gules. "This in Staverton, and in St Mary Awtrey, and was borne by *Mountague Earl of Salisbury*, Wonford and divers other lands in Devon weare his, 13 Edward II." Argent, three lozenges in fesse gules. "This, and was borne by the name of *Verdone*" or a fret gules. [Maud, daughter of Edmund Lord Mortimer of Wigmore, father of Roger first Earl of March, married Theobald Lord Verdon, ob. 1316. Their eldest daughter Joan who died 1334 married first William de Montacute and afterwards Thomas Lord Furnival. Their second daughter Elizabeth married Bartholomew, second Lord Burghershe, whose son Bartholomew, third Lord Burghershe, was K.G., Founder. He had an only child Elizabeth, who married Edward Lord le Despenser, K.G., Earl of Ulster. Died 1375. Theobald Lord Verdon by his second wife Elizabeth de Clare, widow of John de Burgh Earl of Ulster, had a daughter Isabel, who married Henry Lord Ferrers of Groby.] "Arches quartered by *Carewe*. Ottery Sainte Marie was his 8 Edward III." Gules three arches, two single and one double in base argent capped and based or. (Sir George Talbot fourth Earl of Shrewsbury, K.G. 1488-1540, quartered the arms of Strange, Verdon, Furnival, and Nevile Lord Furnival as shown in the vaulting over the organ gallery at St George's, Windsor.)

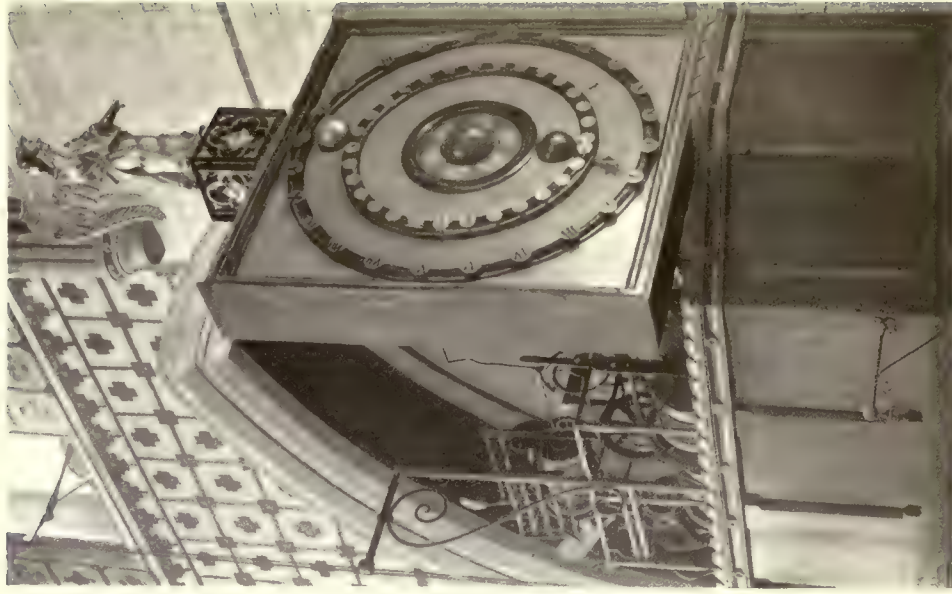
to bond together the Early English exterior walls of Bishop Bronescombe's church with Bishop Grandisson's new interior.] "On laying bare the foundation of the south-east pier of the transept, it was found to be excavated just below the surface of the ground to a considerable extent, and a sort of cave so formed was filled with a great quantity of human bones." [Probably a favourite place of sepulture was just before the Rood, and in front of our Lady's altar that stood in the southern arch of the Rood screen. This was where the morn-priest sang the mass that was intended on work days for parishioners before they went to their labour. What more natural than that they should wish to be interred near the hallowed spot where they had knelt and prayed. To make way for fresh interments in that spot the bones of those who had been previously there buried were, as occasion required, during the 200 years of the collegiate history of the church from time to time carefully removed to this vault thus excavated close by. Similarly William of Wykeham as lad and youth was wont to attend the "morrow mass" said at our Lady's altar half-way down the nave at Winchester on its south side. On the same spot he built his chantry (1404) and ordered by his will that his body should be there laid; and of the three masses daily to be said therein the first at early dawn was always to be our Lady's.] "There were of course many walled graves discovered, and in several instances skeletons which had been deposited in the earth of the church without any coffin" (p. 195). These bones thus cast out from the church when it was "restored" in 1850 belonged to the bodies of former canons and other members of the college, who, according to their last wills, had been laid to rest as near as possible to the scene of their daily devotions in the choir. Oliver Smith, for instance, last warden but one of the college, 1525-1545, "bequethed his body to be beried vn the quere before his stalle." The stone that once covered his grave is now part of the pavement in the ambulatory by the Lady Chapel. The original level of the floor thus dug away in 1850 is now marked honestly by a dark grey or black border two and a half feet deep upwards from the present pavement, and extends all round the walls of the transepts, half of the choir aisles and the bases of the great pillars that support the four central arches of the church as well as those in the three westernmost bays of the choir. The original bases of these pillars are left, and their present additional two and a half feet of base is worked off plain, and gives them rather a stilted appearance; but this is far better than if they had been pared away and entirely new bases substituted below. The black border resembles the stain that might have been produced by the waters of a bad inundation after they had subsided.

In the eastern wall of both the north and south transepts is a recess for an altar set beneath a pointed arch with semi-shafts in the jambs. It would appear, however, very doubtful whether these shafts are original or whether they were not formerly terminated by corbels with heads: such terminations were in great favour with Bishop Grandisson, and we know that the shafts in the other recesses on the western sides of the transepts were so terminated. The corresponding places in the transepts at Exeter are occupied on the north by the chapel of St Paul and on the south by that of St John the Baptist. There seems little doubt that the southern one here was also dedicated to St John the Baptist, with whom apparently St Anthony was associated, but the northern one possibly to our Lord, as we find in the compotus 1437 de pyxide sancti Salvatoris 53s. In the north transept at Exeter there was also a Jesus altar. The breadth of each recess in the interior



East side of North Transept and Drake Aisle

Showing the stone vaulting, p. 50



Bishop Grandisson's Clock, p. 50

is twelve feet four inches, and each is three feet eight inches deep. Each, moreover, is lighted by five lancet windows, with shafts running up the splays; the three central lancets do not descend so low as the two side ones, and thus leave a space for a tabula above the altar, six feet eight inches in length and two feet in height. The height from the level of the old floor to the bottom of the side lancets is four feet and a half; the interior of the recess having been lowered at the restoration one foot two inches. It seems possible that "the frountes of iiij alters beinge stone" in the Inventory of 1545 were those of these two transept altars, and of the other two that stood beneath the Rood loft, all four in one row. On the western walls of the two transepts were similar recesses, opposite to these altar recesses, but without any windows in them. The one in the south tower is twelve feet five inches wide, and three feet ten inches deep. It is the only one that still retains at the bottom the original level of its floor, which exactly agrees with the original level of the transept which now, since 1850, is two and a half feet below what it was. These western recesses would most conveniently have been used as "resting places" for the two clerks (one in each) who were always on guard in the church night and day (Statute xxxviii and lxxvij, 27). The choir and all beyond the transepts eastwards, with its contents, would be securely locked; there was no door anywhere from the exterior into any part of the church except the nave. The two clerks would thus guard most efficiently all access from the nave upwards. A light, if set burning in the niche in the north wall of the transept, would shed its rays from one side of the transept across to the other, and thus the approach of any "fures" or "latrones" across this line of light from the west beyond the cancelli would be seen at once by the watchers thus stationed¹. The light thus set would also fall upon the square wooden clock-face that projects from the western wall at right angles in the southern transept. This is very similar to the clock in the north transept at Exeter, only smaller. We know there was a clock in the nave at Exeter as early as 1284; and the present one in the north transept there is expressly mentioned in the Fabric roll of 1329, two years after Bishop Grandisson became Bishop. At Ottery it is in the College half of the transept; where it would be of special use to those whose charge it was to see that the bells for the different hours of divine service were punctually chimed night and day. It showed the phases of the moon as well as the hour of day and night. In the centre of the face is the globe of the earth, the centre of the Ptolemaic system. Round about are three

¹ "In the wall of the north transept, in the north-west corner of it, close to the door of the circular staircase ascending into the now empty northern belfry, was disclosed (in 1849) upon scraping off the whitewash, a little trefoil-headed niche, very small and low (ten inches broad, fourteen inches high), but going rather deep (fourteen inches back) into the wall. Its sides were found smeared with tallow and smoked, and it is suggested that it was the place where his candle was deposited by the officer who went early in the morning at a time when during most of the year it would be dark, to ring the matin bell. In this same north tower, at the south-west corner of it, the workmen came upon what appeared the remains of a font: a circular basin of concrete, about two feet across, with a hole at the bottom of it; a smaller basin at the side of it, and from the larger basin a small drain running some few feet in a northerly direction, and then lost in the earth." *Trans. Ex. Dio. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iv, p. 195. Might this construction in the floor have been used as a sort of lavatory by the guardian clerks for the purpose of emptying, cleansing, and trimming the cressets and lamps? The smaller one at night-time might perhaps even have served as a cresset, so that "fire" might always be handy at a moment's notice in the church (Statute lxxvij, 2). Cp. on the duties of sacrist and subsacrist, p. 73 of J. W. Clark's *Observances of the Augustinian Priory of Barnwell*, 1897.

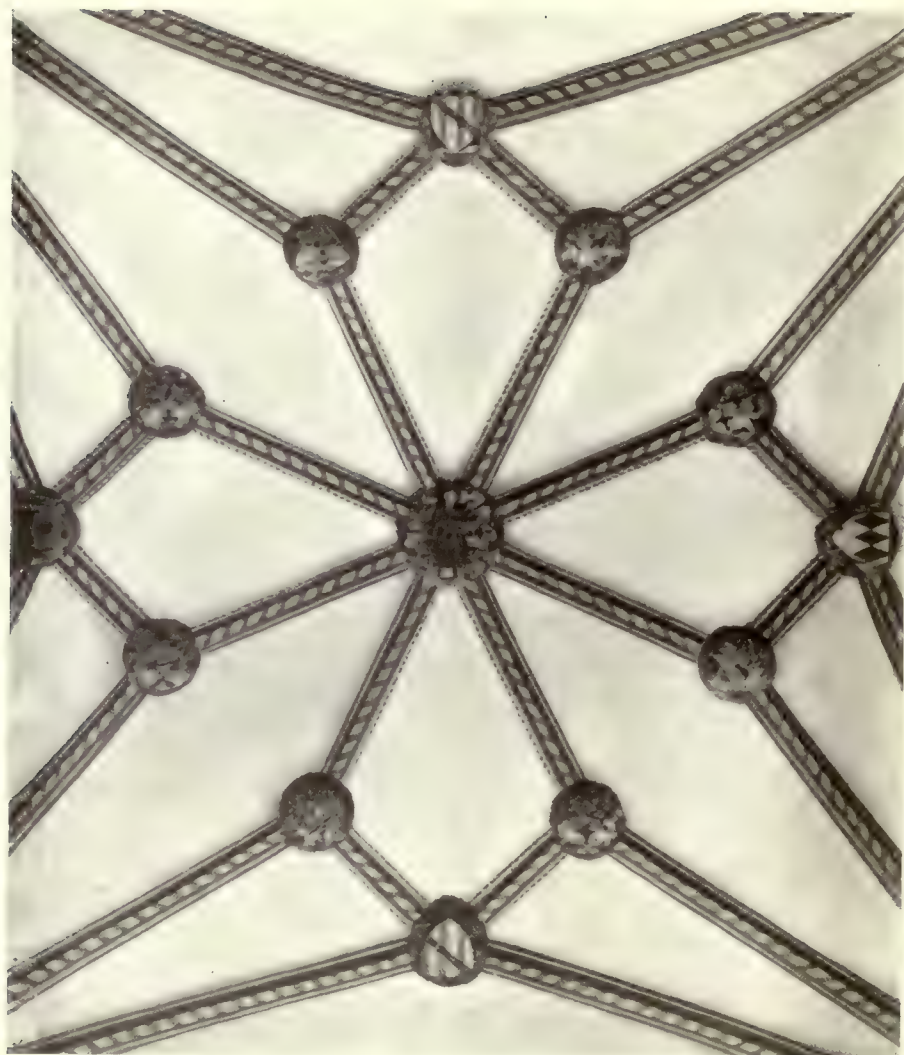
concentric rings. The second of these is coloured vermilion, and bears 30 golden discs, each carrying its notation in Arabic figures¹. In the space midmost between this ring and the innermost is an orb that represents the moon, which while turning on its own axis to show more or less white for full, half or quarter-moon completes the circuit round the whole dial-face once every 24 hours: and has thus both an axial and orbital rotation. The outermost of the three rings is marked off into 24 equal spaces with Roman numbers in two consecutive twelves for the hours of the day and of the night: midday being at the top and midnight at the bottom. In the space inside this ring there moves the golden orb of the sun to mark the hour of the day or night on the outermost ring, and a star that points the age of the moon not the day of the calendar month on the midmost ring. The works for this clock are in the upper part of the western recess in the south transept in the wooden fourteenth century gallery. Previous to 1887 there were also two ancient chime barrels; one of these was pricked with three Psalm tunes, and put in motion by the clock for action upon the bells at the hours of four, eight and twelve. The other barrel was used for chiming the bells a quarter of an hour before service². The figure of the angel which now stands on top of the dial-face is one of those that were originally in the church in quite another position. It now carries on its head the star that formerly marked the moon's age on the disc below.

The four arches of the central crossing are all similar; but there is very distinctive evidence where the nave was joined on to the crossing; another apparent sign that the transepts are older than the nave.

The stone vaulting of each transept is in two compartments; the centre of each compartment coincides with the apex of the small pointed single light windows in the second storey of the towers. These small windows are possibly Bishop Bronescombe's, and they are in their regular position for transept windows, but are not in the centre of Bishop Grandisson's later towers, p. 13. Hence the corbels which bear the groining are interfered with by the arch, over each of the altar recesses in the centre of the towers, as there inserted by Bishop Grandisson. These descending corbels rest now on the side of the arch two feet or so below its apex. In the groining of the north transept tower are four large apertures ornamented with grotesque stone heads of animals; through these descended the ropes from the four lighter bells that hung above. (Statute xv.) The centre of the northern compartment of the vaulting is pierced with a large circle about three feet in diameter into the belfry above: the centre of the other compartment next the crossing is richly cusped. The vaulting of the southern transept is treated exactly in the same manner. The five heavier bells (that belonged to the college, not the parish)

¹ These figures represent the days of a lunar, not a calendar, month; thirty being a conventional number, but in reality they express $29\frac{1}{2}$ parts,—as the nearness of the 29-30 discs clearly shows. The Synodic period of the moon is 29 days 12 hours 44 minutes and 27 seconds. The clock is therefore 44 minutes in error at every lunation, and needs occasional adjustment, which is provided for by clamp motion: otherwise in 32.7 lunations the moon's age would be a day in error.

² This clock, with the one at Exeter, is described, with an engraving of the chiming apparatus, in Ellacombe's *Bells of the Church*, 1872, p. 22. The whole story of the re-gearing of this clock in 1906-1907 by Mr J. J. Hall, F.R.A.S., as a labour of love, is set out with full description of the work, and diagrams, in the *Horological Journal*, November, 1907-July, 1908, both inclusive. There are four fourteenth-century clocks in the west of England, viz. at Exeter, at Wells, at Wimborne Minster, and at Ottery: in the last only are the original works still in use.



Founder's Effigy, centre of Church, p. 51

were in the southern tower, as at Exeter. The smallest weighed six hundredweight, the second eight, the third ten, the fourth twelve, and the fifth fourteen hundredweight¹. The eight modern bells now all hang in this southern tower. The oldest, No. 5, was cast in 1652, No. 3 in 1670, No. 6 the next year, No. 4 in 1680, No. 8, the tenor or great bell, in 1727, weighing seventeen and a half hundredweight, No. 7 in 1790, and Nos. 1 and 2 in 1887, each being inscribed "V.R. Jubilee 1887." Ellacombe, "Church Bells of Devon," *Trans. Ex. Dio. Arch. Soc.*, 2nd Series, I, 257.

The ribs of the central vaulting rest on four corbels placed a few feet above the capitals of the piers that carry the arches of the central crossing. Each corbel terminates with a head similar to those that bear the shafts in the recesses, and others at the end of the choir aisles. It seems natural to suppose that the intention was thus to group the four first benefactors of the church, with their shields of arms, around their relative, the Founder. The bearded head of the south-west corbel apparently represents Sir Otho de Grandisson, the uncle of the Bishop. The south-east corbel is the head of Katharine de Grandisson, his sister; the north-eastern a moustached face with long hair, possibly that of her husband, William Montacute Earl of Salisbury, the Bishop's "dear brother"—(he died 30 January, 1344; she died 23 April, 1349)—and the north-west corbel would be Agnes, Lady Devon. This is the only place in the church where the vaulting ribs take the form of a cross. On the central boss of all, in the centre of the crossing, Bishop Grandisson mitred and in his full pontifical vestments is represented. The effigy of the Founder thus occupies the very centre of the building. His large boss is in the middle of the cross: the other four smaller bosses round him, one at each extremity of the cross, carry shields of arms: that at the eastern extremity the Bishop's own arms (mitre between two eaglets on bend), that on the western extremity the arms of Sir Otho de Grandisson, the elder, and uncle of the Bishop (three scallop shells on bend in lieu of eaglets), that on the northern extremity Montacute (argent, three lozenges in fess gules), and that on the southern extremity Courtenay (or, three torteaux with label azure carrying on each of its three points three annulets or)².

¹ At Exeter the king's commissioners reported in May, 1553, that there were ten bells in the two towers. In the south or St John's tower "one great bell called Graunsons of forty hundredweight by estimation, Bishop Stafford's bell of thirty hundredweight, Trinity bell of twenty-seven hundredweight, Magdalene bell of twenty-seven hundredweight, Doom bell of twenty-six hundredweight, Mary bell of seventeen hundredweight, another of nineteen hundredweight, and another of ten hundredweight." In the north or St Paul's tower there were "the clock bell of thirty-eight hundredweight by estimation, another of eight hundredweight, another of six hundredweight, another of five hundredweight, another of four hundredweight." It was intended under the sanction of Bishop Coverdale, one of the commissioners, to remove all but three. "Of these belles it is necessary that the great or Graundson's bell remayn to tolle to the sermon, item the clock bell, and one to ryng to dailie prayers." Edward VI died, however, on 6 July of the same year, and so the bells remained there till Risdon's time, 1640. But the Ottery bells all went: in 1553 there was only one left.

² These are the arms for Hugh (Lord Courtenay 6 February, 1299, to 24 July, 1334), created Earl of Devon in 1335, and whose wife on first coming to the diocese the Bishop had addressed as "Cousin." Her grandmother Agnes, daughter of William de Cantilupe (he died 1250), had married Robert de St John (he died 1267), and was the sister of St Thomas of Hereford (canonized by John XXII, 27 April, 1320) and of Juliana, the grandmother (Leland, VIII, p. 51, says the mother) of Sybil, Bishop Grandisson's mother. He was the son of Hugh, Lord Courtenay, Baron of Okehampton (who died 27 February, 1291, and was buried in St Andrew's priory at Cowick), and of the Lady Alianora, daughter of Hugh, Lord le Despencer; (she died in London 26 September, 1328, and was buried by her husband). He married in 1292 Agnes, sister

The other bosses in the groining of the crossing and of the transepts are all treated with foliage. The large central bosses all down the nave are also treated with foliage alone, but the five at the intersection of the ribs on each side one over each of the nave clerestory windows, ten in all, carry shields within foliage with Bishop Grandisson's arms (mitre in centre of bend) and Montacute arms (argent, three lozenges in fess gules) alternately, so arranged that Grandisson is always facing Montacute in the opposite window throughout. In the vaulting of the nave aisles all the central bosses without any variation (five in each aisle), carry Bishop Grandisson's arms. Of the five in the choir aisles, one in the centre

of Lord St John of Basing (who in turn married Isabella, Hugh's sister). She died at Tiverton 11 June, 1340, and was buried on 27 June at Cowick. On that occasion her husband gave to every Abbey in Devon, and to Plympton Priory, 20 marks, to every other Priory in the county 10 marks, to every Convent of friars 5 marks; to the fabric of Exeter Cathedral 100 marks, and to the fabric of the Collegiate church at Ottery 100 marks. He died at Tiverton 23 December, 1340, and was buried at Cowick after a funeral service at which Bishop Grandisson officiated 5 February, 1341: the sermon in Latin and French, and the proving of his will are described *Reg.*, ii, p. 939. His eldest son, John, was abbot of Tavistock. Hugh, the second son, and second Earl of Devon, was born 12 July, 1303, married 11 August, 1325, Margaret de Bohun (daughter of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, and of the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of King Edward I), and did not die till 2 May, 1377. She died 1391. They were buried in the second bay from the transept on the south side of the nave of Exeter Cathedral. Their altar tomb with effigies has lately been moved into the south tower there. They had seventeen children. The eldest son, Sir Hugh ("junior" in his father's lifetime), born 22 March, 1327, was made one of the first Knights of the Garter in the seventeenth year of his age. His stall plate is still in St George's. He had been at Cressy and Calais, but died before 2 September, 1349, and was buried at Forde Abbey. He married, in 1341, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Guy de Brian, K.G., by whom he had a son, Hugh, who also died before the Earl his grandfather. He married, 1365, Maud de Holand, daughter of Thomas, Earl of Kent, K.G., founder; and was knighted by the Black Prince before Vittoria in 1367 at the same time as Don Pedro, King of Spain, and his uncles, Sir Peter and Sir Philip Courtenay. He was summoned to Parliament as Lord Courtenay in 1370, in the lifetime of his grandfather, the second Earl of Devon, and died without issue 20 February, 1374. His mother Elizabeth died 23 September, 1375. His uncle William Courtenay, fourth son of the second Earl, was born 1342, was Prebendary of Exeter, Wells, and York, and Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and in 1370 (aged 28) Bishop of Hereford; he sided with Wykeham for the Black Prince and Richard II as against Wickliff and John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, who, by means of Alice Perrers, his servant, managed to keep his father, Edward III, under his influence. He was elected Bishop of London 1375, and Archbishop of Canterbury in 1381: and then made his peace with the Duke of Lancaster, who gave up Wickliff. In January, 1382, he married Richard II and Anne of Bohemia in St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, and died 31 July, 1396, and was buried at the feet of the Black Prince by St Thomas of Canterbury's shrine. He was founder of the college of St Mary and All Saints at Maidstone, an archiepiscopal manor, where by his will he had desired to be buried. Another uncle, Sir Philip (fifth son of the second Earl, and from whom the present Earls of Devon are descended) was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland 1383 to 1392, and his son Richard was Bishop of Norwich from 1413 to 1416. Another uncle, the sixth son of the second Earl, was Sir Peter Courtenay, standard bearer to Edward III, knighted by the Black Prince on the eve of the battle of Navarette 3 April, 1367, from whom he received grants of land in his duchy of Cornwall. He was in the sea fight off Calais 1377, where he was wounded and taken prisoner. In 1387 made by Richard II his chief Chamberlain, and next year Knight of the Garter, and in 1390 Constable of Windsor Castle. He married, Margaret, widow of Sir John St Loe, and died 2 February, 1405, and is buried in Exeter Cathedral by the side of his father and mother, but his magnificent brass, 8 feet 4½ inches long, has been removed from where his body rests and placed in the south choir aisle. The knight is 5 feet 8 inches, his sword is 3 feet 3½ inches long, his dagger one foot. The Garter is on his left leg. His wife died 5 January, 1412, and was buried by the side of her first husband in Bath Abbey Church. He was one of the benefactors of Ottery Collegiate Church. His name occurs in the obit list, 27 October. His small square stall plate without name is still in St George's Chapel on the north side of the choir. His eldest brother's Garter plate is on the south side of the choir, and has his name beneath it, Mon. Sr Hugh de Courteney, p'me fondeur.

of each bay, three carry Bishop Grandisson's and two the Montacute arms, alternately arranged, Grandisson occupying the easternmost and also the westernmost places, all surrounded with foliage, and there are six small bosses of foliage in each aisle on the transverse ribs. The stone vault between the ribs throughout the church is chiselled rough, presumably to carry plaster for paintings. In it throughout the church there are said to be no less than ninety-eight perforated holes¹. Some of these in the spaces between the ribs are still lined with lead piping which is seen protruding not perpendicularly but at a slanting angle. It seems likely that these holes were thus lined for the run of two or more chains or ropes for each lamp or light that was suspended before various images and shrines or merely for the purpose of illumination. The angle at which the lead protrudes would show that each light or boetta (Statute lxxvij, 1, 2) had more than one chain in order that it might the better be worked up and down. The lead would give an easier run than the bare stone, and would prevent the aperture being worn or the paintings in the vaulting around from being injured thereby. It was evidently the Bishop's hope and wish that the number of such lights should be increased (*vide* concluding paragraph Statute lxxvij, 1).

THE ROOD SCREEN.

The Rood screen before the choir was of stone, "broad and solid," about ten feet high and at least six feet deep. It was still *in situ* at the beginning of last century. "The boys of the King's School sat on the top of it. There was a stone staircase in the depth of it, and the west end had niches [? panels] filled with pictures exactly like the screen in the Cathedral at Exeter, only of course smaller."—*Trans. Ex. Dioc. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iv, p. 191. By this stone staircase there was an easy ascent to the top for those whose duty it was to read the lessons facing east or to play upon the large "pair of organs" that were placed here as were "organes" at Exeter. The wooden eagle (now gilded to look like brass, and used in the Lady Chapel), standing on a globe, on either side of which are emblazoned Bishop Grandisson's arms, may have been the one set in the Rood loft. At Exeter we know there was an eagle desk on the screen, for iron-work about it is charged for in 1330. The eagle measures two feet ten inches in breadth over the wings, and is two feet ten inches in height from the feet to the head. The pedestal on which the bird now stands is square and plain; it is undoubtedly made of old oak, but may have been adapted to its present use at a recent date. When used in the "pulpitum" for reading the Gospel and the Epistle from, only the eagle itself would then have been visible above the top of the screen from below. The eagle standing on the globe and carrying the book on outspread wings was to symbolize the carrying of the news of the Gospel to the ends of the world: and to the same effect was the procession down the centre of the choir from altar to Rood loft. At all low masses, and in most parish churches, the Epistle and Gospel were read at the altar: but at high mass in Cathedral and Collegiate churches with fuller ceremony from the pulpitum or Rood loft or at the Quire-step according to the day. For all those who followed the Use

¹ "Forty-five in the choir, chancel, and aisles, five in the lantern, eight in the transepts, five in the nave, twenty-three in the nave aisles, twelve in the Dorset Chapel, one in each spandril." *Trans. Exeter Dio. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iv, p. 60. There are however fourteen still visible in the Dorset aisle, and eight in the nave.

of Sarum the whole proceeding is minutely prescribed in the "de officiis ecclesiasticis tractatus," xciii, pp. 59 and 60, as printed at the end of Rock's *Church of our Fathers*, 1853, vol. III; or in the *Register of S. Osmund*, Rolls series, 1883, vol. I, pp. 148-150; or in the *British Magazine*, 1846, 1847, vols. xxx and xxxi, p. 265; or in W. H. Frere's *Use of Sarum* (Cambridge, 1898), *Sarum Customs* (1220 A.D.), vol. I, pp. 68-74. "Incepta ultima oracione ante epistolam casula interim deposita, subdiaconus per medium chori ad legendam epistolam ad pulpitem accedat. Et dum epistola legitur, duo pueri in superpelliciis, facta inclinatione ad altare ad gradum chori, in pulpito ipso se ad cantandum gradale preparent. Post lectam quoque epistolam unus ceroferariorum cum aliquo puero de choro aquilam in pulpito ad legendum evangelium ornando preparent. Dum gradale canunt duo de superiori gradu ad cantandum "Alleluia" capis sericis se induant, et ad pulpitem accedant. Dicto vero gradali, pueri cantatores ad gradum altaris inclinatis capitibus redeant....Deinde diaconus, accepto Texto evangeliorum, et data ei humiliato a sacerdote benedictione, cum ceroferariis et thuribulo precedente, subdiacono librum Lectionis Evangelice deferente, per medium chori ad pulpitem accedat; Textum ipsum super sinistram manum solempniter gestando. Et cum ad locum legendi pervenerit, Textum ipsum subdiaconus accipiat et a sinistris ipsius diaconi ipsum dum Evangelium legitur teneat: et lecto evangelio ipsum deosculandum ipsi diacono porrigat, a dextra parte ipsius. In redeundo etiam Textum ipsum ad altare ex directo pectore deferat." There were it would thus appear two books, the *Textum* or four gospels, and the *Librum lectionis evangelice*, which contained the special Gospels marked out for each day. The deacon carried the first in procession, but read from the latter which was carried by the subdeacon and set by him on the eagle or held open by him in front of reader (Rock, 1904, iv, 220). This screen, as at Exeter, was called the pulpitem, and probably was of very similar design to that now standing there (erected 1317 to 1325), and to that which bears the minstrel gallery in the Lady Chapel here. It would be carried on three arches, each about six feet broad. Under the centre arch would be the entrance to the choir, and in either of the side arches would stand altars. The northern one in this position at Exeter was dedicated to St Nicholas, and the southern one there was called Our Lady's or Bratton (founded by Henry Bratton, Archdeacon of Barnstaple and Chancellor of the Cathedral in the reign of Henry III), and at it there the first Lady mass of the day was said by the "morn-priest." They each had marble fronts. Bishop Grandisson's "morn-priest" at Ottery (Ordinacio v and Statute xlix) had probably a similar duty to perform here. In the compotus for 1438 occurs the receipt "15s. 4d. de pixide beate Marie ad altare matutinale." St Mary often had an altar by the choir door under the Rood loft. The spaces beneath these side arches were solid as they were at Exeter until the choir there was recently "opened up" to the nave¹. The Rood itself as at Exeter stood here upon a beam several feet higher than the top of the screen. The traces where the supports for this beam were inserted in the stonework are still visible on the eastern piers of the choir arch, about two

¹ In the volumes of *Trans. Ex. Dio. Arch. Soc.* there is a whole series of papers, in which an endeavour is made to prove that in a reasonable restoration of Exeter Cathedral the rood screen there ought to be entirely taken down and removed clean away, as has already been effected at Ottery. A constant dead set has been made by various members of that society at Bishop Stapeldon's beautiful Exeter screen, from 1869 to 1882, and still later. Vol. II, new series (1876), p. 224; vol. IV (1882), p. 273. Perforation, raising it bodily from the pavement so many feet, moving it down to the end of the nave to form a Galilee, etc., etc., are each therein seriously advocated.

feet below the top of the central shaft on either side. The supreme dignity of its position can best be realised when standing in the nave, and picturing the Rood as it would be seen thence rising aloft above and beyond the cancelli and parish altar, and shaded in the hooded shelter afforded by the transepts. In front of it on the large central boss of the church was a full-length figure of Bishop Grandisson in early middle age (1342 A.D.) surrounded by foliage; his left hand held his staff, which is no longer there: his right hand is raised in benediction as he faced east and looked down under the Rood and over the screen on to his college at their devotions in the choir. From this boss apparently the bason of the great light which he ordered to be suspended in front of the Rood hung (Statute lxxvij, 7). The hole for the chain is still visible at his waist. Or if, as certainly seems more likely, that hole in the figure was perforated for the last century chandelier that hung here, there are two other larger holes more to the eastward and close to the figure from which the Bishop's light might depend. It is in accordance with the lofty humility that characterised the Bishop that the Founder should represent himself as ever carrying a light before the image of the Redeemer in the very centre of his church, and thus fulfilling the lowly office of *ceroferarius* or taperer before the King of Kings and Lord of Lords "reigning from the Tree." Now that the Rood is gone and his college destroyed we cannot but recall his own words: "*Hic infra potest uideri status tam ecclesie quam regni Anglie. Utinam renouetur per Christum, Dominum nostrum, Qui uiuit et regnat Rex Regum et summus Sacerdos et Pontifex in eternum. Amen. Amen!*"

THE CHOIR.

A proper appreciation of the original proportion of the arches and pillars in the choir is now best obtained, since the level of the floor in its western bays has been lowered two and a half feet, by regarding the two easternmost of the present choir bays where the original level of the floor has been allowed to remain; or by looking at the two arches of the sixth bay, in the ambulatory behind the altar screen, or at the entrance arch of the Lady Chapel. The arches of the five bays in the choir have heavy hood mouldings which are continued down to the base without interruption.

There are in all twenty stalls of solid oak work still remaining in the church: of these some have been set out in the Lady Chapel, and some have been arranged in the present choir. Originally the whole twenty probably occupied the two westernmost bays of Bishop

¹ These words were written by Bishop Grandisson in a copy of St Anselm's Letters he left to Simon Islepe, Archbishop of Canterbury, and his successors in the see. It is now in the British Museum, Cottonian MSS., Claudius A, xi, and contains 163 folios, is six and a half inches broad, ten and a half inches long, and one and a half inches thick, and written in a small, very neat thirteenth century hand in double columns. The first seven folios are occupied with table of contents; on folio eight occurs in Bishop Grandisson's own handwriting "*Registrum Epistolarum Anselmi Cantuar. Archiepiscopi. J. de G. Ex. do et lego cuicunque Archiepiscopo Cant. ut memor sit miseri Johannis de Grandissono Exoniensis qui hoc manu sua scripsit*"; then come the words quoted above, after which the inscription continues: "*Anno Domini m° ccc°lxx°iiij° et etatis mee lxx°iiij° et officij mei xxx°viii° mense Aprili, die nono. Item postea tercio anno sequente innouaui.*" Here and there throughout the MS. are Bishop Grandisson's notes in the margin, e.g. "*Sciendum quod beatus Anselmus in epistolis uel aliis libris suis non est multum Rethoricus sicut beatus Gregorius set sentenciosus et logicus prout legentibus et intelligentibus satis patet. Scripsit Episcopo Exon' Osberno pro domo sancti Nicholai Exon' ep. clxxxiv.*" On folio nine is the signature Thomas Cantuar. (i.e. Cranmer, or his secretary's well-known imitation), and on fo. 161v "*Liber collegij de Maidstone.*"

Grandisson's choir. Each stall measures two feet one inch in breadth from the centre of the arm on one side to the centre of the arm on the other side the stall, and is exactly one foot deep. As four at least of the stalls appear, judging from the grooves cut in the oak to allow the fall of the misericords, to have been arranged in pairs, it is not unlikely that these pairs were the two return-stalls that stood on either side of the western entrance to the choir, for the four principal canons, the Warden and Minister on the south side, and the Cantor and Sacrist on the north. Two stalls thus side by side would measure with the arms four feet six inches in breadth, and would conveniently be set backward under the eastern arches that supported the Rood loft. Four stalls in a row uncut measure eight feet six inches in length and would exactly fit into the angle formed by the pier and its engaged shaft in each bay; while the space between shaft and shaft is exactly eight feet in each bay. Thus arranged there would be a passage two feet four inches broad up between each set of four stalls, its breadth equal to the width of the stone pillar of the bay. In front of these sixteen stalls thus arranged, four in each of the two westernmost bays on either side the choir, and occupied by the canons, the vicars, and the three priests, there would have been a second tier of seats for the secondaries, the choristers, their schoolmaster and the two clerks; and if five persons sat below every four upper stalls, there would thus be the exact accommodation necessary for Bishop Grandisson's forty persons (Statute vj). No others except these persons belonging to the college were to be allowed to be present at the hour-offices said in choir. Thus arranged the seats would constitute "the four parts" of the choir as ordered (Statute xxx), one "part" in each bay on either side with a locker for the books in each lower tier, or form, as charged for at Exeter also in 1350.

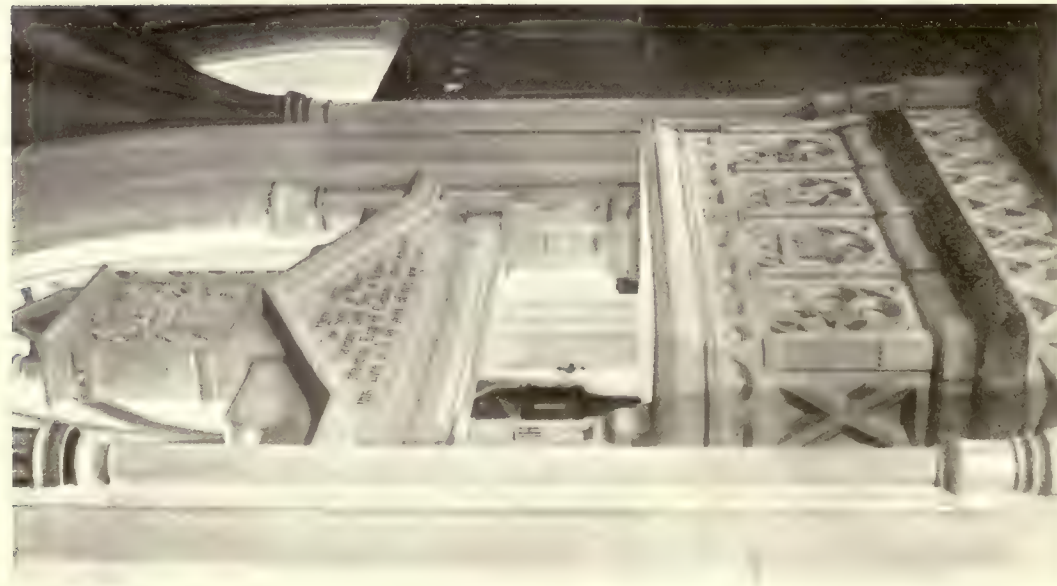
The two bays behind the upper stalls on either side were probably closed by some substantial work, not impossibly of stone, similar to that which still exists in the bay containing the sedilia and to be seen running across behind their canopies. The width of the choir taken from the back of each upper line of stalls would be nearly twenty-one feet. The passage free up the centre of the choir between the two tiers of seats on either side would be seven feet broad at the least, after allowing ample space for the two tiers. The only misericords that remain contain either Bishop Grandisson's arms or a head with the hair cut short over the forehead and a long thick curl on either side of the face. As there is nothing grotesque about this figure the conjecture may be hazarded that it may possibly be intended for a representation of the Bishop's sister, the Countess of Salisbury, whose arms elsewhere throughout the church he always introduces as a pendant to his own. The features are very full and handsome, and it was not an unusual position in which to place heads of persons of distinction.

The "gradus chori" occupied the whole of the third or middle bay of the choir; and the floor of the presbytery the two easternmost bays. Into this in the fourth bay there was one step up from the third bay, and from the choir into the "gradus chori" in the third bay there was also one step up. The hole through which the chain descended for carrying the lamp-bason ordered by Bishop Grandisson (Statute lxxvij, 6) is clearly visible in the ribs of the vaulting of the roof immediately in the centre of the "gradus chori." Under this light stood the large lectern, on which was laid every morning the Venitarium (Statute lxxvij, 2) or folio music book. On the "gradus chori" also were a "pair of organes" for accompanying the priest at High Mass, and at least two "pair of dexis" for chained books;



Two Misericords, p. 56

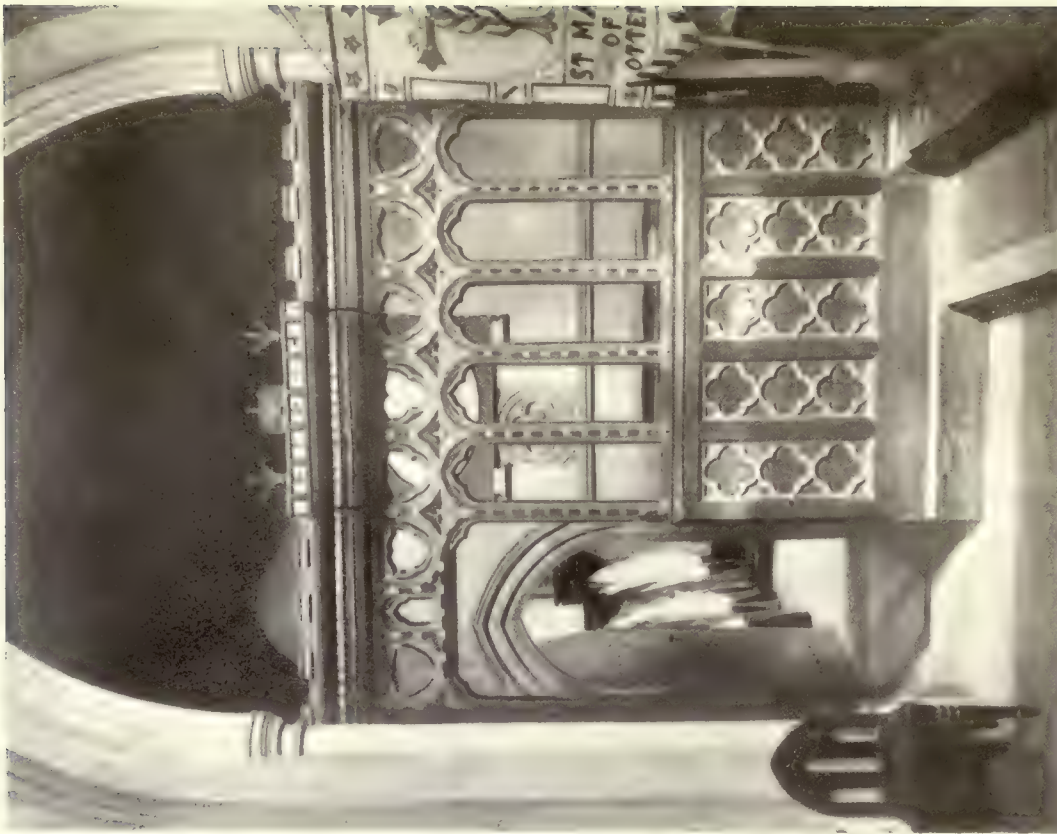
From Return stalls now in Lady Chapel, originally in Choir



Haydon tomb from Eastern end of North

Choir Aisle, p. 57

Shewing probable remains of Easter sepulchre



Oak screen, originally Cancelli, p. 36

e.g. William Holcomb, Precentor¹, 1 April, 1499, left to the college "unum librum qui vocatur Lynwode super constituciones provinciales, ut cathinetur in choro ex parte cantoris." In the easternmost bay of the Presbytery, on the south side, are three very richly canopied stone sedilia, open at the back. There are no traces of a piscina. The space in the corner between the sedilia and the reredos would appear very inadequate for it. On the north side of the altar are the remains of the Easter Sepulchre, which have been worked up into an Elizabethan tomb. The original was possibly somewhat similar in outline to Bishop Stapeldon's tomb which occupies the same position at Exeter Cathedral. Quatrefoils within circles were evidently a portion of the structure here, as there. Both would have been erected by Bishop Grandisson. It looks as if the slab of Purbeck marble, on which John Haydon and his wife Jane² now repose, had been the original on which the Cross and Host were placed on Good Friday. It used to have three riddels with curtains round it, one at each end and one on the front side. William Holcomb, Precentor, left "meas tres uirides cortinas sericas sic quod ordinentur quolibet anno ad ornamentum Sepulcri per subsacristam melius quo sibi videbitur ex consilio custodis et canonicorum."

"The present reredos is a conjectural and far from happy restoration executed twenty years ago (early in the thirties) from Mr Blore's design." *Trans. Exeter Diocesan Arch. Soc.*, vol. iv, p. 203. The eastern side is intact, but the old tabernacle work on this western side was completely hacked and broken away. "The mutilation took place either in compliance with the injunctions of Edward VI, or by order of Queen Elizabeth's Commissioners in 1561. 'The tabernacles were defaced and hewen down, and afterwards made a playne walle with mortar and plaster.' All the projecting work was chopped off, and the cavities of the niches were filled with the fragments and mortar until the whole presented a tolerably smooth surface for the plasterer. On this surface the ten commandments in two compartments in old characters of a reddish hue were written: and over the commandments the Royal arms. On each side of the commandments was a pilaster painted the whole height of the altar-piece, with texts of scripture above. It was uncovered in 1829. Bright colours and gilding in their original brilliancy were then found within the five deep niches immediately over the altar. The backs of those niches, and the deep parts of the buttresses, as well as the space between the shafts of the three large niches, were thickly studded with stars, and the ground in the large niches appeared to have been stained to represent the clouds and sky. At the back of the six lower niches (three on either side the altar) traces of images could be discovered in the outlines, and the holes remained by which they were fastened in their places by cramps." *Trans. Ex. Dio. Arch. Soc.*, vol. i, p. 34. Enough, therefore, of the original work on this western side was left to show that it, like

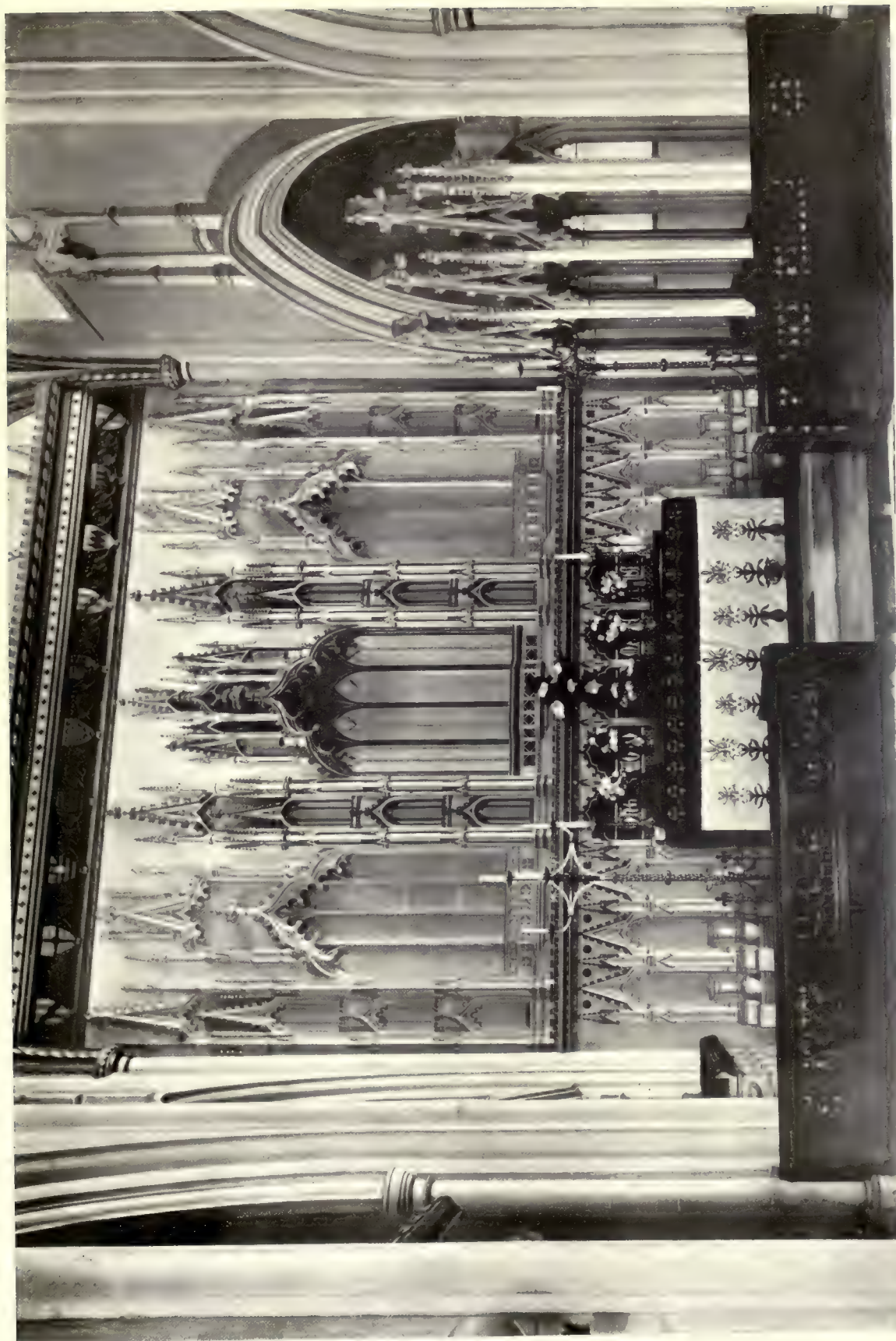
¹ Admitted at Exeter College, Oxford, 7 June, 1466; B.A. 1468; M.A., resident, 1482; Vicar of East Morden, Dorset, 16 September, 1475; resigned 1478. Precentor of Ottery, Vicar of Ashburton and of Ipplepen.

² He was Benchet of Lincoln's Inn, and one of the first four Governors appointed, 1545. He built also the mansion of Cadhay in this parish. He died *sine prole* 9 March, 1587; she died 19 December, 1592, and was the daughter and heiress of Richard Grenvill of Cadhay. At her decease the property went to Robert Haydon, son of Thomas, who was son of John's elder brother, and it continued in that family several descents. John Haydon was steward of the College property before the dissolution, just as another of the family was steward of Newenham Abbey. His will is dated 12 February, 1587; he was to be buried in the parish church of Ottery St Mary in the north side of the choir there. He gave and bequeathed to the maintenance of the parish church and for my sepulture there forty shillings.

the eastern side, had had a lower tier, here six feet ten inches in height from the ground. In this lower tier were three small contiguous niches with pedestals for images on either side the altar, and a plain space, eight feet long by three feet four inches high, for the altar in the centre. Over this plain space behind the altar, but still in the lower tier of the screen, was a series of five canopied panels. This lower tier was marked off from the upper two-thirds of the screen that rose above it, by a bold and richly battlemented string-course. Above this string-course or "Beam" were three much larger niches possibly for the exposition of relics and for the cross with Mary and John which Bishop Grandisson gave the college; the central one is four feet broad, and each is panelled at the back. On the north and south ends of the screen, and likewise on either side of the large central niche, rose apparently a series of small niches placed one above the other. The length of the altar space exactly corresponds with the breadth of the great central niche with its two attendant series of small niches. The whole space of the screen from top to bottom would appear to have been divided into three portions each flanked by a tier of five smaller niches. Three only of these niches in each tier have been "restored" with ridiculous hoods over the upper third niche; the whole of the ornamentation is modern.

The cornice of the screen carries ten emblazoned coats of arms, each coat between two carved stone leaves. "On the restoration of the screen it was thought desirable to have these various coats of arms on the cornice cut in stone, they had been previously painted on a flat surface." The most northern of these shields carries the Grandisson arms, as borne by Sir Otho, the Bishop's brother (with three round buckles on the bend gules). Next to it are the Northwode arms (ermine, a cross engrailed gules) for Sir John de Northwode who married Bishop Grandisson's second sister Agnes. Thirdly come the Mortimer arms¹

¹ Roger de Mortimer, aged eighteen years at the death of his father Lord Mortimer of Wigmore in 1303, was made the ward of Piers Gaveston by Edward I; he knighted him at the same time as Prince Edward, afterwards Edward II, 22 May, 1306. He was created first Earl of March 9 November, 1328. He was taken prisoner by William de Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, 19 October, attainted for treason and executed in Smithfield 29 November, 1330. He married Joan, daughter of Peter de Genevill, Lord of Trim in Ireland, and had seven daughters and four sons. Of the former, Joan married Sir James Audeley, K.G. founder; Katharine married Thomas de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, K.G. founder; Blanche married Peter de Grandisson; Beatrix married Edward, son of Thomas de Brotherton, Earl of Norfolk; Agnes married Lawrence de Hastings, Earl of Pembroke; Margaret married Thomas, Lord Berkeley; and Maud married John de Cherleton, Lord Powys. Of his sons, John, the youngest, was killed in a tournament at Shrewsbury. Edmund, the eldest, died in his youth November, 1331. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Bartholomew de Badelesmere, the wealthy Baron of Ledes Castle in Kent. As widow she married secondly William de Bohun, Earl of Northampton, K.G. founder. By her first husband she bore a son, Roger de Mortimer, born 1327, who was thus only three years old at his father's death. Sir Peter de Grandisson (his uncle) and William de Newenham, clerk, were made his guardians. In 1342 he had livery of his father's lands at Wigmore. He was knighted, at the same time as the Black Prince, at La Hogue 13 July, 1346, and was at Calais and at Cressy; he was one of the first Knight-founders of the Garter (23 April, 1344), though only seventeen years old at the time. In 1354 his father's and his grandfather's attainders were revoked, and he was restored in name as third Earl of March; in 1355 he was made Constable of Dover Castle and Warden of the Cinque Ports. He died at Roveray in Burgundy, while in command of the forces there, 26 February, 1360, and after a solemn obsequy in St George's Chapel at Windsor, was buried at Wigmore. He married Philippa, daughter of William de Montacute, first Earl of Salisbury, and Katharine, Bishop Grandisson's sister. Her will is dated 21 November, 1380, and she was buried with the Montacutes at Bisham, in Berkshire, 1382. Of their children, Margaret married Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, and a second Margery married John, Lord Audeley; their son Edmund, fourth Earl of March, born 1 February, 1351, was the ward



Reredos with Sedilia on South side

Haydon monument on north side, on site of Easter Sepulchre, now used as credence table

for Blanche, daughter of Roger de Mortimer, first Earl of March. She married Peter de Grandisson, the Bishop's eldest brother. They may stand also for Roger de Mortimer, third Earl of March, who married Philippa, daughter of Bishop Grandisson's sister, Katharine Countess of Salisbury. Fourthly come the Tregoze arms, the paternal arms of Bishop Grandisson's mother (gules, two bars gemels, and in chief a lion passant guardant or). Then, fifthly and sixthly—in the centre of the cornice, immediately over the altar—the royal arms of France ancient, and England quartered with France (the lilies in the first and fourth quarters). The Queen Dowager Isabel, daughter of Philip IV of France, and mother of King Edward III (through whom he claimed the French crown), was yet alive. She did not die till 22 August, 1357. Edward III quartered France and England November, 1339, and assumed the title of King of France the following year, and perhaps the motto "Dieu et mon droit" with reference thereto. Next to the royal arms come Bishop Grandisson's, with mitre in centre of bend; next to his come the Montacute¹, then

of William de Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester. He married Philippa, only child and heiress of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, K.G. (second son of Edward III), by Elizabeth heiress of William de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, and died at Cork, aged twenty-nine years, 27 December, 1381, and his widow a few days after him, leaving a son Roger, eleven years old, who in 1386 was declared by Richard II and the Parliament heir presumptive to the crown; but at the age of 24 he too was killed in Ireland 20 July, 1398; he married Eleanor, daughter of Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, K.G., and niece to the King. Their son Edmund, sixth Earl of March, born 6 November, 1391, died without issue 19 January, 1425. His sister and sole heir, Anne, married Richard, Earl of Cambridge, grandson of Edward III and son of Edmund of Langley, Duke of York; she thus conveyed Lionel Duke of Clarence's hereditary claim to the throne of England to the house of York. Their son Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, inherited the barony of Mortimer and the earldoms of March and Ulster; he was killed at Wakefield 1460, but his son was afterwards King Edward IV. In whose veins, therefore, ran some of the blood of Katharine, Bishop Grandisson's sister, his great-great-great-great-grandmother; and thus it comes to pass that the present royal family of England may reckon Bishop Grandisson's own father amongst their direct progenitors. On the brass in the Exeter Chapel at Windsor for Anne, Duchess of Exeter (sister of Edward IV), and Sir Thomas St Leger, her second husband, the arms of France and England are impaled with those of de Burgh and Mortimer. The sinister side of the shield is party per fess; in the upper half or, a cross gules for Ulster, and in the lower Barry of six or and azure, on a chief of the first two pallets between two gyrons of the second, over all an inescutcheon argent, for Mortimer; thus dimidiating the arms of Mortimer quartered with de Burgh as shown on the seal of Edmund Earl of Mortimer, A.D. 1400 (Boutell, *English Heraldry*, p. 250). Her niece, Edward IV's daughter, Queen of Henry VII, bore quarterly—1, France and England quartered; 2 and 3 de Burgh; 4, Mortimer.

¹ The Montacutes or Montagues were a family that had held high rank in the royal service ever since the earliest years of Henry II. William de Montacute succeeded his father as fourth baron in 1320, being then eighteen years old. He was one of the earliest, strongest, and most steadfast friends of Edward III from his youth upwards; he came of age 1322, was knighted 1325, and went with Edward III in the first year of his reign, 1327, into Scotland; with Bartholomew de Burghershe he was sent on an embassy to the Pope in 1330; the same year he, with Edward III, apprehended Roger de Mortimer at Nottingham in the Queen dowager's bedchamber; was made Governor of Corfe Castle, and became immensely wealthy with lands and manors in England, Wales and Scotland; in 1334 he became Governor of the Channel Islands; in 1335 Constable of the Tower of London, and in the same year lost one of his eyes in the Scottish wars; in 1336 he had grant of the manor of Datchet, near Windsor, and was made Admiral of the Fleet and South Coast; on 16 March, 1337, he was created Earl of Salisbury at the same time that the Black Prince (who was born 15 June, 1330, his father being then only seventeen years seven months old) was created first Duke of Cornwall; was sent, the same year, as ambassador with the Earl of Gueldres to the Duke of Bavaria, to engage him on Edward III's side against Philip of France; had grant of Ambresbury in Wilts, Hawarden in Cheshire, Worth and Swirehead in Dorset, and Swainston in the Isle of Wight; attended the King to France, and was made Marshal of England 15 September, 1338; was taken prisoner to Paris, and his life

the Courtenay with a label azure charged with three pellets (probably for Sir Hugh, grandson of him whose effigy and arms are in the transept, or Sir Peter his brother, both Knights of the Garter), and then, lastly, on the extreme southern end of the cornice, the Grandisson arms once more, but as borne by the Bishop's father, with three eaglets on the

was saved by the King of Bohemia; was crowned King of Man by Edward III, in 1342. Being blind of one eye, he lost his life, after a terrible bruising, in the jousts at Windsor, summoned by Edward III to re-establish the Table Round, 30 January, 1344. It is possible that the motto "*Honi soit qui mal y pense*" may originally have been intended to divert any bad conception that might, in consequence of the ill-omen of the death of the King's friend, attach to the founding of the Order of the Garter that arose from these jousts; though of course this would not exclude the more simple and natural import of the motto, "*Shame be on him who deems lightly of this*" (the buckled garter), his pledge and bond of unity and knightly brotherhood. He was buried in the Augustinian priory at Bisham, in Berkshire, which he had founded. He had married Katharine de Grandisson, sister of the Bishop, and she was forty years old when left a widow. West Lulworth in Dorset, and Swainston and Brightstone, in the Isle of Wight, were left to her as her portion. She died on St George's Day, 23 April, 1349, and was buried by the side of her husband at Bisham. They had four daughters and 2 sons; of the former, Sybil married Edmund, second son of fourth Earl of Arundel; Philippa married Roger de Mortimer, third Earl of March; Elizabeth married Giles, Lord Badelesmere. The two sons were William and John.

1. William, the eldest, and second Earl of Salisbury, was fifteen years old at his father's death, having been born 25 June, 1328. At nineteen years of age he was one of the K.G. founders, was knighted with the Black Prince at La Hogue 1346, took part in the sea fight with the Spaniards off Winchelsea 1350; in 1355 went with the Black Prince to Aquitaine, commanded at Poitiers in 1356; was again in France in 1359, and with Edward III and John, Duke of Lancaster, in 1369; in the sea fight off Brest in company with Sir Philip Courtenay in 1373. Like his father, he was made Admiral of the Fleet and South Coast in 1376, and the same year was found to be one of the heirs of his cousin, Sir Thomas de Granson, K.G. After the death of King Edward III, 21 June, 1377, he was made by Richard II Governor of Calais, and in 1381 conducted the daughter of the King of the Romans from Calais to England to marry King Richard II. On 6 August, 1382, he had the misfortune to slay at Windsor (a place fatal to his father) his only son and heir William in a tilting match. He himself died 3 June, 1397, at the age of 69, having survived all the other K.G. founders, and was buried on the north side of the choir at Bisham, Berks. His first wife Joan, the fair maid of Kent, was the only daughter of Edmund, Earl of Kent, third son of King Edward I. His second wife was Elizabeth, daughter of John, Lord Mohun, K.G. founder (her sister Philippa married the Duke of York). She died 14 January, 1415, and was buried on the south side of the choir at Bisham: they left no issue.

2. John, the second son of the first Earl of Salisbury and Katharine de Grandisson, was as distinguished as his elder brother in all the French wars, and as nephew to Bishop Grandisson became one of his executors. He married in 1337 Margaret, granddaughter and sole heiress of Ralph, Baron Monthermer of Stokenham in South Devon, and of his wife Joan, sister of Edward II and widow of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester. Margaret's father, Sir Thomas de Monthermer (son of Ralph and Joan) having been slain at the Battle of Sluys in 1340, her husband was summoned to the Parliament of 1357 as Baron Monthermer. He died 4 March, 1390, and was buried at Salisbury. He left by will "two pots with Lord John de Grandisson's arms on them" to his two sons John and Thomas. His wife died 24 March, 1395, leaving three sons and four daughters. Their eldest son John, Baron Monthermer, succeeded his uncle William as third Earl of Salisbury, 6 February, 1398, being then forty years of age, and was elected to his uncle's stall as K.G. about the same time. He was a great favourite with Richard II; and after that King's deposition he went disguised as a player to Windsor Castle on the first Sunday in the new year 1400, intending to kill Henry IV and restore Richard. But he was caught in his flight and beheaded at Cirencester 7 January, 1400, and there buried. In 1420 his body was disinterred and taken to Bisham. Though grand-nephew to Bishop Grandisson, he was one of the chief of the Lollards. His son Thomas was summoned to Parliament as fourth Earl of Salisbury in 1409, K.G. 1414, and was fully restored in blood and honours by Henry V in 1421, but was slain at the siege of Orleans in France 3 November, 1428, and left no heir male. Alice, his only daughter, Baroness Montacute and Monthermer, married Richard Nevill, third son of Ralph, first Earl of Westmorland (K.G. 1403, died 1425), he was elected K.G. 1438, and created Earl of Salisbury in 1442, beheaded 31 December, 1460; their youngest son George was Bishop of Exeter 1456 (aged 24), Lord

bend. With the exception of the royal arms, therefore, the whole series represents the father and mother of the founder, his brothers and sisters, and "cousin" Courtenay; and they would seem to have been thus most fitly depicted about A.D. 1342 or immediately afterwards. The similar way in which Bishop Grandisson has associated his own and the royal family at Exeter is characteristic and noteworthy¹. Archdeacon Freeman, in his *History of Exeter Cathedral*, p. 79, remarks that Edward III created the Black Prince Duke of Cornwall 17 March, 1337, and that the Minstrel Gallery there was erected in 1353, opposite the Great Rood that stood in the bay over against it. In 1357, a few years after its commencement, the Black Prince brought over into England John, the French King, and sundry of his noblemen, who landed at Plymouth and came to Exeter. "The gallery may thus be viewed as calling to memory, by the first occasion of its being used, the conquering days of Poitiers." The Black Prince was again at Exeter in 1371. The two bosses in the centre of the nave in the bay that carries the Minstrel Gallery, are, the westernmost the head of Edward III, the easternmost that of Queen Philippa. The corbels supporting the niches that contained St Mary and St Peter, on either side below the Minstrel Gallery are, the westernmost, Queen Philippa, the easternmost, Edward III, crowned and bearded somewhat older than he is represented on the boss above. The corbel carrying the shaft over the next pillar to the west is the head of Katharine de Grandisson, on the next her husband as at Ottery (p. 51), and over the last pillar on the north side of the nave, the head of the Black Prince with coronet as Duke of Cornwall, his features much resembling those of his son Richard II in the Westminster portrait. On the south side of the nave, the corbel over the pillar opposite to Katharine de Grandisson has a coronetted female head (perhaps that of the Princess of Wales, or of Isabel, Countess of Bedford, eldest daughter of the King), the next westward has merely foliage, and the last pillar on this side our Lady and Child, she committing a roll to his care, as on the boss at Ottery, while above on the same corbel is depicted her Coronation. A central boss in the roof of the nave in the second bay from West end has Bishop Grandisson seated and fully vested, right hand

Chancellor 1460, Archbishop of York 1465, died 8 June, 1476; their eldest son Richard, Earl of Warwick and Salisbury, Baron Montacute and Monthermer, K.G. 1460, "the King maker" who was slain at Barnet, 15 April, 1471, left two daughters, Anne, who married first Edward, Prince of Wales, only son of Henry VI, and secondly King Richard III; and Isabel, the elder daughter, who married George Plantagenet, Duke of Clarence, brother to Edward IV, Earl of Warwick and Salisbury, 1472, drowned in 1477, by whom she left issue Edward, Earl of Salisbury and Warwick, beheaded 24 November, 1499, and Margaret, wife of Sir Richard Pole, K.G., created Countess of Salisbury 14 October, 1513, but attainted in 1539 and beheaded 27 May, 1541. The arms of Monthermer were or, an eagle displayed vert. They are blazoned in the window in the fourth bay from the east end of the north choir aisle at Exeter; in which window are also Bishop Grandisson's arms, and Bishop Lacy's (1420 to 1455) azure, three shovellers' heads erased argent; and Montacute quartering Monthermer.

¹ Bishop Quivil had sculptured the head of King Edward I, and his first Queen Eleanor (died 1290), on the bosses in the easternmost bay of the nave, the only one he transformed, in 1284; and Bishop Bitton had sculptured the head of the same king and his second queen, Margaret of France (1299, died 1319), together with that of Archbishop Winchelsea and the pelican on the westernmost of the four bays of the presbytery in the choir; and Bishop Stapeldon the head of King Edward II and his Queen Isabella on bosses in the south choir aisle, the King in centre of the second bay from the west end, and the Queen in the third bay, just behind the Bishop's throne, and in the same way portraits of Edward III, his Queen Philippa and their sons were introduced at St Stephen's, Westminster; but Bishop Grandisson went much further than this.

raised in benediction, left grasping crosier, as at Ottery, contemplating our Lady and her Son on this corbel; the next boss in same bay the martyrdom and Passion of St Thomas of Canterbury (another favourite subject of his). A central boss in the second bay from East end has the Crucifixion, the next Our Lord in His Passion, with two angels, and then Queen Eleanor.

If the altar here had been eight feet long, then the distance from either end of it to the main arcade of the presbytery is just five feet on either side. Bishop Grandisson orders (Statute lxxvij, 4) that slender iron rods for curtains on either side of the altar should project from two brazen pillars that were to be fixed a little in front, over against either corner of the altar, with angels standing on them holding lights. Iron beams for carrying lights extended from these same brazen pillars at right angles to the curtain rods, and had their ends fixed to the next stone pier on either side the presbytery. These iron beams would be each five feet long and carry six lights apiece; their height from the pavement would be six feet five inches if the curtain rods were inserted, as would be most seemly, on the level of the string-course that bounds the lower tier of the screen, and thus a clear passage beneath the iron beams would be afforded for those who went to the sedilia or Easter sepulchre. On the east side of the vaulting shaft contiguous to the western end of the Easter sepulchre there is to be seen a little square of stone that has been there inserted to block the hole wherein the northern end of this iron beam originally rested. When the six lights were lit on both these beams they would serve better than anything else could possibly do to illuminate the face of the altar screen, resplendent with the colours and gold it once rejoiced in, more especially as the western portion of the choir would remain in comparative darkness.

The distance from the altar screen to the brazen pillars thus placed would be over ten feet. There are two considerations that seem to render it more than likely that the high altar stood not against, but a little forward from the altar screen, so as to afford the usual passage freely all round. The first is that "three curtains" are charged for the altar in the compotus roll of 1497, and one of them must have been to hang at the back of the altar. "*In solutis pro 47 virgis de say in coloribus de crymsyn et yowlowe pro rydyllis in choro, et pro altaribus per virgam 8d....13s. 4d. Et pro factura trium rydelarum coram summo altari 20d. et pro ij dosyn et 8 Rubyns pro dictis Rydellis 12d. et factura 28 zonarum cum panno ad idem opus et reformacione caparum et rydellarum ad altare S. Katharine 2s. 1d.*" Secondly, the hole for the suspension of the large altar lamp-bason as ordered by Bishop Grandisson (Statute lxxvij, 4) is clearly visible in the groining exactly at the foot of the boss (sculptured with our Lady and the Divine Child) just outside the easternmost bay of the choir. This light was to hang immediately behind the celebrating Priest, and midway between the stations for the Deacon and Sub-deacon in his rear. It would thus descend just outside the bay occupied by the high altar, very slightly to the west of the angels on the brass pillars, and of the line of the six beam lights that ran from them to the western piers of this bay on either side. This bason was probably borne by a single chain, as it would be set at a fixed height from the pavement; if it had been variable it might have been inconvenient. If the altar was eight feet long and four feet broad, then as the whole distance from the screen to the place where this light would hang is about eleven feet, its position, in order to allow the bason to hang as defined by Bishop Grandisson,

must have been such as would leave a space of about four feet between its eastern side and the reredos; and the priest's foot-pace would be at least three feet broad on the western side of the altar. If there was a third curtain behind the altar, the Pyx containing the Host would probably be suspended over the altar from a projection from the iron rod that carried this curtain; and the whole arrangement—of altar, pillars with angels, curtains, rods, and pyx—would remarkably and precisely resemble that shown in the wood-cut from the *Caerimoniale Parisiense*, 1703, and reproduced in the third volume of the *St Paul's Ecclesiological Society's Transactions*, p. 197. Bishop Grandisson had resided in Paris, and it would appear from his will that he had kept up his connexion with that city. If this was the arrangement of the altar with its curtains here, we then perceive a further reason why the three large niches in the screen are raised so high with their deep bases above the string-course, for it would be desirable that whatever was set in them should be well above both the rod that carried the curtain at the back of the altar, and also above the beams that carried the lights at the side.

The ten bosses over the clerestory windows in the choir carry, as do those in a similar position in the nave, alternately the arms of Grandisson and Montacute. The five bosses down the centre of the choir vaulting are each set opposite a pier, and not midway in the bay¹. Beginning at the western end, the first represents St John the Baptist holding his emblem, the wafer with Lamb thereon, to which he points as the Herald of the Redemption consummated on the Rood close to him. From between his feet descended the chain for the Northam light "in medio choro," in memory of Sir Otho de Grandisson, the Bishop's brother². The two brothers' lights thus hung next each other in the church, and the younger supplied the light borne by one of the patron saints of his brother John, whose own light was on the Western side of the Rood, and his other patron, the Evangelist, on the Rood beam. Of the first it was written: "Ille erat lucerna ardens et lucens: Vos autem uoluistis ad horam exultare in luce eius." S. Joan. v. 35. "Fuit homo missus a Deo, cui nomen erat Johannes. Hic uenit in testimonium, ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine, ut omnes crederent per illum. Non erat ille lux, sed ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine. Erat lux uera, quae illuminat omnem hominem uenientem in hunc mundum." i. 6-9. And of the second John, who actually saw the side of the Lamb of God pierced, it was written: "Et qui uidit, testimonium perhibuit: et uerum est testimonium eius. Et ille scit quia uera dicit, ut et uos credatis." S. Joan. xix. 35³.

¹ "The vaulting at Ottery in quire and presbytery is of unusual character. As the same curious arrangement of the ribs may be seen at Wells, it is quite possible that a band of masons may have come down from Wells to Ottery." *Archaeological Journal*, vol. LXX, 1913, p. 504. Bishop Grandisson had been canon and prebendary of Wells from 1306 to 1327, and his brother William had succeeded him there. "The ribs of the vaulting do not follow the construction but are mere ornament, a certain characteristic of late work. Assuming its reality I never could understand what became of the thrust of the arch at a certain point in the groining of the Chancel: but when the whitewash came to be picked away, the real arch, made of common masonry, was laid bare, crossing the church at proper intervals without any regard to the position of the ribs." The late Lord Coleridge, *Trans. Ex. Dioc. Arch. Soc.*, iv, 215.

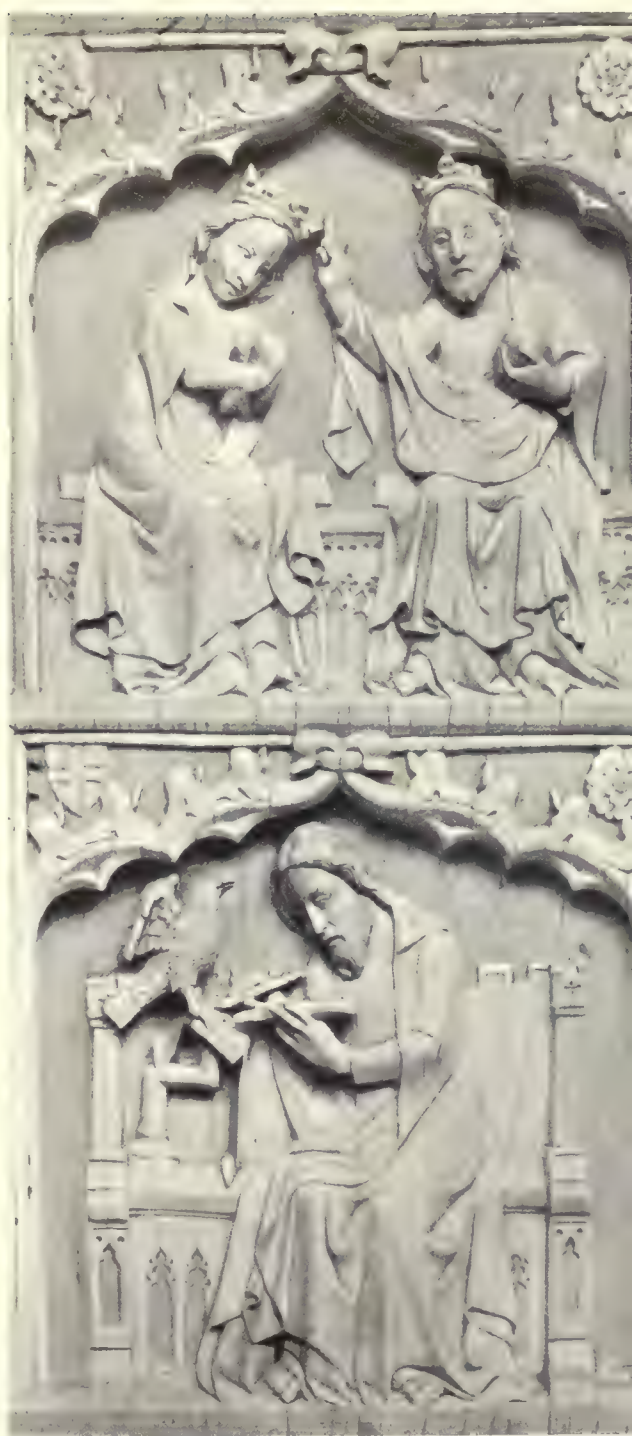
² In a similar manner the Vicar of Ilsington (12 May, 1340) and the Abbot of Newenham (19 July, 1344) had each a lamp or cresset burning in this church night and day, each at a charge of 13s. 4d. a year. The Northam wax light in the bason was estimated to cost 8s. 6d. a year.

³ Bishop Grandisson's two patron name-saints are set side by side on an ivory diptych that once belonged to him, one half of which is now in the British Museum, and the other half in the Louvre at Paris. The

The next boss represents the Presentation or Oblation of our Lady by St Anne, her mother, before the Beautiful gate of the Temple. There was a special service in commemoration of this Oblation, and another in honour of St Anne, ordained by Bishop Grandisson here (Statute xvij). The next boss depicts the Annunciation, wherein St Gabriel, who also had a special service here as at Exeter (Statute xvij), is introduced unrolling the scroll on which his message is inscribed; the Virgin stands to the right and has a scroll in her right hand on which is her answer to his message. The fourth boss shows the Holy Mother seated and the Divine Child on her arm, He holds the orb in His left hand, and is receiving as gift from our Lady in His right hand from her right hand a small roll containing

former is described in *Proceedings Soc. Antiq.*, 2nd Series, vol. I, p. 377; the latter in Emile Molinier's *Histoire Générale des Arts appliqués à l'Industrie du V^e à la fin du XVIII^e Siècle*, vol. I, p. 199. Each half of the diptych is divided into two compartments, an upper and a lower. In the lower compartment of the British Museum half, St John Baptist, seated on a rock, holds in his left hand a roundel, on which is a representation of the Agnus Dei, which he is blessing with his right hand. On his sinister side is a tree with dead foliage and an axe at its root, St Luke iii. 9. In the lower compartment of the Louvre half, St John the Evangelist—"Mulier, ecce filius tuus"—is seated on a bench and is writing at a desk (an eagle perched on his right side, apparently dictating the Gospel). "In principio erat verbum, et verbum erat apud Deum et verbum caro factum est." In the upper compartment of the British Museum half is shown the Annunciation. St Gabriel with scroll kneels (on the left of the pot out of which rises a five-flowered lily), to the Virgin, who is seated on the right of the same. She holds a small book with her left hand on her lap, her right hand is on her breast, and leaning sideways she listens to the angel's message; "Ecce Ancilla Domini, fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum." The Trinity is descending from clouds above St Gabriel, the Father in the act of benediction, the Son as Light, and the Holy Spirit as a dove. "Spiritus sanctus superveniet in te, et virtus Altissimi obumbrabit tibi." The first act of the Incarnation. In the upper compartment of the Paris half the Coronation of the Virgin is depicted: the final act, "the logical conclusion," as it was held of the Incarnation, the taking of the Humanity unto God. On a shield in the dexter spandril above the Evangelist Molinier engraves the arms of St George.

Bishop Grandisson showed further his devotion to St John Baptist by raising the dignity of the Festival of his Nativity. On 16 June, 1333, he issued an order to the Dean of Exeter—"Alma Mater ecclesia excelsi Regis et in Sanctis suis mirabilis exemplo ducta, licet universos Ipsius Regis gloriosi ministros in regno celesti constitutos studiis honorare sollicitis et sonoris efferre preconis non desistit; merito, tamen, decernere debuit atque censuit, prout etiam toto orbe terrarum id mos cunctorum fidelium approbavit, diem Nativitatis beati Johannis Baptiste, domini precursoris, in universali ecclesia honorificentie potioris impendiis attollendum, ut ab ea tanto solempnius magnificetur laudibus et sinceris obsequiis honoretur, quanto eundem precursorem suum Ipse Rex, in ortu et post ortum, pre ceteris excellencius illustravit. Hic enim, sicut sacratissima Leccionis evangelice prodit historia, precellit cunctis, eminet universis, antecedit Prophetas, excedit Patriarchas; tanta in eo erat excellencia et tanta gracia ut Ipse Christus putaretur. Hic etiam plus quam Propheta dictus est a Salvatore; cuius manibus—quod nulli est prestitum prophetarum—Se baptizandum Dei Filius inclinavit. Nos igitur qui devocioni subditorum consulere tenemur, premissa sollicite considerantes, miracione concutimur vehementi et credere vix valemus quod audivisse interdum meminimus, eiusdem gloriosissimi Precursoris Domini Nativitatis diem in ecclesia nostra Exon' contra ritum omnium aliarum ecclesiarum, sub simplici officio tantummodo celebrari; diemque ipsam summis attolli vocibus et laudibus personari precipuis, iuxta Evangelicam necnon et Angelicam pronunciaciones fervide cupientes, ipsius venerande Nativitatis festum sub officio Duplicis Festi medii in ecclesia nostra prelibata volumus et precipimus, annis singulis, perpetuis temporibus successuris solempniter celebrari. Mandantes nichilominus quatinus huiusmodi nostre voluntatis et precepti decretum studeatis hac instanti die Sabbati in capitulo nostro, hora capitulari, debite publicare et facere inviolabiliter observari." *Register*, vol. II, p. 697. As regards the Bishop's other patron saint, the Evangelist (whose symbol, the eagle, happened also to be one of the charges on his arms), it is worthy of note that amongst his choicest books was *Textum Evangelij sancti Johannis de antiqua littera coopertum argenteo deaurato*, which he bequeathed to Exeter Cathedral, and a mass-book "preciosum, notatum" in which "*In principio*" was illuminated.



Bishop Grandisson's ivory Diptych, p. 64

British Museum half

Museum of the Louvre half

the prayers of the faithful thus commended by her to His charge. The fifth boss immediately above the altar screen bears the Coronation of the Virgin by our Lord; both figures are seated and crowned, He holds the orb in His left hand, His right hand is raised in benediction, both her hands are folded on her breast; an exactly similar boss is immediately above the high altar at Exeter, which was there dedicated by Bishop Grandisson on Sunday, 18 December, 1328¹. Both churches were Mary churches. The representation is typical of the final triumph of the Church, the completion and fulfilment of all the promises made to man, set forth in the exaltation and union of the mortal with the immortal. Apoc. iii. 21. Mrs Jameson, *Legends of the Madonna*, pp. 13-26, 328-330.

This too was the design figured on the seal of the college; and the Festival of the Assumption (15 August) was the greatest holiday of all throughout the year for Ottery St Mary (Statute lj).

"For macula, moder, was nevere in thee;
Filia Syon, thou art the flour;
Ful sweteli schalt thou sitte bi me,
And bere a crowne with me in tour,
And alle my seintis to thin honour
Schal honoure thee, moder, in my blis,
That blessid bodi that bare me in bowur,
Veni, coronaberis."

Hymns to the Virgin and Christ, A.D. 1430.
Early English Text Society, 1867, p. 2.

THE AMBULATORIES AND VESTRIES.

Passing from the choir into the side ambulatories or choir aisles we perceive that the pavement in these originally ran throughout at one level with that in the transepts; these aisles therefore, although they are of the same breadth really as the nave aisles, would not appear to be so narrow, inasmuch as they would be two and a half feet less in height than are the nave aisles. Consequently the vista of the choir aisles was fitly terminated at their eastern end by one or more long lancet windows, instead of the square quatrefoils and square-headed doorway that are required for effect at the western end of the nave aisles. In the vaulting of the choir aisles are the holes for carrying chains for one light in each bay.

Midway up these ambulatories and projecting outwards on the north and south sides respectively of the church, two square buildings were added by Bishop Grandisson in a position similar to that occupied at Exeter by the square projecting chapels of St James and St Thomas on the south, and of St Andrew and St Katharine on the north, of the choir aisles there. It is very manifest on the exterior that these were an addition to Bishop Bronescombe's choir (p. 16). Each is vaulted with stone, which was plastered and had paintings; in the four corners of the southern roof are the holes for suspending lights, and in the centre is a large boss of foliage with a lion's head; each vestry has a chamber over

¹ "Memorandum quod die Dominica proxima post festum Sancte Lucie virginis videlicet xv. Kal. Januarii, anno regni regis Edwardi tercii a conquestu secundo, dominus dedicavit maius altare in choro ecclesie cathedralis Exonie, in honore beatissime Dei genitricis atque semper virginis Marie, et beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli; quibus eciam curam et custodiam eiusdem altaris commendavit." *Register*, vol. i, 434.

it, approached by a narrow stone staircase in its western wall. Each is twelve and a half feet broad in the interior from east to west, and thirteen feet from north to south; and is lighted with two small double light windows, exactly the same as those in the choir aisles with shafts in their splays. The chamber or chapel on the southern side of the church has always been used as a vestry. There is an aperture for a fire-place and chimney in its northern wall. Here possibly the fire was tended for kindling the incense and for baking the wafer-breads. There is a similar arrangement for this purpose above the corresponding south chapel at Exeter. (Boggis, *Exeter Cathedral*, p. 63.) In the chamber above, which is lighted by a square-headed single light window on the east and south sides, and by one double light square-headed window opening in the north-west corner on to the roof, were apparently stored such vestments and cloths as were not in use; the presses in the lower chamber would contain those more constantly required. At Exeter the corresponding upper chamber was occupied as the muniment room, and it may once have been so here also. The chamber or chapel opening out of the northern choir aisle was also used as a vestry, and the room over it for the Chequer or Treasury—an arrangement exactly similar to that at Exeter. In this erary or chequer, which is lighted by two small single light square-headed windows (though the one on the eastern wall is manifestly modern, p. 16), the original cement floor still exists, as it does also in the southern upper room. It is thirteen feet six inches from east to west and twelve feet six inches from north to south. There are four square-headed recesses or niches in the thick western wall over the staircase, each twenty inches broad and twenty inches deep. The northernmost of them is two feet ten inches high; and the other three are four feet three inches high. These may have served to contain cupboards for the custody of such plate or valuables as were not in daily use in the church (as ordered Statute lxx), and for the money in hand of the Steward of Chequer (Ordinacio xx). The legacy in the will of Henry Waterslade, Canon and Sacrist, made 24 August, 1460 (Bothe's *Register*, fo. 50)—“*instauro sancte Katerine vj solidos et viij denarios*”—refers probably to the store kept in this chapel and chequer. The window in the east wall is the one that has traces of the close iron bars for guarding the “store” (p. 30). It would however seem doubtful whether the piscina now in the eastern wall of this chapel on the south side of the window is in its original position. The usual place for the piscina in the southern wall is here occupied by an aumbry, two feet four inches broad, and one foot nine inches high. If the piscina is not *in situ*, it may possibly be the piscina removed from the south wall of the little chapel at the eastern end of the north choir aisle and inserted here when the Jacobean monument to Humphry Walrond of Ash was placed there. (The arms are those of Walrond impaling Duke. He married as his second wife Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Duke of Otterton, 21 January, 1611. He was buried here Christmas Day, 1637, and his wife 5 June, 1645.) It seems uncertain how far the hood moulding which now runs above this piscina in the eastern wall of the vestry or chapel, and is continued as a string-course round the north side of this square chamber, is original; there is no string-course round the south vestry. The staircase doorway is of shoulder arch form. Till 1851 this vestry or chapel was used as a cart-shed into which an entrance had been broken through its northern wall; hence considerable reparations and re-cutting of the mouldings must have taken place. From the doors of each of these square chambers or chapels and extending eastwards to the end of each of the choir aisles there are low stone

seats against the exterior wall of the church for the convenience of those who were in attendance on the ministers in the choir. No person was allowed in the choir except members of the college (Statute xxxvij).

The interior of each little chapel at the eastern end of the choir aisles is now very similar, each is seven feet six inches both in width and breadth. We know that the altar in one of these chapels was dedicated to St Stephen from the will of Canon John de Exeter, A.D. 1445 (p. 5), but which side chapel was St Stephen's, there is not enough to specify, although it would seem most probable that it was the northern one of the two, as John of Exeter would then be buried in the more coveted position nearer the Easter sepulchre. At Exeter there were two altars, one each side the high altar, the southern dedicated to St John the Evangelist and the northern to St Stephen. There was no room for such side altars here by the high altar, but the reminiscence of such arrangement may have led to the dedication here of one of these altars to St Stephen. The chapel on the south side is now called St Stephen's. The aumbry in its northern wall is eighteen and a half inches high and twenty-three inches and a quarter long. There is a piscina in the south wall. The chapel at the end of the north choir aisle is now called St Lawrence's, as a pendant to the other deacon and protomartyr, but apparently without any ancient authority. The aumbry there is seventeen inches high and twenty-one and a half inches long. The piscina in this chapel has either been removed, or else obliterated by the monument which now occupies the whole of its south wall. The four lead pipes inserted in the vaulting of each of the two little chapels for the chains to carry the one light in the centre are intact. The centre boss in the vaulting of the north chapel may be the head of our Lord—as He would have appeared to St Stephen—the centre boss of the south chapel consists of foliage. The groining is supported in each chapel by corbels consisting of heads; in the south chapel these are all female, and would lead us to conclude that the altar in that chapel may have been dedicated in honour of St Gabriel as that in similar position at Exeter, or even of St Anne¹; in the

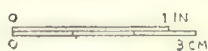
¹ It seems probable that the altar was dedicated both to St Gabriel and St Anne conjointly. As there was a special service for St Anne (Statute xvij) her name would naturally be connected with some altar in the church, and none would be more convenient than this. Bishop Bronescombe's special patron saint was St Gabriel. He was buried in St Gabriel's chapel at Exeter, and he instituted the special service in the archangel's honour. He gave six altars to Newenham Abbey, St Gabriel's, St Thomas, St Katharine's on the north side, and St John's, St Anne's and St Nicholas on the south side. In the church he erected at Ottery there would probably be an altar for St Gabriel. When Bishop Grandisson added to the church he would certainly not do away with it, for as he ordained a special service and Mass for this saint he would require such altar for him; and the most likely place for such altar to stand would be in the position corresponding to that occupied by the chapel of the Saint at Exeter, at the eastern end of the south choir aisle. It is curious also that the four female heads for the corbels in this chapel seem to be copied from the same four heads that appear conjoined in the one great boss to the north of Bishop Bronescombe's tomb and sculptured there by him in 1301 in the centre of the bay between St Gabriel's chapel and St Mary Magdalene's, they being apparently St Martha with her characteristic whimple (her words, St John xi. 24, are on Bishop Bronescombe's tomb below), St Mary Magdalene (her then reputed sister) and the other two Maries. Bishop Grandisson certainly paid much attention to that chapel. It is in the stained glass of its southern window that his family are thus commemorated. In the easternmost of its six lights are the Northwode arms, on the next Northwode impaling Grandisson (three scallops on bend), in the third light Montacute, in the fourth Montacute impaling Grandisson (three scallops on bend again), in the fifth Courtenay, and in the westernmost Courtenay impaling Brian (or, three piles meeting in base, azure). Sir Hugh "junior," K.G., married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Guy de Brian 1341. Her brother Lord Brian (born

north chapel the corbel in the north-east corner is a bishop with mitre. The corbels on the outer walls of the church for the vaulting in each aisle just outside these chapels are also heads.

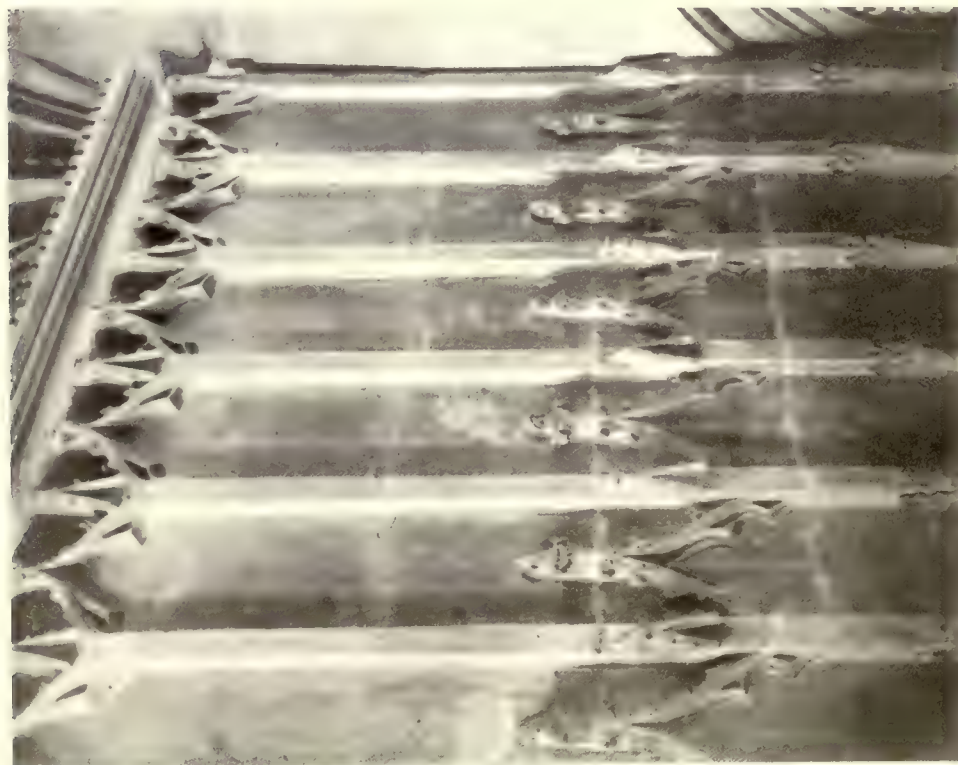
The main arches in the sixth bay, or that behind the high altar screen in the ambulatory, are apparently destitute of the heavy hood moulding that characterises the arches in the choir; and there is no niche now visible over them¹. This would seem to imply that it was always intended that a lofty altar screen should stand where it does now, and that these arches should never be visible from the choir. The position of that screen was certainly a part of Bishop Grandisson's design; otherwise, if it were not, the proportions of the choir would be completely altered; since without it the choir would consist of six bays instead of five. And, moreover, there would have been no means of access to the Lady Chapel

1310, died 1390) married as his second wife Elizabeth, daughter of Katharine de Grandisson, and widow of Giles, Lord Badelesmere, and of Hugh, Lord Despencer, and was made K.G. at the same time as Sir Thomas Graunson. The window at the eastern end of this chapel at Ottery originally consisted of two lights. One of them would doubtless contain the representation of St Gabriel and the other that of St Anne. All these considerations are more or less hypothetical, and the actual mention of the altar in some Compotus yet to be brought to light may set all doubts at rest. As regards the small chapel at the end of the north choir aisle, that, all things considered, seems almost certain to have been St Stephen's. The mitred head of a bishop in the corbel we should then imagine to be intended to represent St Thomas of Canterbury, to whom Bishop Grandisson was especially devoted, and whom he in the ivory triptych now in the British Museum associates with St Stephen, the protomartyr with the last of the English canonised martyrs; the head of our Saviour on the centre boss is then that of the King of Martyrs. This triptych is described by Sir A. W. Franks in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 2nd series, vol. 1, pp. 376-7. In the lower compartment of the central portion is sculptured the Crucifixion, and in the upper the Coronation of the Virgin. On the dexter side in the upper compartment is St Peter holding keys, and a church (that of Exeter); on the sinister, St Paul with sword and book; the high altar at Exeter was dedicated by Bishop Grandisson in honour of the Virgin and SS. Peter and Paul. The lower half of the dexter side contains St Stephen, the sinister St Thomas of Canterbury. If the martyrs were united in the dedication of this side altar at Ottery it would therefore be according to precedent, and Bishop Grandisson would assuredly have desired to honour St Thomas with an altar in his church at Ottery if the manner in which he honoured him in the cathedral church be any index to his feelings. St Thomas's altar at Exeter was in the second bay from the west end of the nave on the north side: and the chapter had, according to the roll of reliques written in 1200 A.D. (Exon MS. 2861) "de capite et sanguine sancti Thome martiris, et pars magna cilicii ipsius et maxima pars camisie intincta sanguine ipsius" brought to them by Bishop Bartholomew of Exeter who had been St Thomas's opponent, but preached the sermon on his canonisation. "In passione sancti Thome sint super altare eius duo cerei, et super trollicium altaris sancti Thome, scilicet iunctum (probably fitted and rolled out at the exhibition of the reliques in the nave on 29 December) viij. grosse candeles, et seruient ad utrasque Vesperas et Matutinas et maiores Missas a principio ad finem." *Ordinale Exon*, p. 540. William de Tracey gave the first blow at the slaying of St Thomas, his spirit haunts the beach at Woolacombe making sheaves of sand and binding them with wisps of the same. "All the Traceys have the wind in their faces" is a west country rhyme expressing the popular belief in a divine Nemesis, and that there is no luck at all for their posterity. Bishop Grandisson was remotely connected through Tregoz-Ewias and Sudeley with the de Tracey family.

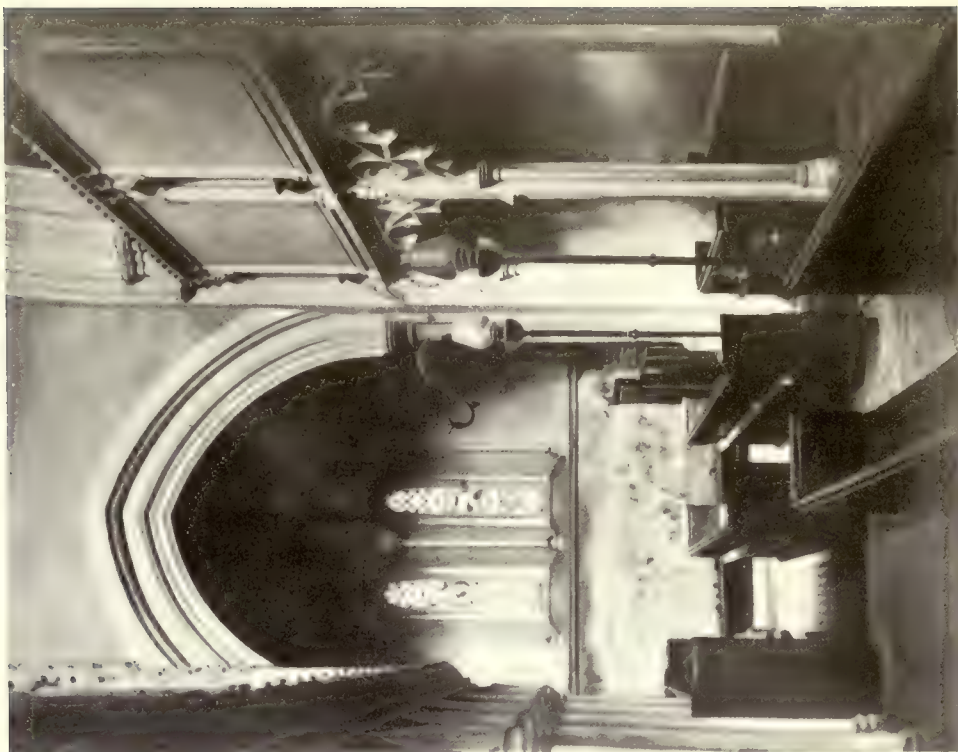
¹ "The niches are over the crown of each arch the whole way down the church from the reredos to the west door; but they do not exist nor have they ever existed over the arches (one on each side) which stand behind the reredos, between it and the Lady Chapel. This proves that the reredos and the niches are contemporaneous, and if the niches as there is every reason to believe are contemporaneous with the first building of the church, the reredos was so too." *Trans. Ex. Dio. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iv, p. 203. Even if hereafter it should turn out that traces of niches do exist behind the plaster now over these arches, *that* on the other hand would by no means prove that the altar screen and the niches were *not* contemporaneous.



Bishop Grandisson's ivory Triptych, p. 68



Eastern side of Altar screen



Ambulatory behind Altar screen looking north, p. 68

Shewing back of Altar screen on left and Lady Chapel gallery on right, p. 70

without the ambulatory which now occupies the sixth and easternmost bay. This is eight feet eleven inches in breadth.

The semicircular responds on the eastern side of this sixth bay are constructed of a dark grey stone that looks different from anything else inside the church. They may perhaps have been set there by Bishop Grandisson from some other portion of Bishop Bronescombe's Early English church. Nevertheless the mouldings of the capitals and bases scarcely correspond to Bishop Bronescombe's graceful work as seen in the windows of the choir aisles. But they take up very well in style with the heavy jambs of the quasi-Early English lancet windows in the two small side chapels added by Bishop Grandisson at the eastern ends of the choir aisles; and also with the similar heavy-looking arcade work in the lower portion at the back of the high altar screen. There are six arches with two half arches, one at either end in this arcade, the top of which is seven feet ten inches from the pavement here, and carries what is equivalent to the string-course on the front or western side of the screen, which there is six feet ten inches from the pavement; the difference of one foot in height being of course occasioned by the three altar steps within the presbytery. The upper two-thirds of the back or eastern side of this altar screen, facing our Lady's Chapel, are covered with two tiers of Decorated arcade work. These still retain clear traces of the original colour, and sufficient evidence that each of the twenty spaces once contained a painted figure of some saint. These two tiers each consist of ten spaces with crocketed gables and finials of similar foliage; the heads of those in the lower tier are cinque-foiled, those in the upper tier are trefoiled. The design of the arcading resembles closely that on the exterior western end of Exeter nave (as built by Bishop Grandisson), on either side of the western window and still existing there (though on the point of being restored and re-cut) above the later western screen. When we remember that this work at the back of the screen, and that on the opposite front of the minstrel gallery over the entrance to the Lady Chapel probably resembled in character the beautiful painting on the wall between the Chapel of St Gabriel and the Lady Chapel at Exeter (wherein our Lady is pictured in glory supported by angels, and surrounded by Thrones, Dominions, Principalities, and Powers) and belonged to the very best period of English art, and was contemporary with that which King Edward III was employing in the decoration of his twin royal chapels of St Stephen's at Westminster and St George's at Windsor (the first of which is so admirably delineated in Frederick Mackenzie's *Architectural Antiquities of the Collegiate Chapel of St Stephen's*, 1844, as well as by Richard Smirke, John Topham, and Sir H. C. Englefield in the *Monumenta Vetusta*), we may have some slight notion of the brightness and beauty of this ambulatory and approach to our Lady's Chapel, and of the choir and church generally, as it left Bishop Grandisson's hands, though now only the bare shell of it remains.

THE LADY CHAPEL.

The Lady Chapel erected by Bishop Grandisson at the eastern end of Bishop Bronescombe's chancel is of the same interior breadth as the transepts, eighteen feet; and consisted in the original plan, as did the Lady Chapel at Exeter, of three bays; with three triple-light windows on either side, and an eight-light window at the eastern end. The cusplings of the lights in these windows of the Lady Chapel are more elegant than any in the rest of the church. But while this portion of the building was in course of erection, Bishop Grandisson,

finding that he wanted space for more altars for his canons and vicars (Statutes xxiii and xlij), determined to add the two small chapels at the eastern end of the north and south choir aisles, in imitation of the similarly placed chapels of St Mary Magdalene and St Gabriel at Exeter. These chapels blocked on the exterior the westernmost of the three windows on either side of the new Lady Chapel. Accordingly the upper tracery only in the interior of these two windows is shown. They further seem never to have had either jambs or shafts inside like the other four windows; neither do the lights descend within two and a half feet of the same level as those in the other windows. Apparently this was always so. (The similar treatment of the window in the north nave aisle at Exeter, where the north porch now is, may be compared. Britton's Plate VIII.) The unsightliness of these blocked windows on the interior was removed by the erection of the very elegant minstrels' gallery, a sort of perforated double of the Rood screen to the choir, across the western entrance to the Lady Chapel. Both screens were of the same general design, and each was carried on three arches; each arch here is eight feet nine inches high from floor to apex and is very richly cusped; those in the Rood screen were closed, those in the Lady Chapel screen were open, and supported on Purbeck marble shafts, which were replaced at the restoration by plain stone ones. The space under the gallery east to west is seven feet five inches measured from the centre of the shaft of each arch, and each arch is five feet six inches broad: the arches on the eastern side rise from corbels in the north and south walls consisting of heads, as do also the corbels carrying the vaulting shafts, with the exception of the two at the eastern end; the westernmost of the corbels on the south side is a mitred bishop, the Founder, as assisting at our Lady's services, that were ever dearer to him than any others, as he himself testifies in his will. All the masses said for him were to be masses of our Lady, only one was to be of Requiem. The midmost corbel on the north side is a female head crowned, probably the likeness of his sister, Lady Salisbury. The face has a strong resemblance to that of the Bishop. Both her brother's arms and her own are on the roof above. The corbel immediately opposite to that of the Bishop, which he is looking full in the face, is a *memento mori*, a man's head, the old Adam with poppies springing from eye-sockets, nostrils and lips, all the senses dulled in the sleep of death: on the corbel at east end on the south side is Eve issuing from the earth, on the north side opposite is the second Eve, the Virgin. The two are similarly contrasted on the bosses in the bay of the North Porch at Exeter.

The gallery above the arches is on the eastern side enclosed by a pierced balustrade consisting of three rows of cusped squares, fifteen in a row, one above the other, each just one foot square; the western side of the gallery is solid, in it there are four niches, one over each column, and of the same character as the niches in the choir. The three flat spaces between these niches are now quite plain, but once probably contained paintings. As far as the purpose of this gallery is concerned, the introduction of boy musicians instructed in the "*organici cantus*" by our Lady's Chaplain here (Statute xvij), we may compare Bishop Grandisson's celebrated minstrel gallery in the nave at Exeter. The staircase for ascending to this gallery (which contained "a pair of organes," the third pair in the Church) is in a turret erected on the north side of the Lady Chapel, and approached by a doorway over the square head of which the string-course is continued. On the door is the original iron handle-plate and lock. Access by this staircase is also afforded on to



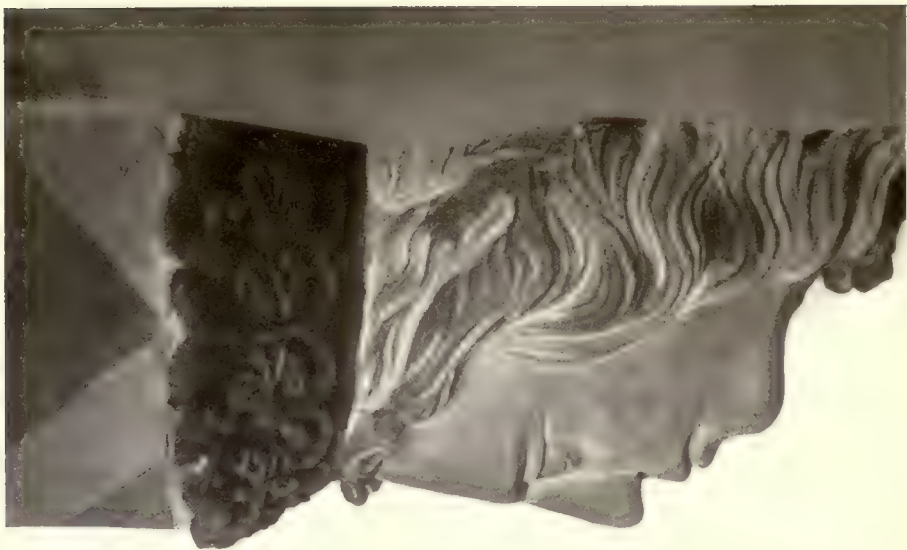
Photo. L. V. 100/10/10

Gallery at Western end of the Lady Chapel, with the Eastern side of the High Altar Screen shewing beyond

The Eagle is Bishop Grandisson's, p. 53; the Stalls those that were originally in the Choir, p. 56; the door on the north side is that of the Staircase Turret



Bishop Grandisson, p. 70



Katharine, Countess of Salisbury, p. 70

the exterior lead roof of the Lady Chapel, and also on to the space between the stone vaulting and the wooden roof. This space between the roofs is lighted by the two quatrefoiled apertures in the eastern wall of the chapel over the east window (p. 15), and by the seven-light window in its western wall, opening now into the ambulatory behind the high altar screen. It appears conceivable that these seven lights may be the top of the seven-light east window of the chancel that existed before the Lady Chapel was built and that they were subsequently thus utilised. (The eastern window of the Lady Chapel at Exeter consisted of seven lancets. Archdeacon Freeman, *Hist. of Exeter Cath.*, p. 11.) Each is trefoiled and the heads are finished on the eastern side far better than would have been the case if they had been merely intended to give light to the space between the roofs; moreover, it seems as if they had been originally glazed, from a groove which runs round the frame of each, and the bottom of each evidently went lower than it does at present and is cut at an angle by the slope of the stone roof of the Lady Chapel. The effect of these seven lights as seen from the choir showing above the flat top and cornice of the altar screen is very happy, and if not part of the original design, is at any rate a most pleasing accident. Each of the three central lights now contains a modern pedestal for an image. That this minstrel's gallery was an after-thought is shown not only in the interior, by the way it blocks the north-west and south-west windows of the Lady Chapel, but is also manifest on the exterior, by the fact that the plinth that runs round the base of the turret that carries the staircase is not continued along the walls on to which the turret is built (pp. 15 and 30).

On the south side of the altar in the Lady Chapel are now four sedilia ten feet long, with trefoil-headed canopies, contained at this point within the string-course that runs round the chapel. The easternmost of these has every appearance of having once contained a piscina. It is more deeply recessed than the other three: the stone also which forms the seat of this division looks modern, and that about the part which might have served for the piscina appears to have been patched when it was thus cut down into a fourth seat—the anomalous result being that the two present easternmost seats are on one level, and the two westernmost seats each descend one step in the usual manner. In all probability the four spaces were originally similar to those now in the sedilia in the Lady Chapel at Exeter, in the easternmost of which a double piscina still exists. At present a small piscina carried on a shaft has been inserted in the wall to the east of these sedilia, like that in Bishop Grandisson's chantry at Exeter. It looks very much as if it were the piscina from the high altar brought hither. The space for the alabaster tabula over our Lady's altar measures over six feet eight inches in length, and is three feet four inches high. It now contains painted tiles representing the Annunciation. The aumbry in the northern wall is one foot five inches high and two feet ten inches long. Like all the other aumbries in the church, it is square-headed and without ornament. They would contain the vessels appertaining to each altar about which Bishop Grandisson gave such careful instructions. (Statutes xlij and xlv.) In this chapel there was (in 1545) an iron grate and irons for hanging cloths, three coffers, and an ample supply of vestments.

The interior of the Lady Chapel is eighteen feet broad, and its length from the exterior of the screen up to the east wall is twenty-nine feet. Bishop Grandisson desired that there should always be present at our Lady's Mass and hours at least twenty persons (*i.e.* all the

eight secondaries, all the eight chorister boys, two vicars, a canon, and our Lady's chaplain) (Statutes xv, xviii and xix); more even than the five priest-vicars, five secondaries, and four choristers who from a larger staff at Exeter were engaged to be present at our Lady's hours in the larger Lady Chapel there (sixty feet long by twenty-eight broad). The minstrel gallery on the screen would easily contain the first sixteen of those enumerated: its width is six feet four inches; and thus leave the space beneath the screen as well as the rest of the chapel and the ambulatory available for the accommodation of such parishioners as he hoped would assist at those services (Statute xli), and of all others who were desirous of securing our Lady's intercession "in the hour of death and in the day of Judgment." (Statutes xix and xx.) The two larger bosses in the groining of the roof are interesting with reference to the Bishop's aspiration. The easternmost one here, as in the Lady Chapel at Exeter, represents our Lord. There it is His head only that is sculptured, crowned with nimbus; the four evangelists being on four surrounding bosses. Here, however, He is enthroned as "the districtus Judex," borne upon the clouds of heaven, the "Rex tremendae maiestatis" of the Dies Irae. He holds the orb of sovereignty in his left hand, and with his right once wielded the "uirga ferrea," which is broken off short. "Ipse reget gentes in uirgâ ferreâ, et ipse calcat torcular uini furoris irae Dei omnipotentis." Apoc. xix. 15. "Sicut enim pater suscitât mortuos et uiuificat; sic et Filius quos uult uiuificat. Neque enim Pater iudicat quemquam sed omne iudicium dedit Filio; ... et potestatem dedit ei iudicium facere, quia Filius hominis est. Nolite mirari hoc, quia uenit hora in quâ omnes qui in monumentis sunt audient uocem Filii Dei et procedent, qui bona fecerunt in resurrectionem uitae, qui uero male egerunt in resurrectionem iudicii." S. Joan. v. 21 22, 27-29. The other boss represents our Lady standing with the Divine Child in her arms, no longer stern and menacing, but sweet and winsome. He is offering to her the orb of sovereignty, lifting it up with both hands in an unusual attitude, and pressing it lovingly on his mother. He is more than willing to place in her hands the sovereignty of those souls who have obtained the favour of her intercessions. She holds in her left hand the roll of their supplications. Neither figure is crowned. Should the sentiment thus expressed rather, at the present time, jar upon or startle our feelings we should recall to mind that England, "our Lady's dower," was always more especially devoted to the Virgin; and that after all there is little difference between our Lord placing the crown upon His mother's head (as shown in the many well-known representations of the Coronation of the Virgin), and His committing the orb to her hands: in either case He is alike depicted as sharing the tokens of His sovereignty with her, "quia filius hominis est." In a somewhat analogous way the effects of the intercession of our Lady are exhibited on the walls of other Lady Chapels in England, though those appear to dwell chiefly on deliverance from ills in this life. The three smaller bosses on either side carry alternately the arms of Bishop Grandisson and Montacute, the Bishop's arms on the central boss on the north side, his sister's on the central boss on the south side. The surface of the vault in the roof of the Lady Chapel was once roughened, like that in the rest of the church, to receive plaster for paintings; this was all neatly planed down and smoothed, when the Lady Chapel was "restored" by Mr Woodyer in 1848. The paintings that were originally here doubtless further represented the story of the Day of Doom. The base of the corbel that supports the vaulting shaft over the doorway to



Iron door-plate and handle, p. 70



Bishop Grandisson's wooden eagle, p. 53



Morn-priest's or Mount House, p. 73



The Kynges Newe Grammer Schole of Seynt Marie Oterey, p. 302

the staircase to the gallery consists of a human head, with foliage growing out of the eyes, nostrils, and mouth. This as a "memento mori" would fit into the same scheme of treatment.

The Lady Chapel is now used for daily Mattins and Evensong: and eight of the old oak choir stalls have been set there, four as return stalls, two on either side, and another pair against the north and south walls; while the other twelve remain in the choir (p. 55).

§ 6. THE COLLEGE BUILDINGS.

The Chapter House was situated probably on the south side of the south transept, in the same position as that at Exeter: and opened into the Cloister on its western side. From the indications furnished in the Inventory of 1545 we learn that the lead on its roof was twenty-seven feet long, and eleven feet broad: and that it had five small windows. It would thus appear to have been about the size of the Lady Chapel, though the windows judging by the value of the iron and glass in them were smaller. Here every day the College met together after Prime (Statute x) to read the Martiloge and arrange exactly for the next day's service; all members without fail were to attend on Saturdays. In the Compotus of the Precentor Henry Swayne 1437—1438 there is a charge "pro factura campane in domo capitulari 15s. 6d."; and this bell would have been used to summon the College to these special services. On 10 October, 1345, Bishop Grandisson dates a letter therefrom (*Reg.* II, 998).

Next to the Chapter House would appear to have come the Library. This was a long room forty-eight feet in length, but of the same width as the Chapter House. It probably stood to the south of that building, and like it opened at its western end into the Cloister. It had six small windows which naturally would be in its southern wall. A better position for a library thus open to the sun and air it would be difficult to find. Its eastern end would join on to the Gatehouse, which was still in existence at the beginning of last century on the western side of the present entrance to the churchyard at the top of the steps leading up from Church Hill, that were then covered by a wooden lych gate. This Gatehouse was a substantial building, one arch gave admittance to the people's churchyard through which the parishioners coming from the town on the south passed to church: and the other arch at right angles to the former gave admittance to the College close. The oak gates of this latter were still closed at Curfew forty years ago. There were rooms over the archway, that would be occupied by the morn-priest, who kept the keys (Statute xlix) of the Gate. The late Mr W. R. Coleridge, of Salston, had two pencil drawings of this "Mount House," as it was latterly called. The archway contained the arms of the see of Exeter as altered by Bishop Oldham (1505—1519) cut in stone, which would seem to show that it was erected or renovated at the time the Dorset aisle was added, although two very similar gatehouses, erected by Bishop Grandisson possibly at the same date as this, still exist at Ilington, as entrances to the churchyard there. The lead on the roof of this "Gatehouse" is estimated in 1545 to have been equal to the lead on the Lady Chapel. The Library does not appear to have been built so early as some other parts of the College, for in Statute lxij the books are ordered by Bishop Grandisson to be kept in the Vicars' house. The founder however by his will left the College a large number of his books. He there says "Inhibeo ne libri mei ecclesiastici uel theologici

aut uestimenta mea ecclesiastica exponantur uendicioni, nisi forte bonis meis non sufficientibus maior immineat necessitas distrahendi, set omnes libri mei de Capella ut supradicitur ponantur (amongst these was the Psalter—now Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 21,926—and other special legacies to various persons)—ac ceteri non legati, ecclesiis collegiatis, primo de Otery, ac postea Criditione, et libere Capelle de Boseham distribuuntur.” That is to say, the College was to have the pick of all the Bishop’s most valuable books; for he goes on “libri uero theologici modici precii distribuuntur pauperibus scholaribus theologis et Aule de Stapeldone Oxonie. Ita tamen, quod scripta Nicholai de Lira et Nicholai de Tryueth super Psalterium una cum melioribus originalibus que non habentur in libraria ecclesie Exon’ remaneant ibidem in archivis. Et fratres predicatorum Exon’ habeant omnia scripta Sancti fratris Thome de Aquino qui fuit de ordine eorundem.” If the Library was not constructed at the beginning, doubtless however it was before the Bishop died (1369), or he would not have been likely to leave so large a donation of good books to the College. The Library over the Cloisters at Exeter was only built by Bishop Grandisson in the latter years of his episcopate, after he had finished transforming the Nave there. John Excetre, Canon, as was mentioned before, also left in 1445 books to the number of 136 to be chained in his old chapter library at Ottery¹.

The Cloister must have stood to the south of the nave. The lead on its roof is described in the Inventory of 1545 as being fifty-four feet long and eighteen feet broad. It is difficult to understand exactly how the measure was taken. If we understand the words literally we must suppose there was a long covered space on the western side of the Chapter House and Library running across the whole distance from the south porch of the nave to the present churchyard wall. Whether the roof was carried on stone or wooden work, this was probably open on the western side to the College churchyard. This arrangement would have been anomalous, inasmuch as it would not have afforded a walk for the brethren round a square open space in the middle. Nevertheless it may have prevailed here, for such a walk did exist round the “Cimiterium”; and this Cloister was to be used for a peculiar and a special purpose, namely as a great dining hall for the whole College on the Feast of the Assumption (Statute lj) “in claustro si habeatur”: if this was the arrangement it would have served equally well as a place for recreation and walking in bad weather. In fine weather the founder hoped members of the College would take their walks abroad into the country. (Statute xvj.) To the south of the buildings thus enumerated, and at a considerably lower level (for the hill on which the church stands slopes away here to the south), was the broad walk that ran down the middle of the Close from the Gatehouse to the Warden’s house; on its south side this too would probably be covered with a pentice; the north side be left open for ambling nags, &c., going to the Canons’ houses. On the left hand, or south side, of this broad walk rose in succession three Hospitia or Houses parallel to each other: the first, immediately on entering the

¹ There are still a few collections of books in England remaining attached by chains to their shelves. In the Chapter Library at Hereford are 1500 volumes, at All Saints’ Church in the same city are 286 [in 1858 the churchwarden, a bookseller, sold them for £100, and they were about to be shipped off to America; but Dean Wellesley, as the living is in the patronage of the Dean and Canons of Windsor, caused them to be restored to their original position], at Wimborne Minster are 240, at Bolton Grammar School 50, at Turton 46, at Grantham 286. J. W. Clark, *Care of Books*, p. 257. These last have lately been set in order in a chamber over the south porch.



Reverend John Coleridge, Vicar and Schoolmaster, 1761—1780

On the right is Choristers' Hospice, p. 75; on the left remains of College gate

College gate, was that for the eight choristers and their master. This was standing at the beginning of the last century. It was a gabled building, the gable facing northwards terminated in an octagonal pinnacle with a decorated finial similar to those on the south and north choir vestries; the roof was of a somewhat high pitch. The upper portion was lighted by a long two-light Decorated window with hood moulding (this would possibly have been the choristers' dormitory), and below was a pointed doorway on its eastern side, with hood moulding, that led to the interior. This was very probably arranged somewhat like that of the Clergy House at Alfriston, that is to say, there was a central chamber, and opening out of it at either end two smaller chambers for the boys and schoolmaster respectively. The boys (if they were treated as Bishop Bekington directs in the Wells Grammar School Statutes, 1457) would sleep three in a bed, two smaller ones with their heads to the head of the bed, and an older one with his head to the foot of the bed and his feet between the others' heads; their playtime was at the most an hour before supper in winter, after it in summer. "Minute directions are given that the boys were to cut their bread at dinner, not gnaw it with their teeth or tear it with their nails; drink with their mouths empty, not full, and not pick their teeth with their knives; and to take up their meat like gentlemen, not ravenously."—A. F. Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation*, 1896, p. 10. At the high school or great grammar school near to the Cathedral Priory at Winchester thirteen of the scholars had daily "a loaf of coarse bread of five marks weight, three quarts of small beer, a sufficient quantity of soup or a mess of pulse, one herring or two pilchards, or two eggs, and one farthing's worth of cheese" from St Cross Hospital by direction of Bishop Richard Toclive, the successor of Henry de Blois, its founder. Lord Coleridge has a water-colour drawing of this Hospitium, showing the Rev. John Coleridge his ancestor, and the father of the poet, about to mount his pony in front; in the background on the left are the remains of what was once the gate to the Close and the morn-priest's house. The school-house ran at right angles to it at its southern end, and joined on to the end of the next hospitium. It was afterwards utilised as "the King's School," the well-known Ottery Grammar School, but was pulled down in 1884. It was then about sixty feet long and about twenty feet broad, and was lighted on the north side by three square-headed windows with Tudor hood mouldings; each had two lights cinque-foiled; at its western end there was a bell turret. The other two hospitia ran parallel to the first, from north to south, and at right angles to the broad walk; one was occupied by the clerks and secondaries, the other by the priest-vicars. The latter is now incorporated in the present "Vicarage House," the former was pulled down at the same time as the School-house¹; it stood midway between the choristers' quarters and those of the vicars.

¹ Alexander Barclay, priest and chaplain of Ottery, translated in 1508 Seb. Brandt's *Stultifera navis*, Basle, 1497; his *Shyp of Fools* was printed by Pynson in 1509, and republished in 1874 in 2 vols. In it he places the eight secondaries who deserve the first benches in the vessel,

"I have eyght neyghbours that first shall have a place
Within this my shyp, for they most worthy be;
They may their learning receyve costles and free,
Their walles abutting and joining to the schooles,
Nothing they can, yet nought will they learn or see."

These words define the position of the secondaries' hospitium exactly as it stood at right angles to the school-house and forming the west side of the little court of which the school-house was the southern.

In this latter there would have been twelve priests accommodated (the ten vicars, with the "parish-priest,"—the "morn-priest" was at the Gatehouse, perhaps from this cause called afterwards the "Mornt House"—and our Lady's chaplain). These three hospitia were probably among the earliest erections of Bishop Grandisson. He speaks of them in 1337 as already constructed, "*domos in quibus teneantur uiuere in communi*" (Ordinacio xxij). They were probably of wood and brick, with red-tiled pointed roofs. (No lead is mentioned as being on them in the Inventory.) They each had a common table for messing purposes. The vicars' was probably the better of the two. In their dormitory each priest had a "cella" to himself (Statute lxij), and there was space there for the library at the beginning. At the common table in their hall (which may have been beneath the dormitory, or as seems likely, in another building that ran at right angles to it from east to west, and so joined their "hospitium" to that of the clerks), special lessons were to be read daily (Statute lij), and they had a senior or "Prior" whose duty it was to see that all their books, "*vasa et utensilia*" were properly kept (Statute lxj). Amongst these books was one copy of the Statutes, which had to be read at table four times in the year (Statute i), and their dress "as priests" was carefully specified (Statute lvij). The priest-vicars were bound to keep up and in good repair their "hospitium" (Ordinacio xxj), and they were all to be in when curfew rang (Statute xlix). The seven gates of the College close at Exeter were shut in similar wise after curfew there, which was rung at 8 p.m. from Michaelmas to Easter, and at 9 p.m. from Easter to Michaelmas, just in the same way as college gates are closed at Oxford and Cambridge still when Great Tom and St Mary's curfew ring at 9 p.m.¹ The clerks and secondaries were subject to similar rules in their "hospitium" (Statute lxj), though, as they were not priests, no rule is given as to reading at their table. It seems uncertain whether the choristers messed with them or apart with their schoolmaster, though it is almost implied in the wording of the statute quoted that clerks and choristers messed together. The clerks, too, were responsible for the upkeep of the buildings they occupied. In 1404 an extra grant was made from the London property of the College to the vicars of 3s. 4d., to the clerks of 1s. 4d., and to the choristers and their schoolmaster of 2s. for this purpose; and Bishop Lacy, 13 March, 1439, granted a still further help to them in this respect out of the Rectory of Ipplepen, *i.e.* 6s. 8d. for the vicars to repair their house and for the *vasa, utensilia, et focalia*; 3s. 4d. for the clerks, and the same sum for the choristers.

In the letters patent by which King Henry VIII handed over certain portions of the College to the four first governors of the church, 24 December, 1545, all these above mentioned buildings are carefully specified. The nave of the church and the north tower already belonged to the parish, as also the churchyard at its eastern end, so they are not specified. The rest of the church is specified, also "the whole of the Churchyard" (that

¹ At Great St Mary's, Cambridge, the "Mattins" bell is tolled daily still from 5.45 to 6 a.m., and "Compline" or Curfew from 9 to 9.15 p.m. upon the tenor bell weighing 36 cwt., and after the Curfew the day of the month is struck upon another bell. No student was allowed to be out of his house or college after St Mary's Curfew had sounded. The Curfew is now rung at Ottery at 8 p.m. for ten minutes after the clock has struck from Michaelmas to Lady Day with the exception of Sundays, and from Christmas Eve to Epiphany. After the Curfew the number of the day of the month is struck on another bell. The Curfew during the summer half of the year no longer rings. The Mattins bell is rung at 8 a.m. on Sunday morning.



The Old School-house, pp. 75, 99



Fireplace from Warden's house, p. 77

is the College Churchyard to the west, as well as their own to the east), "the Bell Tower" (i.e. the southern), "the whole of our Lady Chapel, and les vestreys, claustra (as if there were more than one), le chapter-house, and all their purtenances"; and also "le Vikars house, le Secondaries house, le Queristers house and le Scole House" with all their purtenances and belongings: "*necnon omnia et singula, domos, edificia, structuræ, stabula, columbaria, ortos, pomaria, gardina, et terras eisdem messuagiis et domibus spectantia et pertinentia.*" That is to say, the church and all the southern portions of the College, with the small tithes of the parish, were made over to the governors; or, from a secular point of view, everything that was comparatively of little value. All that was best and most valuable was reserved for the Crown, that is, the Manor House on the north side of the church, the Warden's lodge and lands, the Chanter's house, the Sacristy, and all the Canons' manses on the west, the great tithes of the parish, the London estates, the three appropriated rectories, in fact, by far the major part of the endowments of the College. These were all granted in the first instance to the Protector Somerset. After his fall the Manor House and other lands on the west of the church reverted to the Crown, and were not sold till the fourth year of Charles I. The Manor House was approached from the East Hill by the Ridgway, which after it enters Ottery is named Paternoster Row with Amen Court at its furthest end; this road passed along the northern front of the Manor House, and went on down the hill in the direction of Cadhay, and by this same road, therefore, the parishioners who dwelt on the northern, eastern, and western sides of the Church approached the Manor House for civil business and the Church for worship. The Marchioness of Dorset's fine porch, which took the place of Bishop Grandisson's north porch, stood at the end of a short avenue leading up from this road between the Manor House and Sacristy. The hall of the Manor House, in which the Manor Courts were held, was not pulled down till 1860; it was also used, probably for the entertainment of guests at the College. Henry VI lodged in the College two nights 15 to 17 July, 1452, and Henry VII passed the night of 3 November, 1497, there, and was afterwards entertained for a week at Shute by his brother-in-law, the Marquis of Dorset. There was another wing that ran from north to south at the west end of this hall, the walls of which, with an old round-headed doorway into the hall, are still standing; and the oak beams that carried the gable of this wing are still there. "Jesus Street," together with "Paradise" and "Land of Canaan," which latter are the names of two fair fields in Ottery, still afford further evidence of their former ecclesiastical holders.

Portions of the Warden's lodge and the Chanter's house are still standing. Four rooms that constituted part of the latter are intact and incorporated in Lord Coleridge's house of Heath's Court. The fine stone chimney-piece of the fifteenth century that decorated the dining-hall attached to the Warden's house has been removed to the present vicarage kitchen. The Warden's house, with its garden and grounds, occupied the same position relative to the church as did the Deanery to the Cathedral at Exeter, and was the most southern of the eight Canons' houses, and the Chanter's and the Sacristy were the two most northern. Between the Warden and Chanter's houses probably ran the row of the "mansiones" or manses of the several Canons; each contained three "cameræ" at least. Every Canon was expected to have one male servant (Statute lxxvij, 3) who would attend to his house, horse, or mule, and garden, and render other service as required.

If married, the wives of such servants must live in the town (Statute lvj). The will of Henry Waterslade, Sacrist, 24 August, 1460, mentions legacies to such servants, and from the enumeration of various items in the same will a very good idea of the furniture of a Canon's house at that date may be obtained. (He had been chaplain, and was instituted as canon, sacrist and prebendary 25 September, 1425, on the death of John Bokeland.) The Canons were not bound, as the vicars and clerks were, to "live in common"; the founder, as a free gift, carefully provided each with furniture for his house (Statute lx), "*duas tabulas cum trescellis, lauatorium cum pelui, duodecim discos de stagno cum totidem salsariis et unum cochlear argenteum et unum pottum stagneum*," which he was to hand on unimpaired to his successor in the canonry (Ordinacio xxj). Though a Canon might dine alone if he wished, yet it was intended that sometimes, at any rate, the Canons should dine together as a body (Statute lvij), for the four seniors were to wear a distinguishing dress at dinner time. Each Canon was to entertain always daily during residence his vicar at least, his servant, and some one or more of the vicars, clerks or boys.

Each Canon had a small collection of books of his own (often enumerated in their wills), and amongst these, each of the eight was bound to have a copy of the Statutes *per se* (Statute i). They all had to be "at home," or within the College, at Curfew (Statute xlix).

The high wall of the "Clausum," or Close, extended from the College gateway down along the outskirts of the gardens and orchards of the clerks and vicars on their southern side¹, and then would pass very nearly where the high wall still bounds on the south and west the warden's "house and lands," and thus included the Canons' houses (Statute xxvii) with their garden slips sloping away down the hill at the back of each towards the west, and the "fontes," or three wells, and thence coming round, would terminate at the Manor House on the north (Statutes xxij, xxviii, xlix). Its gate was locked after Curfew, and the key kept by the morn-priest till daybreak. None of the College were ever to go outside the close in their choir dress (Statute xxij).

It seems not unlikely that a wooden pentice with tiled roof ran round the College churchyard (similar to the wooden pentice from the north door of St George's nave that originally ran thence all round the horse-shoe cloisters at Windsor). It would begin from the western door of the church and pass in front of the door of the north nave aisle, then turn westward to the line of the Canons' houses, and so along in front of them from north to south to the Warden's house, whence it turned eastward round to the Vicars' house, and so up the steps into the churchyard, and passing alongside the square cloister took up with the west door again. This would be the "*deambulatorium cimiterii*." Processions formed a special feature in the ceremonies of the College; much care was taken (Statute

¹ The schoolmaster we know from the following order of Bishop Brantingham, who had been himself a Canon of Ottery, had a little garden of his own, wherein he had the pleasure of tending his own flowers and shrubs, and if he, then probably also others of the vicars and clerks likewise. "*Mandatum Canonicis de Otery ut reintegrant (sic) quandam particulam gardini, assignati ad usum magistri scholarum ibidem*,—

Item, eisdem die, loco, et anno [London, 18 Oct., 1380], facta fuit Commissio Presidenti Consistorii Exoniensis, et Officiali Archidiaconi Exonie, vel ejus locumtenenti, ad monendum et efficaciter inducendum Custodem et Canonicos Ecclesie Collegiate de Otery, ut revocent et reintegrent quandam particulam gardini ad usum Magistri Scholarum gramaticalium ibidem per Fundatorem ipsius Collegii assignati; quam particulam dicti Custos et Canonici cuidam laico ad firmam sub censu annuo dimiserunt; et certificent citra Festum Natalis Domini." *Regist. Brantingham*, vol. I, 435.

xxxij) in arranging them: and the great accumulation of copes that resulted in course of time from Ordinacio xxiv and Statute lx, as testified by the Inventory of 1545, would minister to their equipment in an exceptional manner. Such a covered way (or second cloister) would have been exceedingly useful for this purpose, more especially if the cloister with the leaden roof was of the anomalous character described above: it would serve, moreover, for naturally protecting the Canons from the weather as they passed to and from the church and their houses. John Langleghe, canon and minister, by his will 17 July, 1404 (*Stafford Reg.* 382), directs "his body to be buried in the cemetery, beyond the west door before the statue of the blessed Mary" (that probably stood in the great niche on the right hand side of the door). Thomas Goode, another canon and minister, desires to be buried "*parum infra portam Sacristie*" (i.e. of the Canon Sacrist's house, that stood probably next to the Chanter's and between that and the Manor House) "*in deambulatorio cimiterii*" (*Lacy's Reg.*, III, 501. b). William Lane, priest-vicar, by his will, dated 3 Feb., 1529, desired to be buried in this churchyard "*ante latam hostiam in semita ducente versus fontem*," i.e. the spring still existing as a fountain at Heath's Court. (It afforded, apparently, with the other two springs on the same slope, one to its north and the other to its south, the chief water supply of the College. From the last year's compotus of the College it is evident they had arranged for a further water supply, like that which now flows in one clear stream along Ridgway from Holcombe, off the East Hill, right through the College, in front of the Vicarage, and in another clear stream to the north of the churchyard from the same source through the Manor House grounds.) In choosing this position for their bodies' resting-place these members of the college desired that their faces after death should be turned towards the selfsame Divine figure of our Lord, showing His five wounds (p. 20), as their founder, Bishop Grandisson, had caused to be sculptured (1329) over his own grave in his chantry chapel at Exeter, forty years before his own decease. There, occupying the greater part of the length of the little chapel, in the vaulting of the roof, is a large life-size figure of our Saviour, seated, and with the folds of His drapery so disposed as to show the open wound of the spear thrust to his heart in the *left* breast, and with uplifted and pierced left hand looking down upon and immediately over the grave of the Bishop below. (The right hand was apparently cut off when the new vaulting on that side was inserted.) Here, the semblance of the Reality that will be the first object to meet the eyes of all at the great awakening, the Son of Man in His Resurrection body enthroned triumphant over death, the returning Judge of quick and dead, was set on high by the founder in the largest and finest niche of his collegiate church. The spaces on each side of that niche (now filled with glass luffers that completely mar their effect) may have once held two figures of attendant angels, each stooping forward with a trump of doom. If they were thus filled, the treatment of this awe-inspiring subject would be precisely identical to that delineated in Bishop Grandisson's Psalter (*Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.* 21,926), where, on fol. 25, it would almost seem as if this grassy churchyard of Ottery, on either side the high western façade of a gabled church, was specially represented, with the figures of the dead rising "to meet the Lord in the air," 1 Thess. iv. 17. (At St George's, Windsor, in front of the stall next to the Precentor's, the same attendant angels with long trumpets are carved in wood on either side of our Lord showing His five wounds, and all the saints below rise expectant towards Him "*in reuelatione domini Jesu de celo cum*

angelis virtutis eius...cum uenerit glorificari in sanctis suis, et admirabilis fieri in omnibus qui crediderunt," 2 Thess. i. 7, 10.) Thus there was set up deliberately by the founder before the eyes of all the College, who, for one hour daily at least, took their walk in the "deambulatorium cimiterii," as well as of each canon as he passed from his house in the Close, morning and evening, to his devotions in the Church or his duties in the world, a constant reminder of "Pastor ille bonus qui animam suam dat pro ouibus suis," S. Joan. x. 11, 14; in order that this divine "exemplar pastorum" for each of them in his daily life the highest ideal of goodness, obedience, self-control, self-sacrifice, and service ever lived by man in the flesh, might teach each of his beloved sons here humbly and patiently to bear like Him their trials and cross, "fidelis usque mortem." And so doing Bishop Grandisson would afford them at one and the same time an example in the present, and a testimony of the Resurrection and the Judgment in the future, as if addressing them in St Peter's words, "Seniores ergo, qui in uobis sunt, obsecro consenior et testis Christi passionum, pascite qui in uobis est gregem Dei: neque ut dominantes in cleris, sed forma facti gregis ex animo. Et cum apparuerit princeps pastorum, percipietis immarcescibilem glorie coronam," 1 St Peter v. 1—4¹. And thus he defunctus adhuc loquitur, "Deus autem pacis, qui eduxit de mortuis pastorem magnum ouium, in sanguine testamenti eterni, Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, aptet uos in omni bono, ut faciatis eius uoluntatem." Heb. xiii. 20, 21.

¹ The subject seems to have dwelt much on the Bishop's mind. He concludes his Injunctions to the Dean and Chapter of Exeter (18 November, 1358) in these words: "Vos ergo, decane, contra non observantes penaliter exequi tam sollicito nostra vice et vestra curetis, quod preter eterne retributionis mercedem quam eternus et justus Judex unicuique redditurus est, possitis de vera obediencia merito commendari, dicente eodem Domino nostro Jesu Christo, 'Euge serve bone et fidelis, quia super pauca fuisti fidelis super multa te constituam, intra in gaudium domini tui.' Fiat, fiat, Amen." Herein too he would appear to recall the words of the collect in the Missa de quinque vulneribus "Domine Jesu Christe, fili Dei vivi, qui de celo ad terram de sinu patris descendisti et in ligno crucis quinque plagas sustinuisti, et sanguinem tuum pretiosum in remissionem peccatorum nostrorum effudisti, te humiliter deprecamur ut in die iudicii, ad dextram tui statuti, a te audire mereamur illam vocem dulcissimam, Venite benedicti in regnum patris mei." Missale Sarum, 751* to 756*. "Ecce venit cum nubibus, et videbit eum omnis oculus, et qui eum pupugerunt." Apoc. i. 7. "With this intent His side is generally left bare, and the two hands are equally raised, with their pierced palms turned out exactly alike to the spectator. In this was set forth the great theological idea, never absent from the Person of Christ as Judge, whether in Greek or Latin, early or modern art—the meaning being that the wounds conveyed their respective sentences to the assembled children of men, according as they had previously accepted or rejected these signs of the Atonement—'to the one the savour of death unto death, to the other of life unto life'—the outward aspect of the Judge being the same to each. This greatly contributed to give that grand abstract air which befits the embodiment of divine justice. There is something indescribably fine and awful in this rigid full-front figure, which looks neither to the right nor the left—shows no favour and no resentment—but operates as a natural law, either to the salvation or confusion of those who behold Him." Mrs Jameson's *History of Our Lord as exemplified in Works of Art*, vol. II, p. 398. The same subject is painted on the panel canopy above Bishop Stapeldon's tomb on the north side of the high altar at Exeter. The figure of our Lord is 6 feet 7 inches high and 2 feet 6 inches broad. Both hands are uplifted, the right in benediction, the left is open. The wound is on His right side. A small crowned figure of Edward II is sculptured climbing a pillar on the right side of our Lord, to whom it looks up eagerly. Bishop Stapeldon was murdered in Cheapside, 15 October, 1326; interred at Exeter 28 March, 1327. Edward II was murdered at Berkeley Castle, 21 September, 1327. Bishop Grandisson was consecrated 18 October in that same year. These four figures of our Lord, therefore—two at Exeter and two at Ottery (p. 15)—would be contemporary.

PRIVATE ROAD

Fountain

now
Heath's Court

Fountain

SITE OF FOUR
CANONS HOUSES

Fountain

MINISTERS
HOUSE

WARDEN'S
HOUSE

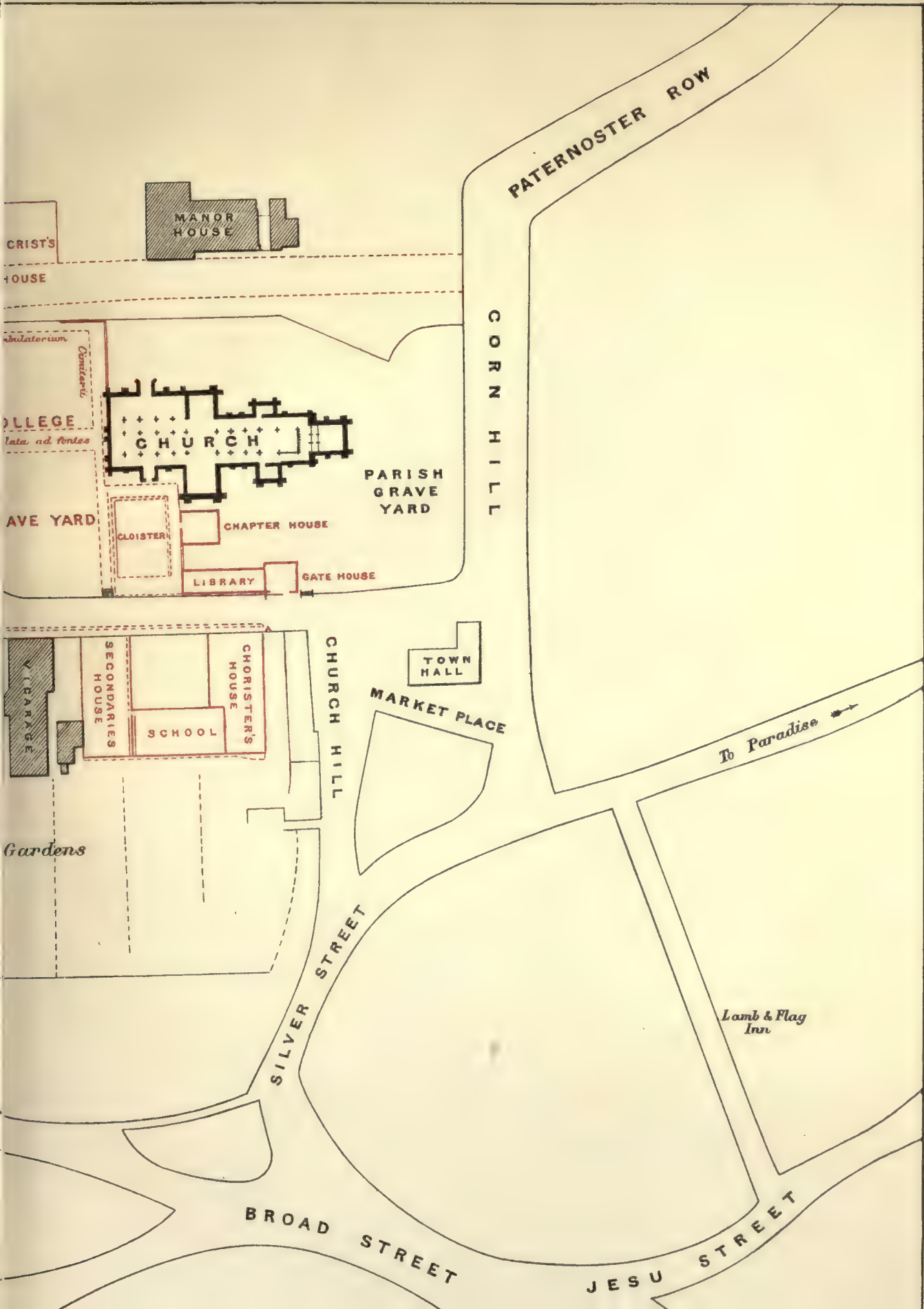
Gardens

PLAN OF BUILDINGS
and site of
**OTTERY SAINT MARY
COLLEGE**

*Buildings outlined or shaded in black still remain.
the foundations only of those in red have been traced.
the Choristers House, School & Secondaries House were
pulled down in 1884*

SCALE OF FEET
100 50 0 100 200 300 400 500

MILL STREET



ORDINACIO ET STATUTA

BEATE MARIE DE OTERY

CODEX EXONIENSIS.

ISTE Liber diuiditur in tres partes, quarum prima est de ecclesie parochialis mutacione p. 134. sancte Marie de Otery in ecclesiam postea Collegiatam. Secunda pars est specificacio de eiusdem Statutis. Tercia est de Lumine ecclesie pertinente.

Hic incipit Tabula prime partis istius libri.

DE confirmacione pape et cardinalium ad instanciam Johannis de Grandissono episcopi Exoniensis et fundatoris Collegij .	1 ^o fo. 1 ^m cap ^m
De tenore dictarum literarum decano et capitulo Exoniensi .	In 2 ^o fo. 2 ^m ca ^m
De prima Collegij nominacione et quatuor officiorum curis in- compatencium	In 3 ^o fo. 3 ^m ca ^m
De collacione quatuor officiorum presbiteri existencium . .	In 4 ^o fo. 4 ^m ca ^m
De prebendarum nominacione	In 4 ^o fo. et 4 ^m ca ^m
De 8. presbiteris qui Vicarij dicuntur	In 4 ^o fo. 5 ^m ca ^m
De nullorum admissione ad duo officia	In 5 ^o fo. 6 ^m ca ^m
De admissione puerorum in Secundarios	In 6 ^o fo. 7 ^m ca ^m
De distribucione pecunie ad quatuor dignitates	In 6 ^o fo. 8 ^m ca ^m
De Canonicorum simplicium distribucione	In 7 ^o fo. 8 ^m ca ^m
De multacione Canonicorum pro eorum absencia	In 7 ^o fo. 9 ^m ca ^m
De distribucione Clerico capelle beate Marie et eciam Secundarijs et eorum pena pro absencia	In 8 ^o fo. 10 ^m ca ^m
De solucione summe per quatuor terminos	In 8 ^o fo. 11 ^m ca ^m
De eleccione Succentoris per Vicarios	In 9 ^o fo. 12 ^m ca ^m
De Succentoris percepcione pro labore	In 9 ^o fo. 13 ^m ca ^m
De animarum cura per Ministrum collegij	In 10 ^o fo. 14 ^m ca ^m
De consimili habitu dicti collegij	In 10 ^o fo. 15 ^m ca ^m
De sermonum prouisione per Canonicos	In 11 ^o fo. 16 ^m ca ^m
De suffragijs et distribucione pecunie	In 12 ^o fo. 17 ^m ca ^m
De exempcione ministrorum ab Archidiaconi uisitacione . .	In 12 ^o fo. 18 ^m ca ^m
De sustentacione et collegij appropriacione	In 13 ^o fo. 19 ^m ca ^m

p. 114,
modern
arrangement.

p. 115.

De Senescallorum eleccione	In 13 fo. 20 ^m ca ^m
De dispendijs que collegio euenire possunt	In 14 ^o fo. 2 ^{da} m ^o 21 ^m ca ^m
De superuisione fabrice ecclesie per Senescallos	In 15 ^o fo. 22 ^m ca ^m
De inibicione alienacionum reddituum	In 16 ^o fo. 23 ^m ca ^m
De dimissione caparum sericarum per Canonicos	In 16 ^o fo. 24 ^m ca ^m
De iuramento Canonicorum in principio aduentus	In 16 ^o fo. 25 ^m ca ^m
et eorum forma iuramenti	In 17 ^o fo.
De confirmacione et approbacione Archidiaconi	In 17 ^o fo. 26 ^m ca ^m
De sigillacione primi Vicarij et eius consensu	In 18 fo. 27 ^m ca ^m
De Ordinatione predicta quintiplata	In 18 ^o fo. 28 ^m ca ^m
Explicit Tabula prime partis istius libri et incipit prologus de mandato episcopi super Statutis	In 18 ^o fo. 2 ^e partis.

Hic incipit Tabula secunde partis istius libri.

"In principio ponitur quasi pro prologo mandatum episcopi super statutis."

WINTON MS.

p. 116.

j. DE presentibus Statutis habendis et legendis	In 19 ^o fo. 1 ^m ca ^m
ij. De Induccionibus et Canonicorum iuramento	In 19 ^o fo. 2 ^m ca ^m
iiij. De condicionibus Clericorum recipiendorum	In 19 ^o fo. 3 ^m ca ^m
iiij. De etate et qualitate Secundariorum	In 19 ^o fo. 4 ^m ca ^m
v. De obediencia omnium ministrorum ecclesie	In 19 ^o fo. 5 ^m ca ^m
vj. De hora Matutinarum per totum annum	In 19 ^o fo. 6 ^m ca ^m
vij. De modestia in officijs diuinis	In 20 ^o fo. 7 ^m ca ^m
viiij. De gestu standi et modo psallendi	In 20 ^o fo. 8 ^m ca ^m
ix. De execucione faciendorum	In 21 ^o fo. 9 ^m ca ^m
x. De preuisione seruicij sequentis	In 21 ^o fo. 10 ^m ca ^m
xj. De cordetenus sciendis et pena nesciencium	In 21 ^o fo. 11 ^m ca ^m
xij. De cantandis extra librum	In 21 ^o fo. 12 ^m ca ^m
xiiij. De hijs que sine nota dicuntur	In 21 ^o fo. 13 ^m ca ^m
xiiij. De quotidianis Matutinis et Vesperis beate Marie	In 21 ^o fo. 14 ^m ca ^m
xv. De solempni quotidiana Missa beate Marie et eius pulsacione	In 22 ^o fo. 15 ^m ca ^m
xvj. De spaciando inter Matutinas (scilicet de die) et Missam beate Marie [Winton reads "de spacio inter..."]	In 22 ^o fo. 16 ^m ca ^m
xvij. De sancta Anna et Gabriele & oblacione beate Marie [et Missis, Winton omits]	In 22 ^o fo. 17 ^m ca ^m
xviiij. De instruccione organici cantus	In 23 ^o fo. 18 ^m ca ^m
xix. De ueniendo ad Missam beate Marie	In 23 ^o fo. 19 ^m ca ^m
xx. De pena non ueniencium ad eandem	In 23 ^o fo. 20 ^m ca ^m
xxj. De introitu et exitu et habitu in ecclesia	In 23 ^o fo. 21 ^m ca ^m
xxij. De habitu extra clausum non ferendo in uilla uel foro uagando	In 24 ^o fo. 22 ^m ca ^m

xxiiij.	De diligencia Clericorum et reuerencia superiorum . . .	In 24 ^o fo. 23 ^m ca ^m	
xxiv.	De Missarum celebracione et confessione . . .	In 24 ^o fo. 24 ^m ca ^m	
xxv.	De executoribus officij in duplicibus festis . . .	In 24 ^o fo. 25 ^m ca ^m	
	[De celebracione Missarum in Dominicis per Canonicos] ¹	In 24 ^o fo. 26 ^m ca ^m	
xxvj.	De priuatis Missis dicendis et stabilitate oculorum . . .	In 24 ^o fo. 27 ^m ca ^m	
xxvij.	De inclinacione intrancium chorum . . .	In 25 ^o fo. 28 ^m ca ^m	p. 117.
xxviiij.	De libris et uestimentis extra non portandis . . .	In 25 ^o fo. 29 ^m ca ^m	
xxix.	De honesta librorum custodia . . .	In 25 ^o fo. 30 ^m ca ^m	
xxx.	De numero et loco librorum in choro et candelis . . .	In 26 ^o fo. 31 ^m ca ^m	
xxxj.	De nouorum librorum correccione . . .	In 26 ^o fo. 32 ^m ca ^m	
xxxij.	De libris processionalibus et processionibus . . .	In 26 ^o fo. 33 ^m ca ^m	
xxxiiij.	De modo tractandi libros . . .	In 26 ^o fo. 34 ^m ca ^m	
xxxiiij.	De custodia uestimentorum in Missa . . .	In 26 ^o fo. 35 ^m ca ^m	
xxxv.	De capis sericis utendis ad processiones . . .	In 27 ^o fo. 36 ^m ca ^m	
xxxvj.	De modo standi et sedendi in stallis . . .	In 27 ^o fo. 37 ^m ca ^m	
xxxvij.	Qui possunt in choro stare et qui non . . .	In 27 ^o fo. 38 ^m ca ^m	
xxxviiij.	De custodia chori et ecclesie diligente . . .	In 27 ^o fo. 39 ^m ca ^m	
xxxix.	De disciplina puerorum . . .	In 27 ^o fo. 40 ^m ca ^m	
xl.	De residencia quatuor officiorum . . .	In 28 ^o fo. 41 ^m ca ^m	
xlij.	De parochianorum cura et eorum ministracione . . .	In 28 ^o fo. 42 ^m ca ^m	
xliij.	De altarium custodia et necessarijs . . .	In 28 ^o fo. 43 ^m ca ^m	
xliij.	De necessarijs annuatim per Sacristam renouandis et sibi committendis . . .	In 28 ^o fo. 44 ^m ca ^m	
xliij.	De diligencia Sacriste circa sibi commissis . . .	In 29 ^o fo. 45 ^m ca ^m	
xliv.	De pertinentibus ad officium Sacriste . . .	In 29 ^o fo. 46 ^m ca ^m	
	[De altarium uisitacione omni septimana per Sacristam] ²	In 29 ^o fo. 47 ^m ca ^m	p. 118.
xlvj.	De pannis crismalibus conuertendis . . .	In 29 ^o fo. 48 ^m ca ^m	
xlviij.	De mundandis ter per annum in ecclesia . . .	In 30 ^o fo. 49 ^m ca ^m	
xlviij.	De ymaginibus custodiendis . . .	In 30 ^o fo. 50 ^m ca ^m	
xlix.	De lectorum introitu et incendij cautela ³ , de pernec- tacione et clausura . . .	In 30 ^o fo. 51 ^m ca ^m	
l.	De puerorum gestu et modestia . . .	In 30 ^o fo. 52 ^m ca ^m	
lj.	De conuiuio communi in Assumpcione beate Marie . . .	In 30 ^o fo. 53 ^m ca ^m	
liij.	De leccione in mensa et gracijs postea sequentibus . . .	In 31 ^o fo. 54 ^m ca ^m	
liij.	De ludis prohibitis et lictis . . .	In 31 ^o fo. 55 ^m ca ^m	
liiij.	De incorrigibilibus et delinquentibus . . .	In 31 ^o fo. 56 ^m ca ^m	
lv.	De tonsura et uestitu decentibus . . .	In 32 ^o fo. 57 ^m ca ^m	
lvj.	De non cohabitacione mulierum . . .	In 32 ^o fo. 58 ^m ca ^m	
lvij.	De habitu presbiterorum . . .	In 32 ^o fo. 59 ^m ca ^m	

¹ Winton MS. omits this title. The Roman numbers on the left-hand margin are inserted from the Winchester copy. It will be observed that this numeration of the Statutes slightly differs from that in the Exeter copy, which is given in the right-hand column.

² Winton MS. omits this title.

³ Winton MS. reads "candela incendii et."

p. 119.	lvij.	De presentacione et perpetuacione Clericorum facienda	In 32° fo. 60 ^m ca ^m
	lix.	De Vicariorum perpetuacione facienda	In 32° fo. 61 ^m ca ^m
	lx.	De dimittendis per Canonicos successoribus	In 33° fo. 62 ^m ca ^m
	lxj.	De regimine et custodia pertinencium ad Vicarios et Clericos	In 33° fo. 63 ^m ca ^m
	lxij.	De custodia librorum studualium	In 33° fo. 64 ^m ca ^m
	lxiiij.	De Fabrica ecclesie conseruanda	In 34° fo. 65 ^m ca ^m
	lxiiiij.	De Senescallis preficiendis	In 34° fo. 66 ^m ca ^m
	lxv.	De recusantibus esse Senescalli	In 34° fo. 67 ^m ca ^m
	lxvj.	De prerogatiuis Senescallorum	In 34° fo. 68 ^m ca ^m
	lxvij.	De alienacione numquam facienda sub pena excommuni- cacionis	In 34° fo. 69 ^m ca ^m
	lxviiij.	De pari diuisione chori	In 35° fo. 70 ^m ca ^m
	lxix.	De spectantibus ad custodiam Sacriste	In 35° fo. 71 ^m ca ^m
	lxx.	De custodia sigilli et eorum que sunt preciosa	In 36° fo. 72 ^m ca ^m
	lxxj.	De sigillacione facienda	In 36° fo. 73 ^m ca ^m
	lxxij.	De obitibus inscribendis	In 36° fo. 74 ^m ca ^m
	lxxiiij.	De 14 ^o principalibus obitibus per fundatorem insti- tutis	In 36° fo. 75 ^m ca ^m
	lxxiiij.	De hora et modo pulsandi pro mortuis	In 36° fo. 76 ^m ca ^m
	lxxv.	De Obseruacione Ordinalis et aliorum	In 36° fo. 77 ^m ca ^m
	lxxvj.	De exhibicione Ordinacionis et Statutorum in uisitacione facienda	In 37° fo. 78 ^m ca ^m

Explicit Tabula 2^e partis, et incipit Tabula 3^e partis et ultime.

p. 120.	lxxvij.	DE exhibicione cereorum et luminarium fideliter faci- enda per Sacristam	In 37° fo. 1 ^m ca ^m
	2.	De lampade morterio siue crasseto continue per noctem ardentibus	In 38° fo. 2 ^m ca ^m
	3.	De pulsacione cum famulorum auxilio	In 38° fo. 3 ^m ca ^m
	4.	De pelui ante magnum altare cum uno cereo pendente	In 39° fo. 4 ^m ca ^m
	5.	De duobus ceroferarijs a pueris deputandis	In 39° fo. 5 ^m ca ^m
	6.	De alia pelui ad gradum chori pro uno cereo	In 39° fo. 6 ^m ca ^m
	7.	De uno cereo in omnibus maioribus duplicibus	In 39° fo. 7 ^m ca ^m
	8.	De torticijs pro magna Missa	In 40° fo. 8 ^m ca ^m
	9.	De die Pasche et festorum distincione	In 40° fo. 9 ^m ca ^m
	10.	De festis principalibus	In 40° fo. 10 ^m ca ^m
	11.	De festis secundarijs maioribus duplicibus	In 41° fo. 11 ^m ca ^m
	12.	De uigilijs Pasche et Pentecostes	In 41° fo. 12 ^m ca ^m
	13.	De medijs duplicibus festis	In 41° fo. 13 ^m ca ^m
	14.	De minoribus duplicibus festis	In 42° fo. 14 ^m ca ^m
	15.	De commemoracione animarum	In 42° fo. 15 ^m ca ^m
	16.	De Dominica prima Aduentus Domini	In 42° fo. 16 ^m ca ^m

17. De festis semiduplicibus	In 42 ^o fo. 17 ^m ca ^m	
18. De omnibus Dominicis exceptis et ceteris	In 43 ^o fo. 18 ^m ca ^m	
19. De omnibus festis simplicibus	In 43 ^o fo. 19 ^m ca ^m	
20. De feria quarta quatuor temporum in Aduentu	In 43 ^o fo. 20 ^m ca ^m	
21. De festis trium leccionum et ferijs	In 44 ^o fo. 21 ^m ca ^m	
22. De prouisione lucis pro tribus noctibus ante Pascha	In 44 ^o fo. 22 ^m ca ^m	p. 121.
23. De cereis in Natiuitate Domini pro primo Responsorio	In 44 ^o fo. 23 ^m ca ^m	
24. De lumine in die Purificacionis	In 44 ^o fo. 24 ^m ca ^m	
25. De prouisione luminarium per Senescallos et Sacristam	In 44 ^o fo. 25 ^m ca ^m	
26. De prouisione incensi pro anno	In 45 ^o fo. 26 ^m ca ^m	
27. De Antiphona cantanda post ignitegium	In 45 ^o fo. 27 ^m ca ^m	

[Item, in fine appropriacio ecclesie de Ilstington. WINTON MS.

That manuscript also omits all titles from 2 to 27. The title of lxxvij follows close to that of lxxvi, and the whole runs on like the Ordinacio without any division into a third part.]

Explicit Tabula 3^e partis et ultime Statutorum Sancte Marie de Othery.

ORDINACIO PRIMARIA.

Primum Folium. Primum Capitulum.

[i.] *De confirmacione pape ad instanciam fundatoris.*

fol. 1=p. 135.

CLEMENS episcopus, seruus seruorum Dei, ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Romanus pontifex ex apostolice seruitutis officio attente considerans vniuersa, consuevit illa libencius oportunis prosequi gracijs, eisdemque¹ facilius suum [benignum] exhibere consensum, per que diuinus cultus augetur, ampliatur ecclesiarum fauor, ipsarumque ministris et seruitoribus commoda procurantur. Ex² tenore siquidem petitionis uenerabilis fratris nostri Johannis episcopi Exoniensis nobis oblate percepinus, quod olim ipse manerium beate Marie de Otery, vna cum aduocatione ecclesie parochialis sancte Marie dicti loci de Otery, Exoniensis diocesis, ex suo pecculio canonice adquisiuit, et ad honorem Dei, et beate Marie virginis gloriose, matris eius, dictam parochialem ecclesiam in Collegiatam auctoritate ordinaria erexit, et congrue dotaui; statuens certum canonicorum et ministrorum numerum in eadem, et fol. 1^v. certas ordinationes alias circa premissa fecit; super hijs omnibus, dilectorum filiorum decani et capituli ecclesie Exoniensis accedente consensu, prout in patentibus literis inde confectis, eorundem episcopi decani et capituli et quorundam aliorum sigillis munitis, quarum tenorem de uerbo ad uerbum presentibus inseri fecimus, plenius continetur. Que prefatus episcopus a nobis supplicauit humiliter apostolice confirmacionis munimine roborari. Nos igitur attendentes quod ex premissis cultus diuinus augetur, ampliatur honor ipsius ecclesie beate Marie, ac procurantur commoda personarum deseruiencium in eadem, eiusdem episcopi in hac parte supplicacionibus inclinati, adquisicionem, ereccionem, et statutum huiusmodi, ac eciam ordinationes predictas, in eis contenta, rata et grata habentes, illa auctoritate apostolica, ex certa sciencia, confirmamus, et presentis scripti patrocinio communimus.

¹ "Eisque," in *Reg.* and Winton.

² "Et," in Winton and Exon: *Reg.* gives "Ex."

[Papales littere pro Otery.]

2^m fol. =
p. 137.

Supplentes omnem defectum, si quis forsan in premissis uel eorum aliquo interuenit, de apostolice plenitudine potestatis. Tenor autem dictarum literarum talis est;—

2^m ca^m

[ij.] *decano et capitulo Exoniensi.*

[Facta circa
collegium.]

“**U**NIERSIS Christi sanguine redemptis, Johannes de Grandissono miseratione diuina Exoniensis episcopus salutem, et tanti precij iugem¹ in presenti memoriam, fructumque eius in futurum perhenniter degustare. ‘Eo salubrius possessiones adquiruntur transitorie, quo ex hijs diuina maiestas deuocius honoratur.’ Hinc est quod cum nos, licet inutiles summi patrisfamilias serui vndecima hora in vinea sua laborantes², manerium sancte Marie de Otery, cum omnibus suis iuribus et pertinencijs, ac aduocatione ecclesie parochialis sancte Marie de Otery ibidem, et eidem manerio annexa, nostre Exoniensis diocesis, a uenerabilibus uiris, decano et capitulo Rothomagensi, habentibus ad hoc licenciam a felicis recordacionis domino Johanne papa xxij^{do} specialem, necnon de licencia domini nostri Edwardi tercij a conquestu regis Anglie illustris, ex nostro pecculio, non absque grauibz laboribus et sumptuosis expensis, rite et legitime adquisiuerimus, ea intencione et eo proposito quod de eisdem manerio et ecclesia, vna cum eorum pertinencijs, que CCXL marcas sterlingorum annuatim ualere communiter reputantur, cultum diuini nominis augeremus. Demum post cogitationes circa hoc uarias et tractatus deliberauimus penes nos, et de peritorum consilio, ad laudem Dei sueque benedictissime virginis et matris Marie, necnon confessoris sui sancti Edwardi regis, qui olim dictum manerium cum ecclesia contulit Rothomagensibus, in predicta ecclesia sancte Marie de Otery collegium canonicorum secularium ordinare. Volentes igitur huiusmodi nostrum deliberatum propositum cum beneplacito diuino, modo et forma legitimis perducere ad effectum, cum dilectis in Christo filijs, decano et capitulo nostre Exoniensis ecclesie, ad hoc certis et competentibus terminis in loco eorum capitulari specialiter conuocatis, super infrascriptis tractatum diligentem habuimus et solempnem. Et demum, considerato attente ualore annuo dictorum manerij et ecclesie, de ipsorum decani et capituli assensu, consilio, et collaudacione, necnon de consensu dilectorum filiorum Archidiaconi nostre ecclesie Exoniensis, infra cuius archidiaconatum dicta ecclesia sancte Marie de Otery consistit, ac domini Oliueri de Farcy,

2^m fo. v

[Manerij et
rectorie
ualor.]

3^m fo.
p. 139.

¹ Exon reads “ingenij,” Winton and *Reg.* “iugem.”

² The reference is to S. Matt. xx. 1—6, “Simile est regnum celorum homini patrifamilias qui...circa undecimam horam exiit et inuenit alios operarios stantes, et dicit illis, Ite et vos in vineam meam”; and to xxv. 14—30, “Sicut enim homo peregre proficiscens, vocauit seruos suos, et tradidit illis bona sua. Et uni dedit quinque talenta...et inutilem seruum eicite in tenebras exteriores”; and to S. Luc. xvii. 10, “Cum feceritis omnia quae precepta sunt vobis, dicite, Servi inutiles sumus, quod debuimus facere fecimus.” Cp. Innocent III, *Decr. Greg. IX*, lib. v, tit. 7, c. 10. *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, vol. II, 782, “Ne nos, qui licet circa horam undecimam inter operarios, immo verius super operarios, vineae domini Sabaoth sumus a patrefamilias evangelico deputati, et quibus ex officio pastoralis sunt oues Christi commissae, nec capere vulpes demolientes vineam domini, nec arcere lupos ab ouibus videamur, et ob hoc merito vocari possimus canes muti non valentes latrare, ac perdamur cum malis agricolis et mercenario comparemur; contra...seuerius duximus statuendum.” Bishop Bronescombe, after founding the Collegiate Church of our Lady and St Thomas the Martyr for thirteen secular canons at Glasney, hard by the episcopal manor house of Penryn in Cornwall, refers to these same texts, in a charter dated 26 March, 1267 (*Register*, pp. 94, 95; edit. Preb. F. C. Hingeston-Randolph). That establishment was a model and a precedent for Bishop Grandisson in founding his Collegiate Church near the episcopal residence at Ottery, as we shall see, in more respects than one.

ad presens vicarij et curati eiusdem ecclesie, omniumque aliorum quorum interest in hac parte, ad omnia infrascripta expresse concurrentibus, dictam parochialem ecclesiam sancte Marie de Otery, dictis decano et capitulo Rothomagensi quondam appropriatam, cuius iuri et proprietati, ac eciam possessioni, ijdem decanus et capitulum cesserunt et penitus renunciarunt, ac in manus nostras, de consensu uenerabilis patris domini Petri Dei gracia Rothomagensis archiepiscopi, libere resignarunt, nosque cessionem renunciacionem et resignacionem huiusmodi postmodum canonice admisimus, ex nunc in collegiatam auctoritate ordinaria erigimus et creamus.

ij. For the dates see p. 12. 240 marks = £160. The rectory was taxed (in 1291) at £20. This would leave £140 per annum for the income from the Manor. Two hundred years later (in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, vol. II, pp. 307–8) the Rectory is set down as then (1535) worth £99. 19s. 2d., and the Manor £134. 18s., or both together as bringing in £235. 17s. The total of all the spiritualities (including the rectories of Ilsington £15. 2s., of Northam £25. 10s., and of Ipplepen £42) is set at £171. 17s. 10d.; and of all the temporalities then held at £165. 11s. 7d., making a gross annual income of £337. 9s. 5d., or a little more than double that of the original endowment here named by Bishop Grandisson. He himself subsequently increased the original dotation, and deliberately hoped and expected that it might further increase (Ord. iv and xix). Ottery St Mary was thus by far the best endowed of all the Collegiate churches with secular canons in the Diocese. The other eight stand in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*—Glasney at £210. 13s. 2d., Crediton £140. 13s. 5d., St Crantock £89. 15s. 8d., St Burian's £80. 5s. 1d., Slapton £57. 8s. 2d., Chulmleigh £45. 6s. 8d., St Endellion and St Teath £25 each. In fact, there were only six religious houses in the diocese more wealthy than it; these being Plympton Priory (Augustinian), set at £912 per annum; Tavistock Abbey (Benedictine), £902; Buckfast Abbey (Cistercian), £466; Torre Abbey (Norbertine), £396; Launceston Priory (Augustinian), £392; Ford Abbey (Cistercian), £381. Of the rest, Hartland Abbey (Augustinian), had an income of £306 a year; the three Cistercian Abbeys of Dunkeswell, Buckland, and Newenham had respectively £298, £241, and £231; the two Augustinian Priors, St Petrock's at Bodmin, and St German's, had £289 and £243; and the Abbess and Convent of Canonsleigh, £202. The other religious houses were all under £200 a year. The sum total of the spiritualities and temporalities belonging to the Chapter of Exeter was returned at £1350. 12s. 7d. a year, besides the endowment of the Dignitaries and of the Vicars-Choral.

[iiij.] *De prima collegij uocatione et quatuor officiorum curata noncompaciencium.*

3^m cam

STATUENTES, quod eadem ecclesia imperpetuum collegiata existet; et pro collegiata de cetero habeatur. Quodque sint in eadem ex nunc ad minus quatuor perpetua Officia non compaciencia curata secum aliunde beneficia, videlicet Custodia, Ministeriatus, Cantaria, et Sacristia, octoque Canonicatus et totidem prebende, quorum quidem canonicatum et prebendarum quatuor primos dictis officijs imperpetuum annectimus et vnimus. Dictorum uero officiorum cum canonicatibus et prebendis sic annexis, necnon canonicatum et prebendarum aliarum collaciones ad nos et successores nostros, Exoniensis episcopos, iure ordinario volumus perpetuo pertinere¹. Ille autem cui pro tempore officium Custodie conferetur, sit primus et principalis canonicus ac Custos, ac taliter uocetur². Et ille, cui officium Ministeriatus conferetur, sit secundus canonicus ac Minister, et taliter uocetur².

* At the bottom of 3^m fol.^v (i.e. p. 140), is written in the same hand as the statutes, "Nota quod custodia est dignitas, prout notat Jo[hannes] in Add[icionibus] Ex[tra] de institucionibus; c[apitul]o cum ad nostram G[lossa] Abbas." The reference in this note written by John Excestre, canon of Ottery, between 1436 and 1448, is to a passage in the third of the five books of the Decretals promulgated by Pope Gregory IX in 1234, when after four years labour they had been collected together by his chaplain and confessor, St Raymund de Pennaforte, the Spanish Dominican. These five books were originally called "Libri Extra" (sc. Decretum Gratiani), and so they are cited by Lyndwood in his *Provinciale*, which was finished in 1430,

¹ Winton reads "permanere."

² Winton and *Reg.* read "nominetur" for "uocetur" *bis*.

3^m fo.^v
Nota:
officia
Custodie,
Ministeriatus,
Cantarie, et
Sacristie, in-
compatibilia
sunt.*
iiij officia—
Presbiteri viij
canonici.
[De custodie.]
Primus
canonicus et
principalis.
[De minist-
tratore.]
Secundus
canonicus.
4^m fol.
p. 141.

Vicarium uero et vicarie nomen in ipsa ecclesia dum parochialis existeret totaliter subducimus, et in Ministeriatum, et in nomen officij Ministeriatus, eciam de expresso consensu dicti and of which it is quite possible that John Excestre had a manuscript copy. Lyndwood died in 1446. [Precentor and Canon William Holcombe bequeathed 1 April, 1499, a copy of the *Provinciale* to be chained in quire at Ottery on the Precentor's side.] "Extra" is now usually abbreviated to X for convenience in citation. In the third book of the Decretals, titulus vii. de institutionibus, caput 7 begins with the words, "cum ad nostram." (*Corpus Juris Canonici*, ed. Friedberg, 1881, vol. II, 487.) The warden of the monastery at Peronne (twenty-five miles east of Amiens on the river Somme, now in the department Somme, and fifteen miles west of St Quentin, now in the department Aisne, but both originally in the Province of Picardy), had been elected Abbot of the same, and thereby vacated the Wardenship, which however he wished to continue to hold with it. Pope Innocent III writes to the Archbishop of Troyes, formerly Archdeacon of Paris, and to the Dean of St Quentin, that this double tenure was not permissible. The rubric of the Decretal is, "Is, ad quem spectat collatio dignitatum, se ipsum instituere non potest"; and the Decretal ran, "Cum ad nostram dudum audientiam pervenisset quod in ecclesia Peronensi dignitas quaedam, quae custodia vulgariter appellatur, contra statuta Lateranensis concilii per duos annos vel amplius vacavisset, venerabili fratri nostro Turonensi archiepiscopo, tunc archidiacono Parisiensi, et dilecto filio decano Sancti Quintini dedisse recolimus in preceptis, ut, si res taliter se haberet, quum ad nos ipsius dignitatis esset donatio devoluta, ipsi auctoritate nostra suffulti eam in suam custodiam assumentes insinuarent nobis per suas litteras veritatem, ut per eas certiores effecti dignitatem ipsam personae idoneae conferremus. Ipsi vero tam decanum et capitulum quam etiam Matthaum abbatem Peronensis ecclesiae, qui custodem etiam eiusdem ecclesiae se gerebat, peremptorie citaverunt.... Illud autem nolumus vos ignorare quod postquam idem Matthaus fuit Abbas effectus predictam Custodiam de jure non potuit obtinere; quia, cum ratione Abbatiae ad ipsum pertineat donatio tam Custodiae quam aliarum dignitatum, ac etiam prebendarum in Ecclesia Peronensi, Custodiam ipsam recipere non potuit a seipso. Cum inter dantem et accipientem debeat esse distinctio personalis: sed nec ab alio, cum ius conferendi alius non haberet. Dat. Viterbii, xii. Kal. Julii anno x. (1207)."

John Excestre's note would have been written at Ottery either in the Wardenship of Sir John Sarger, M.A., Scholar in Theology, collated to the same 28 January, 1415 (Stafford, *Register*, I, 228; II, 163 b), licensed as public preacher in the diocese, 17 March, 1418 (I, 238 b), and to receive confessions (I, 245), who also, after 19 December, 1432, held with the Wardenship the rectory of Ipplepen, which Bishop Lacy finally appropriated to the College 13 March, 1439: or else in the Wardenship of John Hancock, collated 31 August, 1446, who afterwards entertained King Henry VI for two nights in the College in July, 1452. If in the former, then John Excestre would seem to imply that Warden John Sarger ought to have vacated the Wardenship when he was instituted to Ipplepen on his own presentation unless he had obtained a Papal dispensation to hold it with the Wardenship, which was undoubtedly a Dignitas, and Officium, with cure of souls, as explained by Lyndwood *infra*. In his *Provinciale*, lib. iii, tit. 7 (pp. 118 and 144) he writes, "Dignitas, personatus et officium, ut notat Jo. An. de prebendis, c. de multa, sunt Synonyma,... Hoc verum sumendo vocabula in genere; sumendo tamen stricte, et in specie, differunt," and then proceeds to describe the same. "In regard to the mandate committed by Martin V 2 April, 1430 to a certain judge at the petition of John Saerger, Warden of the Church of St Mary, Ottery, setting forth that the fruits of the said wardenship, not exceeding £20, on account of which wardenship he had taken oath to keep personal residence at the said church, were insufficient for hospitality, episcopal dues, etc., and that he, who was a priest, doubted whether he could hold the said wardenship with another incompatible benefice, and who was holding a canonry and prebend of the church of St Probus in the same diocese, value not exceeding 10 marks, Eugenius IV authorized the Treasurer of Exeter to declare that the said wardenship was an office without cure (simplex officium) and that it could be held with any other benefice however incompatible." Bliss, *Papal Letters*, VIII, 325. This was clean contrary to Bishop Grandisson's ordinance that neither the Warden nor the other three Officers were to hold curata aliunde beneficia. John Excestre might have established his point that the Wardenship was a Dignity, alike from the Pope's own words, "Dignitas quaedam quae custodia vulgariter appellatur," and from the words of the Decretal itself, "tam custodiae quam aliarum dignitatum," without any further reference to Johannes in Additionibus.

This Johannes was Johannes Andreae, *Fons et tuba juris canonici*, who was born at Mugello near Florence, and lectured on the Canon Law for forty-five years at Pisa, Padua, and Bologna; at the last of which places he died at an advanced age, 7 July, 1348, of the Black Death. He had two learned daughters,

domini Oliueri inmutamus. Cui quidem domino Oliuero, volenti et acceptanti, officium Ministeriatus cum canonicatu et prebenda eidem officio annexis, ac omnibus eorum iuribus

after whom, rather than the Novellae of the Jus civile, he is said to have called his Commentary on the five books of the Decretals "Novellae." They were printed in folio at Maintz in 1455, and at Venice in 1581. His "Glossae Mercuriales in Sextum librum et in Clementinas" were printed at Venice and Lyons in 1572. "*Addiciones ad Speculum juris* Guilielmi Durandi Ep. Mimatensis eidem ascribuntur, quae quidem nondum ut opinor in lucem prodierunt," Cave, *Historia Literaria*. This Guillaume Durantes, born of a noble family at Lepuy in Narbonne, studied law at Bologna under Hostiensis—that is, Henry, born at Susa in North Italy, thirty-four miles west of Turin, the *Fons et Splendor Juris*, Bishop of Embrun in Provence, and afterwards Cardinal Bishop of Ostia 1262, and died 1271. He wrote *Lectura seu Apparatus super quinque libros decretalium* about 1260, the *Aurea summa utriusque Juris*, and *Expositio in sex libros decretalium*. Durantes, after taking his doctor's degree at Bologna, lectured at Modena, and was named *Pater Practicae*; he became chaplain to Clement IV, Canon of Beauvais and Dean of Chartres. He completed his *Speculum Juris*, dedicated to Cardinal Ottobon, in 1261, from which work he is often styled *Speculator*. He was Pope Gregory X's Proctor at the Second Council of Lyons in 1274; in 1286 he completed his *Rationale divinarum Officiorum*, and was made Bishop of Mende in Languedoc. His episcopal chrismatory was bequeathed by Bishop Grandisson (*Reg.*, III, p. 1552) to his successors at Exeter. In 1296 he was sent by Boniface VIII as legate to the Sultan, but died at Nicosia in Cyprus 6 July in that year; he was buried at Rome "in aede Minervae et capella omnium Sanctorum. Ejus de re sacramentaria celebris haec fertur sententia, 'Verbum audimus, Motum sentimus, Modum nescimus, Presentiam credimus.'" W. Cave, Canon of Windsor 24 November, 1684, to August 4, 1713, *Historia Literaria* (Oxon, 1743), vol. II, "Seculum Scholasticum," p. 331. A reminiscence of this would appear to underlie the English lines attributed to Queen Elizabeth, "Christ was the Word that spake it, He took the bread and brake it, And what His word did make it, That I believe and take it."

From the inventory of the Cathedral Library at Exeter taken in 1506 (as printed in Oliver's *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, pp. 320 to 376) we learn that there was then on the first desk (p. 366) a copy of these *Addiciones Johannis Andreae super Speculo Juris*, 2 fol., "Judicis"; and on the second desk (p. 367) a copy of the work here referred to by John Excestre (1446) *Johannes in additionibus*, 2 fol., "Ar ut nostrum" (*sic*); together with other works on Canon Law, the *Decretales* themselves, and *prima pars Johannis in Novella*, and *secunda pars Johannis in Novella*. When an inventory was made again in 1752, only 19 out of the 358 books of the former inventory remained, and Johannes was not one. There is no copy of this work now either in the British Museum or in the Bodleian.

The glossa ordinaria on the Decretals "ex Johannis Andreae novella deprompta" has nothing *sub voce* Abbas, fo. cccxiii, ed. Thielman, Paris, 1505; but adds, "Nota quod eo ipso quod aliquis adeptus est aliquam dignitatem vacat prima, si quam habet. Item, nota decretalem istam contra episcopos et prelatos qui postquam sunt promoti dignitates prius habitas vel de novo vacantes retinent." This was in accordance with the XIIIth Canon of the third Lateran Council (the Eleventh General Council), A.D. 1179 (referred to by Pope Innocent III in the Decretal quoted above), "ne aliquis multas habeat ecclesias." "Quia nonnulli, modum avaritiae non ponentes, dignitates diversas ecclesiasticas et plures ecclesias parochiales contra sacrorum canonum instituta nituntur acquirere, ita ut cum unum officium vix implere sufficiant, stipendia sibi vindicent plurimorum: ne id de cetero fiat, districtius inhibemus. Cum igitur ecclesia vel ecclesiasticum ministerium committi debuerit, talis ad hoc persona quaeratur, quae residere in loco, et curam eius per se ipsum valeat exercere: quod si aliter fuerit actum, et qui receperit, quod contra sanctos canones accepit, amittat, et qui dederit, largiendi potestate privetur";—and with the XIVth Canon also, "Quia in tantum jam quorundam processit ambitio, ut non duas vel tres, sed sex aut plures ecclesias perhibeantur habere, nec duabus debitam possint provisionem impendere, per fratres et coepiscopos nostros carissimos emendari precipimus: et de multitudine prebendarum canonibus inimica, quae dissolutionis materiam et vagationis inducit et certum continet periculum animarum, eorum, qui ecclesiis digne valeant deservire, volumus ecclesiasticis beneficiis indigentiam sublevare." (Mansi, *Collectio Conciliorum*, ed. 1759-98, vol. XXII, p. 225: Labbé, *Sacrosancta Concilia*, ed. 1671, tome x, col. 1516.) In the Twelfth General Council (the Fourth Lateran) A.D. 1215, Pope Innocent III again dealt with the matter. Canon XXIX, "ut nullus plures habeat dignitates vel parochiales ecclesias" runs, "De multa providentia fuit in Lateranensi concilio (*i.e.* Canons XIII and XIV of Third Lateran as above quoted) prohibitum, ut nullus diversas dignitates

[De cantore.]
Tercius
canonicus.

et pertinencijs conferimus; et sibi providemus auctoritate ordinaria de eisdem. Ille insuper, cui officium Cantarie conferetur, tercius canonicus ac Cantor existat et uocetur.

ecclesiasticas et plures ecclesias parochiales reciperet, contra sacrorum canonum instituta. Alioquin, et recipiens sic receptum amitteret, et largiendi conferens privaretur. Quia vero propter presumptiones et cupiditates quorundam nullus haec fructus aut rarus de predicto statuto provenit; nos evidentius et expressius occurrere cupientes, presenti decreto statuimus, ut quicumque receperit aliquod beneficium habens curam animarum annexam, si prius tale beneficium obtinebat, eo sit jure ipso privatus; et, si forte illud retinere contenderit, alio etiam spoliatur....Hoc idem in personatibus decernimus observandum, addentes, ut in eadem ecclesia nullus plures dignitates aut personatus habere presumat, etiamsi curam non habeant animarum. Circa sublimes tamen et litteratas personas, quae majoribus sunt beneficiis honorandae, cum ratio postulaverit, per sedem Apostolicam poterit dispensari." (Mansi, vol. xxii, p. 1015; *Decretales Greg.*, lib. iii, tit. v, cap. 28.)

Cardinal Ottobon, in his Legatine Constitutions for England, had promulgated at St Paul's on St George's day (23 April), 1268, and enforced amongst others these decrees of the Lateran councils (Lyndwood's *Provinciale*, ed. Oxon, 1679, tit. 29, pp. 126-130); and Archbishop Peckham had done the same in his Provincial Synod held at Reading, 30 July, 1279 (Wilkins' *Concilia*, vol. ii, p. 33), and distinctly prohibited more than one benefice with cure of souls being held by any priest without special Papal dispensation: institution to the second to void, *ipso facto*, the one previously held. Whereon Lyndwood comments (*Provinciale*, lib. iii, tit. 5, p. 135), "qui plura beneficia curam animarum habentia, aut alioquin incompatibilia sine dispensatione Apostolica obtinuit, ultimo sit contentus aut omnibus spoliatur." His gloss on "curam animarum" "charge of souls" is "Large intelligas, sive in foro penitentiali sive alias curam habeat... et sive sit Dignitas, vel Officium, sive Ecclesia, sicut sunt multi Archipresbyteri, Archidiaconi et Decani, qui nullam habent ecclesiam cui presint; habent tamen jurisdictionem super multas Ecclesias." He then quotes his authorities for including Dignitates et Officia under the term Beneficium curatum, and amongst them is the celebrated Extravagant of Bishop Grandisson's patron, Pope John XXII, issued from Avignon, 19 November, 1317, beginning "Execrabilis quorundam tam Religiosorum quam Secularium ambitio, quae semper plus ambiens eo magis fit insatiabilis quo sibi amplius indulgetur" (*Corpus Juris Canonici*, vol. ii, 1207, ed. Friedberg). Hence, inasmuch as the Warden of Ottery, in the words of the Extravagant "per ministros ipsius Beneficii," had power "inquirere, suspendere, excommunicare, a talibus sententiis absolvere, de consuetudine vel de jure, quocumque nomine censeatur," his office would be rightly included in the category of those having cure of souls. In accordance with which decree Bishop Grandisson here distinctly enjoins in Statute iii that the four Officia requiring perpetual residence at Ottery were such as "non compaciencia secum aliunde curata beneficia." By that new and stringent constitution Pope John XXII, apparently weary of the grievous abuses and consequent scandals occasioned by pluralists, suddenly withdrew the numerous dispensations of plurality granted by his predecessors, and commanded the immediate surrender of all benefices with cure of souls held in plurality, one benefice only to be retained. He declared that even with a Papal dispensation no priest, unless a Cardinal or of blood royal, could hold more than one benefice with cure of souls along with any one Dignitas or Officium without cure of souls. The immediate effects of carrying out this ordinance as far as England was concerned are given in a letter addressed by the English Bishops to the Pope. (*Register of Bp John de Sandale of Winchester*, pp. xli-xliv, 90 to 100; ed. Baigent, 1897; cp. also Bliss, *Calendar of Papal Letters*, ii, 171-182; and Essay V, "'Execrabilis' in the Common Pleas," by Professor Maitland in his *Canon Law in the Church of England*, pp. 148-157.) Notwithstanding the Pope's efforts, things soon reverted to their usual course, and so we find Oliver Smith, who was Warden of Ottery 26 June, 1525, to June, 1545, holding together with the Wardenship the Vicarage of Ipplepen and the Vicarage of Ilsington, 3 November, 1536. His will is dated 8 July, 1543. The provisions of the ancient Councils and of the Canon Law regarding Pluralities have now been largely embodied in English Statute Law. By 13 & 14 Vict. c. 94, s. 19, no Dean can hold any benefice with cure of souls, except it be in his Cathedral town, and under £500 a year. By 1 & 2 Vict. c. 106, no priest can hold more than one cathedral preferment and one benefice with cure of souls at the same time; and by 13 & 14 Vict. c. 98, ss. 1, 2, 11, no two benefices can be held by one person, except the churches are within 3 miles of each other by the nearest footpath, and the annual value of one of them be under £100, and not even then if the population of one be over 3000: a dispensation from the Archbishop of Canterbury is also required for such tenure. Institution to a second benefice or second preferment, *ipso facto*, vacates the first. Phillimore, *Ecclesiastical Law*, ed. 1897, pp. 14, 898 f.

Et ille, cui officium Sacristie conferetur, quartus canonicus ac Sacrista in dicta ecclesia sit, [De sacrista.]
Quartus
canonicus.
et nuncupetur.

iiij. The four chief Officers in a Cathedral church of Secular canons were the Dean, the Precentor (who, when he was not superior, always ranked next to the Dean), the Treasurer and the Chancellor. The three first are practically the same as the Warden, Precentor and Sacrist here. The preaching and teaching duties of Chancellor are provided for by Ordinacio xvi. This latter officer very seldom existed in a Collegiate Church (but there was one at Beverley). In a Cathedral church the cure of souls in the precincts usually appertained to the Dean, who had besides the sub-dean as penitentiary and often another "capellanus" to help him as curate. In a Collegiate church it was often so too, but inasmuch as there was always a parish, and generally a large one, attached to the church special provisions had to be made in this respect. At Ottery a special officer is created, with rank next to the Warden and above the Precentor, called the Minister, whose prebend was equal to that of the Warden, and double that of the Precentor and Sacrist. The Latin word "Minister" is applied to any officer of the church, from Bishops and Abbots down to benets and doorkeepers, and has in fact as wide a signification as the word "Persona." In the more limited sense here used by Bishop Grandisson it would seem to survive still in country parishes where the "parson" is frequently called the "minister." (In 1638 the Vicar of Widdicombe-in-the-Moor is officially styled the Minister of the parish.) In many Collegiate churches the cure of the souls of the parishioners was assigned to the Warden or Dean: but not always. In three churches served by Secular Canons in the diocese of Exeter the cure of souls was provided for as follows:—At Holy Cross, Crediton, where there were 18 canons and 18 vicars, the Canon who was Precentor was head of the Chapter, next to him was the Treasurer with the charge of the fabric and all in it, and third in rank came the Dean, with cure of souls; he was excused from service in choir on account of the size of the parish. At the Church of our Lady and St Thomas-the-Martyr at Glasney, founded by Bishop Bronescombe close to the Episcopal residence of Penryn, 26 March, 1267, for 13 canons (one to be Provost or head) and 13 vicars, and who were all to observe the Exeter use, statutes and customs, the cure of souls was entrusted to the Perpetual Vicar of the parish, who had no position whatever in the Chapter: so too at St Crantock.

Bishop Grandisson's studious care for the cure of the souls of the parishioners at Ottery is further illustrated by his providing on the foundation a "Parish Priest" under the "Minister," and for special parish services, cp. Ordinacio xiv, xvi and Statute 41.

[iv.] *De collacione quatuor officiorum presbiteri existencium.*

4^m ca^m

VOLUMUS autem, quod illi, quibus supradicta officia conferentur, tempore collacionis eorumdem sint presbiteri, uel saltem diaconi, in proximis ordinibus ex tunc in presbiteros ordinandi. Et factis sibi collacionibus, si presentes fuerint, statim coram collatore—si uero absentes, infra mensem a tempore acceptacionis collacionum huiusmodi, uel alias quam cito commode, habito respectu ad locorum distanciam, ad presenciam accedere poterint collatoris—continuam et personalem corporaliter se iurent facturos in eadem ecclesia residenciam. [De
residencia.]
Alioquin, collaciones huiusmodi nullius existere uolumus firmitatis; nec tanquam tales in dicta ecclesia habeantur. De huiusmodi uero iuramento, ut facilius probari possit, in 4^m fo.^v
literis collacionum suarum fiat mencio specialis. Alij uero quatuor simplices canonici De
prebendarum
nominacione
specialium.
[De
simplicibus
canonicis.]
(quorum vnus prebenda quinta, et alterius prebenda sexta, tercius uero septima, et quartus prebenda octaua, in earum collacionibus, et alias communiter nuncupentur), antequam ibidem ratione residencie quicquam percipiant, subdiaconi ordinentur. Quodsi numerus prebendarum imposterum deo concedente multiplicetur, huiusmodi prebende exaucte seu addite sub nominibus numeri excrescencium nuncupentur¹.

¹ Winton and Reg. "uocitentur" for "nuncupentur."

iv. The references to the Exeter use and customs in the following notes are derived from Chapter MSS. 3625 and 3628, which contain the Statutes and Ordinances issued by the Bishops of Exeter from 1107 to

1663 for the governance of the Chapter. They have never been printed, and are only so far used here as they illustrate the Ottery arrangements.

At Exeter the four dignitaries had each to reside for two-thirds of the year; these eight months were to be kept either "continue vel interpolatim prout in Ecclesiis cathedralibus provinciae majoribus est consuetum." The Dean had one vote in chapter "ut simplex canonicus tantum." When he was absent "Precentor notorie et ex consuetudine prescripta Presidens capituli existit." Bishop Oldham, 1517. There were 24 Canons all appointed by the Bishop, they elected the Dean from amongst themselves on a vacancy. The Ottery chapter was one-third the size of that of Exeter. Bishop Grandisson's appointments to the eight Ottery canonries, as recorded in the third volume of his Register, are interesting. In the first instance two distinguished clergy of the diocese and well-tried personal friends are put on the list, apparently simply *honoris causâ*, as they each held office only for a few days. The Bishop's intention that the four simple Prebends should be held with benefices having cure of souls elsewhere is evident. He made the first collations himself in the church at Ottery.

To the Wardenship was collated Sir Richard de Gomersale, Rector of Dittisham, 17 January, 1338 (fo. 38^b) but only *in commendam*. He was one of the friends the Bishop had brought with him from the York and Lincoln dioceses, where he held the Rectory of Wardone in Bedfordshire. Gomersale is near Leeds. He was present at York when the Bishop did homage to Edward III for his temporalities, and accompanied him thence along with his brother, Sir Peter de Grandisson, to his father's house at Oxenhale, near Gloucester, where they remained from 24 March till 22 April, 1328, and entered the diocese 6 June. He had power of attorney to take seisin as steward of the Bishop's temporalities in Devon and Cornwall, and was frequently his Commissary afterwards, e.g. he was sent along with Oliver Farcy and William de Nassington to Rouen to negotiate with the Dean and Chapter about the purchase of Ottery, 1334 (*Reg.*, part i, p. 288). He was instituted Rector of Dittisham 22 July, 1328, exchanged it for Lezant 27 October, 1347, Canon of Glasney, 11 August, 1329, Provost of the same 2 January, 1348, when he resigned Lezant, and Canon of Crediton, 17 September, 1347.

Sir Richard de Otery was collated to the Wardenship of Ottery 24 June, 1338 (fo. 39^b), and Sir Henry Bouet on 27 February, 1349 (fo. 73). He resigned, and Sir Andrew atte More was admitted *in commendam*, 9 May, 1350 (fo. 90^b), and collated thereto 17 June, 1350 (fo. 92^b). Then certain persons "quorum adhuc ignoramus nomina, sub colore cuiusdam precepti executorii, quod falso asseruerunt se a Vicecomite Devonie recepisse, in dilectum filium, Dominum Henricum Bouet presbiterum ac Canonicum ecclesie nostre Collegiate sancte crucis de Criditionia familiaremque nostrum, de nullo convictum crimine vel confessum seu legitime indietatum, in villa sanete Marie de Otery feria tertia huius instantis ebdomade Pentecostes (i.e. 18 May) pacifice incedentem, dispositis insidiis irruerunt, in ipsumque manus temere violentas et sacrilegas iniecerunt, ceperunt et in carcerem publicum, pro furibus et facinorosis hominibus deputatum, inhumaniter retruserunt, in Ecclesie et tocies cleri injuriam, scandalum et contemptum, et libertatum et immunitatum Ecclesie notoriam lesionem"; and were accordingly excommunicated by the Bishop, 20 May, 1350 (*Reg.*, vol. II, p. 1090).

To the Ministership Sir Oliver Farcy, a Breton, being then Vicar of the parish, was first appointed. He had been collated Vicar 21 April, 1335 (fo. 32^b) and was granted a dispensation for non-residence the following month—(to go with Gomersale to Rouen)—"quem utpote devocione fide et industria commendatum ad partes transmarinas, pro summa utilitate nostre Exoniensis ecclesie, quam favente Domino affuturam esse supponimus provocanda, nostrum providimus nuncium destinandum ut quamdiu huiusmodi nostris et ecclesie nostre obsequiis institeris a dicta Vicaria tua abesse valeas impune" (vol. II, p. 785). He gave up the office of Minister seven months after he was collated thereto, exchanging it for the Rectory of Bratton Clovelly (taxed at £12 a year), 23 August, 1338, with Master Robert de Penbroke. He was returned as there personally resident "et tenet hospitalitatem continuam in eadem," being an alien (Brito) holding benefice in the diocese, 3 January, 1340. He was collated to the Vicarage of Paignton 17 February, 1340, and to the Rectory of Feniton 22 February, 1344. He probably died of the Black Death, having retained all through a prebend at Ottery, to which Sir William Gaylarde was collated 26 March, 1349. Master Robert de Penbroke exchanged the Ministership the day after he was appointed thereto with Sir William de Wolveye, R. of Shobrook. On 31 December, 1338, Sir John de Leghe was collated thereto (fo. 40^b), and on 22 January, 1349, Sir John Payn (fo. 71), who was described as "virum iudicio nostro providum et discretum" by the Bishop when he was licensed as Penitentiary for the Archdeaconry of Exeter, 9 February, 1355 (*Reg.*, vol. II, p. 1144).

To the Precentorship Sir Joceline de Snetisham was admitted *in commendam* 17 January, 1338 (fo. 38^b); and Sir Richard de Hathelsay collated 6 April, 1338 (fo. 39^b); he exchanged the office for the Vicarage of Sancreed, 25 August, 1346 (fo. 58) with Sir John Payn, who held it two years and a half, till he was promoted to be Minister, and was succeeded by Sir Roger de Breyngton 23 January, 1349 (fo. 71). On the death of Hervey (whose collation is not recorded), Sir John Taphot was collated to the office 9 February, 1362 (vol. III, 1475).

To the Sacristanship Sir Robert Kilacreu, deacon, was collated 17 January, 1338 (fo. 38^b); Sir Walter de Kynelonde 29 February, 1340 (fo. 42); and Sir William Tokere *in commendam* 23 January, 1365 (fo. 151^b).

To the 5th Prebend was collated 16 January, 1338 (being thus the first and oldest member of the foundation) Master Robert Hereward (Canon of Exeter and Canon of Bosham). He exchanged it the next day for a Prebend in St Crantock with Thomas de Molatone, who resigned *subsequenter* (fo. 38^b). Master Ralph Poyer, clerk, was collated to it 24 March, 1338 (fo. 39). On his death Sir Roger de Buddeleghe 9 March, 1349 (fo. 74), on whose death Master William de Brauntone, R. of Pyworthy, succeeded, 15 October, 1361 (fo. 129).

To the 6th Prebend Master Hugh de Roches, R. of Lustleigh, was collated 17 January, 1338 (fo. 38^b); on whose death Master Otho de Northwode was collated 31 August, 1348 (fo. 66). He was Canon and Archdeacon of Exeter, and of three other collegiate churches, Glasney, St Teath, and Bosham, and R. of Stoke-in-Teignhead. He resigned this Prebend 21 July, and Master John de Chaundos, R. of Uffculme, was collated to it 27 July, 1356 (fo. 109), and John Bythelesgate, 3 November, 1366 (fo. 153).

To the 7th Prebend, Sir John Borastone, R. of Gittisham, was collated 17 January, 1338 (fo. 38^b). On the death of Oliver Farcy (whose collation to it is not recorded) Sir William Gaylarde, R. of Lawhitton, 26 March, 1349 (fo. 75^b); on his death Master Walter de Birricombe, R. of Longbrey, Dorset, 18 November, 1361 (fo. 131^b); on his death William Tettewille, R. of Feniton, 20 September, 1363 (fo. 150).

To the 8th Prebend, Roger Fraunceys clericus (*i.e.* in minor orders) was collated 17 January, 1338 (fo. 38^b) (Richard Fraunceys, Bp. of Waterford, was Grandisson's Suffragan this year); and on his death Master Roger Boghemor, 9 October, 1361 (fo. 128^b).

Youths under age could hold canonries as no cure of souls was attached: but before they could receive any quotidians for residence must have proceeded from minor orders to that of sub-deacon.

[v.] *De octo presbiteris, qui Vicarij dicuntur.*

5m ca^m

STATUIMUS insuper quod sint in eadem ecclesia collegiata continue octo presbiteri, qui uocentur Vicarij chori, vnusque alius presbiter parochialis, et alius matutinalis, et unus qui capellanus beate Marie nuncupetur; ac octo Clerici, qui Secundarii dicantur, duoque alij ecclesie clerici uocati; cum duobus clericis aquebaiulis: octo eciam pueri choriste, et unus magister scolarum ibidem grammaticalium ad informandum dictos pueros: qui minime sint conjugati. Intencionis uero nostre est quod capellanus beate Marie et Secundarij predicti, licet clerici uocitentur, esse possint si uelint multo magis in presbiteratus ordine constituti, si stipendijs infra notatis fuerint contentati. Omnes autem canonici, uicarij, presbiteri, clerici, et pueri predicti diuina officia diurna pariter et nocturna, quilibet iuxta gradum et statum suum, vna cum decentibus luminaribus, et alijs ad cultum diuinum necessarijs et oportunis¹, deuote et debite in eadem ecclesia celebrent; et iuxta ordinacionem² nostram imperpetuum exequantur. Prefati uero octo presbiteri qui uicarij nuncupantur, necnon presbiter matutinalis, capellanus eciam beate Marie, ac clerici secundarij, pueri eciam choriste, et magister scolarum, necnon et alij consimiles, si contingat imposterum superaddi, per canonicos predictae collegiate ecclesie residentes, uel per maiorem partem eorum admittantur. Presbiter uero parochialis et duo aquebaiuli per Ministrum, alij autem duo

¹ Winton, instead of "et oportunis," reads "per nos dispositis."

² Exon, and *Register* for "iuxta ordinacionem nostram," read "in futurum."

[viij uicarij
presbiteri,
ij alij
presbiteri,
presbiter
beate Marie.]
De octo
secundarijs
[ij clerici
ecclesie]
et duo
aquebaiulis
et octo pueris,
et eorum
magistro.
5m fo. p. 143.
De aduentu
predictorum
ad chorum.
De
admissione
predictorum.

5^m fo. v

ecclesie clerici nuncupati per Sacristam, predictos assumantur. Ita tamen, quod Minister pro clericis aquebaiulis et Sacrista pro alijs duobus clericis per eum assumptis, si per eosdem clericos collegium dampnificatum fuerit, teneantur dampnum huiusmodi integraliter resarcire.

v. At Exeter there were 24 Priest-Vicars, or "Vicarii Chorales, singuli singulis Canonicis attitulati," and 12 Secondaries, or Clerks of the second row in choir, "quorum admissio ad Decanum pertinet," and 14 choristers "quorum admissio ad Precentorem pertinet." At Ottery all of these three grades were appointed by the Chapter jointly. In 1277 Bishop Bronescombe ordered at Exeter "numerus duodecim clericorum de secunda forma in ordine diaconatus subdiaconatus et acolitatis ministrancium de cetero perpetualiter observetur." The four lower orders of the ministry, doorkeeper, reader, exorcist and acolyte, might marry: but not subdeacons, deacons, or priests. Bishop Grandisson wished none as far as might be on the Ottery foundation to marry, for he desired to encourage them all to proceed to the higher orders. Ordinacio vii, Stat. 58. Moreover, married men could not live in the Hospitia he had erected. Two extra Priest-Vicars were added, making 10 in all, when Northam was appropriated to the College 1 September, 1361.

6^m ca^m

[vj.] *De nullorum admissione ad duo officia.*

[Quod
numerus xl
personarum
non
minuatur.]

[De
remocione
clericorum.]

5^m fo. p. 145.

[De
probacione
clericorum.]
De
ministrorum
examina-
cione.

[Devolucio ad
episcopum.]
De defectu
canonicorum
negligente.

Devolucio ad
custodem
necessaria
superiorum.
6^m fo. v

[De stipendijs
clericorum
uacantibus
pertinentibus
ad episco-
pum.]

NULLUS autem ad officia seu loca duorum quomodolibet admittatur, aut duplici officio fungatur; ne numerus, quod absit, predictarum quadraginta personarum vllatenus imperpetuum minuatur. Set quocienscumque aliquam dicti collegij personam canonicis inferiorem de cetero mori, uel abinde recedere, aut ex causa ammoueri contigerit, ex tunc loco illius alia persona ydonea, infra xx dies proximo sequentes, per illos ad quos ipsius iuxta predicta pertinet posicio admissio seu assumpcio, subrogetur. Et iddem fieri uolumus, si persone predictae in moribus male et incorrigibiliter, canonicorum residencium uel maioris partis eorum arbitrio, se habuerint, uel a dicta ecclesia ultra quindecim dies continuos se absenterint sine causa necessaria per canonicos approbanda. Omnes autem de cetero admittendi uel assumendi in dicto collegio, canonicis inferiores, primitus per Cantorem et Sacristam ac Vicarios eiusdem ecclesie prius admissos, diligenter examinentur. Et per octo dies de predictis xx diebus probentur, de uocis sonoritate, ac legendi et cantandi pericia competente, omni remota personarum acceptione, utpote generis, patrie, amicie uel alia familiaritate. Si uero subrogacio seu posicio huiusmodi infra dictum tempus facta non fuerit, negligentibus canonicis, quando ad eos hoc pertinuit ut preferatur, ex tunc ea vice ad nos et successores nostros Exonienses episcopos predicta subrogacio seu posicio deuoluatur. Et similiter, quando huiusmodi posicio ad Ministrum pertinuit uel Sacristam, subrogacio ipsa, ex eorum negligencia ad Custodem deuoluatur. Et nichilominus, ne forte taliter negligentes uacantibus locis lucrum uel emolumentum aliquod per obitum¹ ex affectata negligencia consequantur, uolumus, quod stipendia pro tempore, quo loca uicariorum, presbiterorum, uel aliorum inferiorum per mortem, uel aliter ultra tempus predictum uacauerint, obueniencia, que si loca essent plena, personis in eisdem constitutis deberentur², ad nos et successores nostros Exonienses episcopos deuoluantur; in usus pios iuxta nostrum et eorum arbitrium applicanda.

¹ "Per obitum" is the curious reading of Exon. It would appear to be either an equivalent for "per mortem," two lines lower down, or perhaps an itacism for "per obitem," i.e. intentionem, pro obicem. Ducange *sub voce*. Winton reads "vel obliquum"; *Reg.* reads "per obliquum."

² Exon reads "deliberentur."

vi. At Exeter every Canon had to fill up his vacant Priest-Vicarship within a month of its falling vacant: otherwise the Dean was to do so within the next eight days, and on his failing to fill it, the appointment lapsed to the Bishop. If the Canon was beyond the sea his right was reserved. In 1281 Bishop Quivil ordered, "Nullus vicarius aut quivis alius inferior minister vel clericus qui secundum consuetudinem ecclesie officiare tenetur in choro aliquatenus admittatur, eciam si sciencia seu quavis alia prerogativa donetur, nisi modulandi habet instrumentum et cantus scienciam congruentem." If such incompetent person was appointed, his admission was void, and the post lapsed to the Bishop. In 1275 Bishop Bronescombe "quia per facta inferiorum majores quandoque scandalizantur, precipimus quod sex clerici de secunda forma inhonesti et inutiles a choro ejiciantur et alii sufficientes loco eorum subrogentur." "Nullus de cetero admittatur in choro habitum portans (preter Canonicos et Vicarios aut alios perpetuo servicio intitulo) nisi sit bone fame et note conversacionis bene cantans et competenter literatus, quorum numerus in duodecim existat, qui clerici de secunda forma appellantur, ex quibus cum opus fuerit honesti Vicarii chorales creari possunt."

The Vicars and Secondaries, "continue residere et singulis horis canonicis nocturnis pariter et diurnis interesse tenentur; quilibet Matutinis, singulis horis canonicis, Vesperis, completorio et majori Misse ac aliis suo ordine in dicta ecclesia celebrandis precise intersit devote serviturus, ac in vite honestate, laudabili conversacione, morum gravitate et sufficienti devocione ad exemplum aliorum singuli in suis gradibus ministrare tenentur in divinis; nec a suis Vicariis sine causa rationabili et decani cum capitulo convencia poterunt amoveri Vicarii." Permission of absence to a Vicar or Secondary was not to be granted beyond a week or fortnight in one year, and then not to several at one time. 18 November, 1358.

The fines incurred under this Ordinacio vi that fell to the Bishop "ad pios usus" would be fitly expended by him locally, as he had an episcopal residence at Fluxton in the parish.

[vij.] *De admissione puerorum in Secundarios.*

7m cam

VOLUMUS preterea quod pueri choriste dicte ecclesie ad loca Secundariorum, cum ad uirilem uocem peruenerint, necnon Secundarij ad gradum Uicariorum, pre alijs extraneis, ceteris paribus, admittantur.

vij. At Exeter, "Pueri quoque voce sonora preediti porcionem in ecclesia dicta percipientes, die et nocte ei deserviant, et numerum quatuordecim non excedant, nisi forsitan sint utiles ecclesie, aut ita nobiles quod contemplacione Progenitorum aut Carnalium suorum ad processionem et Missam admittantur ad tempus, moribus et honesta conversacione informandi, quorum instructio ad Clericum Capelle B.V.M. spectat."

When a Secondary died, or left, or was expelled, his vacant place was to be filled by one of the choristers, "cui in officio choriste deservire non congruit, vel non deceat," provided he was over 18 years of age, or else by one "qui quondam ministerium choriste ibidem exercuit, si talis sit qui ad illud officium repertus fuerit aptus, et hoc acceptare voluerit." Bishop Oldham, 1517. A chorister received tonsure at any age; but "Ordinandus in exorcistam lectorem seu ostiarium debet esse major infante i.e. major septennio, in acolytum major xiv annis, in subdiaconum major xvij, in diaconum major xix, in sacerdotem major xxiv, et major xxx potest esse episcopus." Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia*, vol. II, p. cxviii. Cp. Martène, *De antiquis eccles. ritibus*, lib. I, c. viii, art. iii; *Corpus Juris Canonici*, ed. Friedberg, vol. II, 1140; *Clem.*, lib. I, tit. vi, c. iii.

[viii.] *De canonicorum simplicium et aliorum distribucione.*

8m cam

STATUIMUS preterea et eciam ordinamus quod Custos predictus, pro dote officij custodie, percipiat omni anno sexaginta solidos; Minister pro dote officij ministeriatus, sexaginta solidos; Cantorque pro dote officij cantarie, 30 solidos; et Sacrista pro dote officij sacristie, 30 solidos sterlingorum, percipiant annuatim. Canonici uero singuli, tam habentes officia predicta, quam eciam simplices et non habentes officia, pro dote et corpore prebendarum suarum, habeant et percipiant 40 solidos omni anno. Et nichilominus percipiant ultra premissa prefati canonici tam habentes officia predicta quam

De distribucione inter quatuor dignitates. De canonicis simplicibus officia habentibus et non habentibus. 7m fo. p. 147.

[De
cotidianis.]
¶ nota de
presentibus
in serui-
cio
diuino et
absentibus,
&c.

alij simplices canonici, si tamen alibi non sint beneficiati, pro distributionibus cotidianis singulariter singuli qui in dicta collegiata ecclesia in matutinis, maiori missa, et uesperis presentes fuerint, seu alias in eorum hospicijs ibidem infirmi, aut absentes, in negocijs tamen collegij communibus ex ordinatione concanonicorum suorum presencium occupati, et precipue Senescalli infrascripti, pro omni die qua duplex festum fuerit, sex denarios; et pro die qua chorus regitur, quinque denarios; necnon pro diebus alijs singulis, quatuor denarios. Ita uidelicet, quod eis singulariter singulis inde subtrahantur, pro absentia sua sine causa rationabili a matutinis tres oboli, et a maiori missa, uel uesperis, denarius vnus.

viii. After Ilington was appropriated, 25 May, 1338, the Warden was to receive therefrom £4 more a year, the Minister, the Precentor, and the Sacrist each £2 more a year. Out of Ipplepen after 1443 the Warden was to receive half the residue, and the other half was to be divided among all the other seven canons. In the compotus rolls of 1413, 1437 and 1482, the Warden receives "pro quarterlegiis" or stipend paid at the four quarters £9 a year, and for his quotidians or commons £7. 7s. 3d.; the same quotidians are set down for the Minister, Precentor, and Sacrist: but the Minister's quarterage was £7, and that of each of the other two £5. 10s. The Warden's salary in modern money would be thus about £400 a year, the Minister's about £350, and that of the Precentor and Sacrist about £260. They would receive also certain sums for attendance at Obits, and extra services, and had besides residuary shares of the gross income, but apparently to judge from the compotus rolls these last never amounted to anything very much. A simple prebend at Ottery was half the value of one at Exeter, where the corpus of each Prebendary, "sive presentes fuerunt sive absentes," was six marks, or £4 a year. Exeter was the only English cathedral where the Prebends were all of equal value. "Hinc est (runs the oldest ordinance, one by Bishop Warewast, 1107) quod nullus Canonicus movetur contra alium quasi habeat ditiores Prebendam quam ipse, cum omnes sint pares in prebendis sive residentes sive non. Nullus residens aduersus alium residentem movetur cum in potestate cuiuslibet sit residere in ea uel non residere. Propter predicta contingit quod maior est pax et tranquillitas in dicta ecclesia quam in quibusdam alijs ecclesijs Cathedralibus; quam pacem et tranquillitatem deus conservet in ea in dierum longitudinem." The other English cathedrals served by secular Canons were York, London, Sarum, Lincoln, Wells, Hereford, Chichester and Lichfield; in these each prebend had its distinct and separate endowment, and hence some of the prebends were five or six times the value of others in the same cathedral.

In course of time a tendency in the same direction manifested itself at Exeter. In Bp Bronescombe's ordinances (1267) chapter property was allowed to be leased to such canons as kept residence, but only so that "antiquiores junioribus in huiusmodi firmis assequendis preferantur," and only one lease was to be allowed to be taken by each canon (1275). In 1281 chapter property was never leased to any but canons, "according to the custom of the Province of Canterbury." (Cp. Hale's *Doomsday of St Paul's*, p. xlii.) In 1387 it was ordered that all the leasehold property of the chapter should be divided into 16 "farms" or lots, "quod firmis exilibus uniantur firmule ita quod ad maiorem equalitatem quatenus est possibile cum pinguioribus firmis reducantur"; if any one of these sixteen was declined by all the Canons, then the Chapter was to hold it and let it to whom they would, provided he was "de gremio ecclesie, pro vero valore, quousque aliquis canonicus habilitatis fuerit." One consequence of this arrangement was that the Canons who undertook residence were reduced in number, so much so, that in 1544 there were only 7 houses for simple resident Canons, these with the 5 Dignitaries, and the 4 archdeacons made up the 16 resident out of the 24. In 1561 only 9 were to be resident, amongst whom the 4 Dignitaries were to be preferred; these Residentiaries were the Chapter, and on vacancy in their number called up by vote one of the other non-residentiary Canons. (See below on Ord. xxii.)

At Exeter the quotidians in 1257 were to be paid once a week; in 1277 every day to each Canon in residence: 2d. for an ordinary week day, 4d. if a feast of 9 lessons or if choir be ruled, 6d. on lesser double feasts, 8d. on double feasts. These were increased 1269, "singulis profestis diebus, quibus residerint 12d.," when choir was ruled or Sequence or Tract sung, 15d., on double feasts 18d. At Ottery, therefore, the quotidians for each resident Canon were one-third of what they were at Exeter, just as also the number of Canons was one-third of those at Exeter. Bishop Stapeldon, 1316, gave Thorverton, Hembury, Withycomb, and St Constantine, with 12 marks from Dunsford to the Exeter Chapter for the quotidians of the Canons who kept residence, and open table for those on the foundation, on all double feasts. Sixteen shillings

were to be thus divided on every double feast among all Canons then in residence and present, in equal portions, "ut in hiis precipue festis ex eorum presencia, resonantibus celebrius divine laudis organis, cultus augeatur divinus, crescat eciam hospitalitas et eleemosinarum largicio, ac fidelium ampliatur devocio in futurum."

At Ottery, Canon's residence was kept by presence at Mattins, High Mass and Evensong. At Exeter no Canon's residence in any quarter was to be held "residence" unless he kept 46 days in that quarter; reduced in 1544 to 36, and further reduced in 1561 to 30 days. Bishop Bronescombe, approved by Ottobon, ordered "Ille tantummodo Canonicus pro Residente habeatur qui Matutinis et Maiori Misse et in mensâ, vel hore prime et Vesperis atque mense, personaliter interfuerit," i.e. he must be present at High Mass, and also besides at his option, either at Mattins, Prime, or Evensong at least, and one table, either dinner or supper. So Bishop Brantingham, 20 September, 1380, "Horis canonicis seu saltem uni earumdem (videlicet Matutinis aut hore Prime vel Vesperis) et Majori Misse in habitu canonicali in eiusdem ecclesie choro personaliter interesse." At Mattins or Prime he must be in choir before the end of the Hymn, at Evensong before the end of the first Psalm, at Mass before the end of the first Collect, and in each case stay till the end of the service. If a canon kept a whole week's residence continuously, he then "duos dies, profestos tamen, in illa ebdomada studii aut honesta alia relaxandi animi gratiâ libere queat sibi assumere."

[ix.] *De canonicorum simplicium distributione et eorum residencia debita.*

9m ca^m

VOLUMUS [autem]¹ quod si canonici simplices alibi beneficiati fuerint, non percipiant, nisi Senescalli fuerint in dicta collegiata ecclesia, nisi pro residencia quadraginta dierum in quolibet termino cuiuslibet quarterij anni; eciamsi continue residerint in eadem. Vicarij uero singuli percipiant pro singulis septimanis, quibus ibidem in officijs diuinis presentes, uel ibidem infirmi, aut alias canonicorum arbitrio rationabiliter impediti fuerint, 12 denarios sterlingorum; et ultra per annum quilibet 20 solidos. Ita tamen quod inde eis subtrahantur pro absencia sua sine causa rationabili a matutinis denarius, et a maiori missa uel uesperis obolus; pro prima et alijs horis diei quadrans. Presbiter uero matutinalis eodem modo percipiat quantum vnus de prefatis Vicarijs; [et pro absencia sua tantum sibi sicut vni de eisdem Vicarijs]¹ subtrahatur. Presbiter autem parochialis percipiat omni anno per manus Ministri, qui in dicta ecclesia pro tempore fuerit, sex marcas sterlingorum, quas idem Minister propter hoc, necnon pro soluenda procuracione archidiaconi Exonie sex solidos et 8 denarios, et pro synodatico et cathedratico duos solidos et tres denarios, ultra porcionem pro eo superius ordinatam, de bonis collegij communibus recipiat annuatim. Qui quidem presbiter parochialis teneatur officijs chori interesse, et pro absencia puniatur sicut Vicarij; nisi cum ex causa [cure parochianorum uel alia legitima]¹ fuerit impeditus.

[De subtractione absencium.]
De percepcione vicariorum presencium.
7m folium v.
De multacione ministrorum et eorum percepcione.
De percepcione presbiteri parochialis.
De presencia presbiteri parochialis et eius punicione.

¹ Exon omits words in brackets; rightly inserted by Winton and *Register*.

ix. Similarly Bishop Grandisson ordered at Exeter that no canon there who held a benefice with cure of souls in his diocese could count residence as Canon for *more* than 46 days in each quarter, but must reside personally in his parish. 5 December, 1354 (*Register*, part ii, p. 1138). If they held no cure of souls elsewhere they were to reside 8 months a year at Exeter. (*Reg.* 583.) The Priest-Vicars at Exeter received as at Ottery £1 a year. There were 24 of them, "singuli singulis Canonicis attitulati quorum quilibet pro sustentacione sua 20 solidos nomine domini sui percipiat annuatim." Bishop Henry Marshall (1205) gave them besides the Church of Woodbury to divide equally between them. If a Priest-Vicar missed a single service without leave he lost his quodians for that week, if a second time those for a month, if for a third time he lost his place. The Vicars present were to receive in full the portion of those Vicars who were absent either from neglect or when a vacancy occurred till others were appointed. A Vicar might be excused two nights off choir duty for blood-letting, a Canon three. If a Canon died, his Priest-Vicar "in servicio ecclesie remaneat per annum defuncti, de prebenda sicut solebat 20 solidos percepturus." No Priest-Vicar was allowed to hold any cure of souls or duty or chaplaincy outside the Cathedral in the city

or suburbs, "presertim cum non sufficiat ad huiusmodi servicium et maiori ecclesie ad quod principaliter obligatur." Two were always to be properly appalled, one as deacon and the other as subdeacon, for the week when Requiem Mass was sung at the altar of the Cross. At Ottery the quotidiens of a Priest-Vicar would on an average be less than half those of a Canon: and would amount to 52 shillings a year, if never absent: his total pay would thus amount to £3. 12s., slightly less than that of the Parish Priest, which was fixed at £4 a year. After 1 September, 1361, there were to be appointed and paid out of the appropriated rectorial tithes of Northam, two extra Priest-Vicars (to sing for Sir Otho Grandisson) at the same salary as the original eight: all the ten, and the Morn-Priest were each to receive yearly from Northam a mark extra for their dress. One of the Priest-Vicars was also to be appointed Sacrist's Curate, and have 6s. 8d. for the same. Each received further out of Ipplepen after 1439 6s. 8d. to help repair their houses. Thus a Priest-Vicar's salary in modern money would be about £100 a year, which would enable him to live as a bachelor, and in common with his brother Vicars, very comfortably. Nearly half the parochial benefices in England in 1288 (Pope Nicholas IV's Taxation) were under ten marks, or £160 a year in modern money. In 1362 a Parish Priest was to receive 6 marks, a Priest without cure of souls 5 marks, or if he abide at a secular man's table 2 marks for his gown and necessities, his table being accounted 40s. (*Statutes of the Realm*, I, 373, 374.)

8^m folium,
p. 149.
10^m ca^m
[Secundarij
et eorum
stipendia.]
[Subtraccio
absencium.]
De puerorum
percepcone
et eorum
multacione.
De
multacione
uicariorum
secundari-
orum et
puerorum.
8^m fol.^v
Percepco
duorum
clericorum.
Percepco
aquebaiu-
lorum.

[x.] *De distribucione clerico capelle beate Marie et Secundarijs et pena pro eorum absencia.*

CLERICUS insuper capelle beate Marie, necnon 8 Secundarij singuli predicti, percipiant pro singulis septimanis quibus ibidem in officijs presentes fuerint, uel ibidem infirmi, aut alias canonicorum residencium arbitrio legitime impediti, 8 denarios, et ultra per annum duodecim solidos. Ita quod eis inde, pro absencia sua sine causa rationabili a matutinis uel missa, uel uesperis, aut aliqua ipsarum horarum obolus, et pro omnibus alijs horis simul quadrans eciam subtrahatur. Pueri insuper singuli, pro singulis septimanis quibus ibidem in officijs presentes, uel alias infirmi fuerint, percipiant 5 denarios; et ultra per annum sex solidos et 8 denarios. Ita quod eisdem inde pro absencia sua a matutinis, missa, uel uesperis quadrans subtrahatur. Pro alijs uero horis [alias] puniantur; nisi quando scolis uacauerint, prout pueri choriste in ecclesia nostra Exoniensi consueuerunt. Si uero ijdem uicarij, secundarij, uel pueri ab officio ecclesie de consuetudine se absentent; canonicorum residencium arbitrio durius puniantur. ¶ Item, quilibet duorum clericorum predictorum, clerici ecclesie nuncupatorum, percipiat omni anno duas marcas. Magister eciam scholarum, preter emolumentum scholarum, duas marcas. ¶ Item, duo clerici aquebaiuli predicti, ultra emolumentum quod percipient de consuetudine a parochianis, percipiant coniunctim de collegio 6 solidos et 8 denarios annuatim.

x. At Exeter there were 12 annivellers, who were never to say their special masses till after the Morn-Priest had said Bratton's mass. One of these had charge of the Lady Chapel and was styled Clericus capelle (and sometimes minister altaris) beate Marie. At Ottery, St Mary's Clerk and the Secondaries would receive £2. 6s. 8d. a year (not including extras), the Choristers each £1. 8s. 4d.: the two Church Clerks each £1. 6s. 8d., the schoolmaster the same; the two benets a fee of 3s. 4d. each, besides what parishioners might give them for carrying round holy water (*Statute xxxviiij, n.*). Out of Isington the clerk of St Mary's was to have 13s. 4d. and the schoolmaster 6s. 8d.: out of Northam each of the Secondaries and St Mary's Clerk were to have 3s. 4d. for dress, each chorister 1s. 4d. The Parish Priest and Schoolmaster 6s. 8d. each, and the two watchers of the Church the same between them. There were also payments to them out of Ipplepen. A Secondary's wages would thus in modern money come to about £60 a year; a Chorister's would about pay for his keep and clothing; each Church Clerk would receive about 15s. a week, and the benets, with the offerings from parishioners, about the same. The Morn-Priest, the Parish Priest, and the Grammar Master would each apparently receive about what a Priest-Vicar did, and the Clerk of St Mary's, who was the Song-Master, very nearly the same.

"Preter emolumentum scolarum seems to imply that the school would be open to outsiders or oppidans who would pay fees, whereas the choristers on the foundation would not. The usual fee for instruction in 'lernynge letters and to rede' was at this date 4*d.* a quarter: and for 'such scolers that wol come to his techyng of gramer,' the first foundation for the understanding of the other liberal arts and sciences, Latin being necessary for dealing with law and other difficult matters of state, and also the means of mutual communication and conversation between us and strangers and foreigners, 8*d.* a quarter. There were besides voluntary offerings to the Schoolmaster on Shrove Tuesday and at Christmas. His usual salary was £10 a year, a hundred years later the headmaster of Eton had £16 a year. Most towns or large villages in England had similar grammar schools to this at Ottery attached to a collegiate Church or chantry priest's duties in their midst. Some were happy in having the school sufficiently endowed for the instruction and education of the youths and boys of the town so that it was free from tuition fees and open to the world." A. F. Leach, *The Schools of Mediaeval England*, 1915.

[xi.] *De solucione summe; per quatuor terminos ecclesie.*

11^m ca^m

SUMMAS autem pecuniarum predictas ad quatuor anni terminos, uidelicet, ad festa sancti Michaelis, Natalis Domini, Pasche, et Natiuitatis sancti Iohannis Baptiste, in moneta sterlingorum, uel equiualente, si illa in partibus non curreret, solui uolumus et mandamus. Prouiso ante omnia, quod necessaria pro sustentacione fabrice et luminaribus eiusdem [De fabrica ecclesie.] collegiate ecclesie, ac alijs pertinentibus ad cultum diuinum in eadem, utpote pane et uino, incenso et carbonibus, ac librorum et uestimentorum reparacionibus, ac albarum et tual- 9^m folium, liarum locionibus et similibus per officium Sacriste faciendis, ante omnia deducantur. p. 151. Deinde uero in solucionibus faciendis minores semper maioribus, utpote pueri clericis et clerici uicarijs et presbiteris, ipsique canonicis preferantur. (Cp. pp. 106, 107.)

[xij.] *De Succentoris eleccione per Vicarios.*

12^m ca^m

UNUS [autem] ex dictis Vicarijs diligencior ceterisque et deuocior ac in officio pericior, in Succentorem per collegium eligatur, qui absencias singulorum canonicorum uicariorum, et presbiteri matutinalis, clericorum secundariorum et eciam puerorum predictorum ab officijs De fideliter punctuet, et notet; ac canonicis residentibus in anime sue periculo fideliter significet punctuacione ministrorum in qualibet die sabbati in scriptis. Qua semper die propter hoc, ac eciam ad alia negocia, et aliorum tam in officio diuino quam alijs disponenda, conueniant simul in domo capitulari canonici pro illorum residentes, cum omnibus alijs ecclesie ministris. Et si aliquis Canonicorum absenciam suam absentia a per dictum uicarium pro ebdomada proximo preterita notatam excusare uoluerit, et absencie sue causas, iudicio concanonicorum suorum rationabiles, allegauerit, super ueritate earundem choro. causarum credatur sue assercioni in fide sua et consciencia faciente. Si uero Vicarij, uel 9^m fol. v alij¹ clerici Secundarij, suas absencias ab officijs in ebdomada preterita excusare uoluerint, tunc proponant coram Canonicis causas absencie eorundem, et si rationabiles Canonicis uise fuerint, de ueritate earum, si in facto dubie fuerint, fidem faciant saltem proprio iuramento. Pueri uero ad iurandum super excusacione absenciarum suarum minime admittantur: set De testimonio magistri scolarum, qui circa informacionem eorum uersatur, fidem uolumus prohibicione iuramenti a adhiberi. pueris.

¹ Register omits "alij" and inserts "aliqui" before "suas."

xij. At Exeter the "rectores chori omni ebdomada Vicarios punctuent et notent, et secrecius presidenti Capituli vel clericis scaccarii proximo Sabbato insinuent." The Saturday Chapter has always been kept up at Exeter, in every week throughout the year, for the transaction of ordinary business: the first Saturday

chapter in each month is a special chapter for the transaction of special, as well as ordinary business. A succentor at Exeter was also chosen from among the Priest-Vicars. That the canons were not to be required to swear was a mark of their dignity. "It was an ancient privilege of bishops granted by Justinian that when their testimony was taken in private they were not obliged to give it upon oath, but only upon their word. A later council extended the same privilege to Priests." Bingham's *Antiquities*, vol. II, p. 13, ed. 1840; *Notes and Queries*, 8th Series, IX, p. 355.

13^m ca^m[xiiij.] *De percepcione Succentoris pro suo labore et puntuacione.*

[De pecunia
ratione
puntuacionis
cui soluetur.]

De
multacione
absencium.
10^m fo.
p. 153.

De custodia
librorum
capelle beate
Marie.
De
informacione
puerorum.

PREDICTUS uero Succentor percipiat et habeat pro labore suo vnam medietatem pecunie, quam uicarij et alij seruitores¹ ecclesie canonicis inferiores absentes ab officijs et per eum puntuati ratione suarum absenciarum amittent; medietate altera dicte pecunie, Senescallis infrascriptis, necnon tota pecunia, quam Canonici pro suis absencijs ab officijs amittent, eleemosune Episcopi Exoniensis applicandis. Ipsius uero Succentoris absencias Sacrista predictus per se, uel per alium fideliter punctuet; et percipiat id quod eidem succentori, iuxta superius ordinata, occasione huiusmodi absencie subtrahetur. Predicti uero presbiter parochialis et aquebaiuli, duo eciam ecclesie clerici nuncupati, aut clericus capellanus beate Marie, uel magister scholarum, si se uoluntarie a choro absentent, uolumus quod Custos et Cantor predicti eorum absencias diligenter considerent, et eos ad rationem ponant, et condigne puniant cum oportet. Super quibus, dictorum Custodis et Cantoris² coram supremo iudice consciencias oneramus. Prefatus uero clericus capellanus beate Marie habeat curam et custodiam librorum et ornamentorum eiusdem capelle ex commissione et tradicionem Sacriste predicti, et ad missam eiusdem uirginis pulset per se uel per alium. Puerosque choristas tam in cantibus quam in instrumentis organicis doceat et informet.

¹ *Register* reads "seniores" for "seruitores."² *Register* reads "sacriste" for "cantoris."

xiiij. The Clericus capellanus B. V. M. was the "Song-Master," the Magister Scholarum was the "Grammar-Master." On the inner walls of the staircase leading up from the Lady Chapel at Ottery to the Gallery may still be traced the scribblements in black letter characters made by the boys who were there waiting their turn for our Lady's clerk to teach them on the organ that stood in this Gallery. The "Grammar-Master" would teach Latin, dialectic and rhetoric: and some of the Secondaries even would be glad to avail themselves of his instructions (p. 75, n.); a need for Latin was not confined to clerics: the lawyer, the doctor, the merchant, the bailiff of a manor, wanted it for his studies or merely for his accounts. The architect, the musician, "every one who was neither a mere soldier nor a mere handicraftsman, wanted, not a smattering of grammar but a living acquaintance with the tongue, as a spoken as well as a written language." So bright boys passed up through a knowledge of Latin and were turned into clerics, and it was all one whether they came of the real poor, or of the middle classes, tradesmen, landowners, or even nobles (cp. note on Ord. vii). As to the method by which they were to be taught Latin, Bishop Grandisson (*Register*, part ii, p. 1193) on the 13 February, 1357, enjoined "quatinus pueros, quos recipiunt in grammatilibus imbuendos, non tantum legere aut discere literaliter, ut hactenus, set, aliis omnibus omissis, construere et intelligere faciant oracionem Dominicam cum salutacione angelica, Symbolum, et Matutinas, ac Horas de beata Virgine, et diciones ibi declinare ac respondere de partibus earumdem, antequam eos ad alios libros transire permittant; (magistrales et poeticos aut metricos). Denunciantes eisdem, quod pueros aliquos clericali caractere insignire (i.e. confer first tonsure) non intendimus, nisi per hunc modum reperti fuerint profecisse."

14^m ca^m[xiv.] *De animarum cura; ad Ministerium collegij onus pertinebit.*

10^m fo. v
De iuramento
ad archidia-
conum, per

CETERUM, ne animarum cura quod absit in aliquo negligatur, statuimus et ordinamus quod Minister dicte ecclesie, qui pro tempore fuerit, habeat totam curam animarum, tam personarum predictarum, et seruitorum illius ecclesie collegiate, quam eciam parochie

eiusdem. Racione cuius cure, idem Minister, et presbiter parochialis, ac duo clerici aquebaiuli supradicti, et nulle alie persone ipsius collegij, prefato archidiacono iurare obedienciam teneantur. Idem autem Minister, quociens in exercicio cure fuerit occupatus, super quo ipsius conscienciam in die iudicij oneramus, pro presente in officijs habeatur. ¶ Et ne per ea, que ad huiusmodi curam pertinent, seruicium chori impediatur, volumus quod altare aliquod in naui ecclesie ad hoc magis aptum et congruum deputetur, in quo idem Minister, et presbiter parochialis, missas populo debitas celebrent, submissa tamen uoce, ecclesiastica-que ministrent sacramenta, et cetera omnia excerceant, que prefatam curam contingere dinoscuntur.

quosdam
ministros
tantum.
Excusacio
ministri.
Deputacio
altaris
ecclesie
parochialis.

xiv. No Canon as such, except the Minister, had "cure of souls" at Ottery, though implicitly the other three Dignitates also were "curata beneficia," according to Lyndwood (cp. p. 90, n.). At Exeter two of the Annivellars, according to Bishop Bronescombe's ordinance, 1275, were to be told off every week, "qui mane dicant Matutinas et horas in naui ecclesie, a Matutinis chori preterquam in festis duplicibus dumtaxat excusati." This was for the benefit of workfolk and lay people; and similarly with their masses, the Annivellars were to say them not all at one time at various altars, but "successive et devote, ut convenit, Missas studeant celebrare, ut eas valeant audire ad eandem ecclesiam diversis vicibus concurrentes, cum omnes ad eas audiendas simul nequeant convenire." (1387.)

[xv.] *De habitu consimili dicti Collegij.*

15^m ca^m

VOLUMUS preterea et ordinamus, quod canonici, et omnes alij dicte collegiate ecclesie seruitores, cum fuerint circa diuina officia occupati, utantur consimili habitu, quo canonici et ceteri secundum status sui exigenciam in Exoniensi ecclesia utuntur. Excepto quod Canonici ipsius collegiate ecclesie pellibus nigris et non griseis in almicijs eorum exterius utantur. Volumus eciam et statuimus, quod si aliqui de Vicarijs, uel ceteris inferioribus de habitu honesto sibi ipsis, quociens oportunum fuerit, providere neglexerint, moneantur per Custodem predictum, quod infra 15 dies, de huiusmodi habitu sibi provideant competentem. Alioquin, idem Custos ex tunc eis celeriter provideat de huiusmodi habitu ex porcione stipendiorum, taliter sibi ipsis providere negligencium; quam pro tunc eis in tanto decernimus subtrahendam.

[De habitu
canonici-
corum.]
Contra
canonicos qui
griseis
utuntur.
11^m fol.
p. 155.
[De habitu
vicariorum.]
De pena
ministorum
pro eorum
habitu si
contingat
eorum
defectus.

xv. The amess of gryce, a "precyowse furrure," made from the back fur of the northern squirrel, miniver being that from the belly (*Liber Custumarum*, ed. Riley, p. 806), was only allowed to Canons of Cathedrals as a rule; sometimes, however, the warden or provost of a collegiate church was an exception. Rook, *Church of our Fathers*, II, 52-60. At Exeter, Bishop Quivil, 1283, forbade "ne quis Canonicus Vicarius seu quivis Clericus almicijs utatur alterius coloris exterius quam nigri, quae nullatenus sendato rubeo, viridi, vel alio quam nigro lineentur. Permittimus tamen Canonicis uti (ut prius) almicijs duplicatis, donec deliberato communiter consilio ad similitudinem Sarum ecclesie super hoc reducantur si forte melius viderint expedire. Sustinemus eciam interim almicias vicariorum griso sorari dum tamen sint nigre exterius ut est dictum." At some date between 1283 and 1337 it is evident the Canons of Exeter had adopted the grey amess from Sarum. On 10 April, 1408, Pope Gregory XII granted the canons of Ottery leave to wear grey almuces "as is done by all canons of other collegiate churches in the diocese instead of black ones as was provided in their foundation." *Papal Letters*, VI, 143; cp. *infra*, Statute lx. Carelessness of out-door dress in members of the foundation at Exeter was similarly to be punished as at Ottery. Such clerical dress is prescribed in *Decretales*, lib. III, tit. 1, c. 15; and *Clementines*, lib. III, tit. 1, c. 2. Lyndwood, *Provinciale*, lib. III, tit. 1, pp. 117 to 124, comments on the English constitutions and rules regarding the same; and compare Statutes lv and lvij, *infra*.

16^m ca^m[xvj.] *De sermonum provisione per canonicos.*[De predi-
cationibus.]

PROVIDEATUR¹ eciam quod per aliquem de collegio aut alium sermones solempnes fiant ad populum, ad minus Dominicis, prima uidelicet et tertia in Aduentu, et in Septuagesima², atque in prima et tertia et quinta in Quadragesima³, necnon in Assumpcione beate uirginis, ac festo sancti Edwardi confessoris.

¹ Register reads "Ordinamus" for "Provideatur."² Register omits "et in Septuagesima."³ Winton omits "atque in prima et tertia et quinta in Quadragesima."

xvj. Every rector or vicar was to preach in his own parish "et quilibet alius perpetuo intitulus ad beneficium cui imminet cura animarum": other persons who had no cure of souls, only when licensed thereto by the Bishop for his Diocese, or by the Pope, as the "fratres predicantes et minores," Lyndwood, *Provinciale*, lib. v, tit. 5 (p. 289). The fifty-first of the Canones issued by King Edgar in 960 A.D. distinctly requires the Clergy to preach every Sunday, "sacerdotes quolibet die solis ad populum praedicent" (Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. i, p. 228). Bishop Stavenby of Coventry in certain constitutions put forth to his Diocese in 1237, requires all his clergy, "quando parochiani sui congregati sunt in dominicis diebus vel aliis festis," to address them on the seven deadly sins and repentance, and gives the model of such discourses (*ibid.*, p. 643). Bishop Grosseteste of Lincoln gave directions to his clergy to preach on Sundays, and supplied them with headings for their sermons. Archbishop Peckham in his constitutions formulated at the Provincial Synod at Lambeth 1281 (besides these usual Sunday sermons), required that "quilibet sacerdos plebi presidens, quater in anno, hoc est semel in qualibet quarta anni, die solemnino uno vel pluribus per se vel per alium exponat populo vulgariter, absque cuiuslibet subtilitatis textura fantastica, quatuordecim articulos fidei, decem mandata decalogi, duo precepta evangelii, scilicet geminae charitatis, septem opera misericordie, septem peccata capitalia cum sua progenie, septem virtutes principales ac septem gratiae sacramenta." He then proceeds to explain at length what each of these subjects meant. Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. ii, pp. 54-6. Whereon Lyndwood comments in his *Provinciale*, lib. i, tit. 1 (pp. 1 to 10). So too Bishop Quivil, his contemporary, drew up for Exeter Diocese a manual of teaching and Sermon helps, of which he required every parish to have a copy under penalty of a fine. Bishop Stapeldon, in the visitation of his Diocese, in answer to questions sent into various parishes in 1301, learns, for instance, that at Sidbury, the Vicar "optime se habet in omnibus, bene predicans et officium sacrum sacerdotale laudabiliter exercens." At Branscombe the Vicar "bene se gerit in omnibus et libenter predicat et infirmos visitat et diligenter omnia facit que ad sacerdotis spectant officium." (*Reg.*, p. 194, and other instances, pp. 109, 111, 130, 368, etc.) When Archbishop Arundel in 1408 forbade preaching without a licence he expressly excepted the parish priests who were bound to instruct their people in simple language.

Of what sort such sermons were may be seen from Early English Text Society's two series of *Old English Homilies of the XIIth and XIIIth Cent.* and *Early English Homilies*, and from Neale's *Mediaeval Preachers and Mediaeval Preaching*, 1856. They were marked by deep devotion to our Lord and His work, a very wide knowledge of Holy Scripture, and plain practical teaching as to avoiding vice and following virtue, such as it would be pleasant to hear preached at the present day. Cf. also Myrc's *Instructions for Parish Priests*, E.E.T.Soc., 1868, and for general information on the subject Dr Cutts' *Parish Priests and their People in the Middle Ages in England*, S.P.C.K. 1898, chap. xiv, pp. 214-231, on preaching and teaching.

Bishop Grandisson wished, however, that the parishioners of Ottery should hear, besides the Minister and the Parish Priest, some of the best preachers of the day in Lent and Advent, and on the two patronal festivals of the church, 15 August and 13 October. On these last two occasions he anticipated that many strangers also would be visiting Ottery (*Reg.*, part ii, pp. 1188-9). According to the Winchester MS. there would be five such extra sermons in the year; according to the Exeter MS. seven. And so in the Computus Roll of the College, 1382, we find "7s. pro fratribus predicantibus per tres vices et in die assumptionis"; and in 1383, "6s. solutis fratribus predicantibus per tres vices, videlicet prima dominica adventus, dominica prima et tertia Quadragesime"; and again in 1413, "Item, solutum tribus predicatoribus pro predicacione in ecclesia per quinque vices hoc anno 9s. 8d."; in 1437, "Solutum fratri Curteys pro sermone suo in festo Sancti Edwardi, 3s. 4d., et pro aliis sermonibus sex usitatis per annum 6s." The preachers would often come probably from the Dominican convent at Exeter on the north side of the Cathedral, and received

what would be equivalent in modern money to two guineas a sermon. The members of the College were still further provided for in this respect; they had wholesome doctrine, sermons or the Bible read to them every day in the year at their meals (Stat. lii) besides the Lessons from the Fathers on the Gospel for the day every Sunday and Saint's Day, that were read in choir.

[xvij.] *De suffragijs ; et distribucione pecunie pauperibus.*

17^m ca^m

STATUIMUS insuper eciam, et ordinamus, quod tam canonici quam alie persone eis inferiores, in missis, et alijs eorum suffragijs pro nostro et uenerabilis in Christo patris domini Petri dei gracia episcopi Penestrini, sacrosancte Romane ecclesie cardinalis, quoad uixerimus statu, et animabus nostris, cum ex hac luce migrauerimus, necnon pro animabus felicis recordacionis domini Johannis pape xxijdi, promotoris nostri, dominique Willelmi de Grandissono patris nostri, et Sibille matris nostre, ac patrui nostri domini Othonis de Grandissono primi, fratrumque et sororum nostrorum, omniumque fidelium defunctorum orare imperpetuum teneantur. ¶ Obitus eciam singulorum superius expressorum solempniter celebrent omni anno temporibus oportunis. ¶ Et die obitus nostri, teneatur collegium ipsum distribuere inter 100 pauperes 100 denarios, uidelicet, singulis eorum singulos denarios sterlingorum, uel tot pauperes reficere in equiualentibus cibarijs; necnon in dictorum dominorum Pape et episcopi Penestrini, patris eciam et matris nostre, singulis obitibus, 30 pauperibus, uidelicet ipsorum singulis singulos denarios distribuat; aut in equiualentibus cibarijs tot pauperes reficiat, annis singulis sine fraude.

11^m fo.^v
[Misse pro
animabus
imperpetuum
tenende.]

De onere
obituum et
missarum.

De celebra-
cione et
distribucione.
[Centum
pauperes
reficientur.]

xvij. Pierre des Prez (de Pratis), son of Raymond des Prez, seigneur de Montpézat in Guienne, 1317 Bishop of Riez, 1319 Archbishop of Aix, 1320 Cardinal Bishop of Palestrina and vice-Chancellor at the Roman Court, was for forty years prebendary and archdeacon of York, and also archdeacon of Wells. He consecrated Bishop Grandisson (his brother canon of York) who calls him "Dominus specialis meus" in a letter to Pope John XXII, 22 February, 1329 (*Reg.*, part i, p. 103); and "Venerabilis Pater et unice dilectus Patronus et dominus" (p. 106). He favoured the Bishop's suit against Archbishop Mepham of Canterbury at the Roman Court, 20 January, 1330 (*Reg.*, p. 108), whereby Bishop Grandisson obtained exemption of the See of Exeter from the jurisdiction of Canterbury during his tenure of the same, 20 December, 1331 (*Reg.*, p. 138). It was his nephew, John de Pratis, that Bishop Grandisson collated to a prebend at St Crantock in Cornwall, 1 April, 1333, "ut fervorem dileccionis precipue quam, exposcentibus tue iuventutis meritis quibus multipliciter polles, ad te gerimus et a longis retroactis temporibus recolimus nos gessisse, tibi sencias tantisper fructuosam." (*Reg.*, p. 644.) When the Bishop excommunicated for the second time Richard de Coleton, Dean of Exeter, 23 August, 1333, and sequestered all his benefices 12 November, the Dean went to the Roman Court at Avignon; subsequently at the request of the Cardinal of Praeneste, the Bishop removed the sequestration 27 June, 1334, in order that the expenses of the Dean's visit, etc., should be defrayed out of the same (*Reg.*, pp. 710, 719). The Cardinal was instrumental in reconciling the Bishop and the Dean before the latter's death, who "ad gratiam nostram optinendam de Romana curia humiliter revertendo viam universe carnis noviter est ingressus," 10 August, 1334. In his licence to the Canons of Exeter to elect a new Dean the Bishop speaks of him as "bone memorie Ricardus de Coleton," 14 August, 1334. Pierre des Prez was one of the Cardinals sent into England, 1343; he died of the Black Death at Avignon 13 May, 1361, and was buried in the Church of St Martin de Montpézat where he had founded a college of canons.

Pope John XXII died Sunday, 4 December, 1334, and Bishop Grandisson ordered exequies, and prayers for the election of his successor, 21 December. The Bishop had been to Avignon to visit him three years before his death, starting from England 23 October, 1331; he was at Paris 3 November, and arrived at the Roman Court 29 November. He left again 18 December, was at Paris 23 January, 1332, at Beaumont sur Oise 26 January, and crossed from Whitsand to Sandwich, where he landed 9 February, 1332.

The Bishop's uncle (here called Otho primus to distinguish him from the Bishop's brother, Otho secundus) died on 2 April, 1328, and was buried in the cathedral at Lausanne. In his letter to John de

Rossillon, Bishop of Lausanne (to whose testamentary jurisdiction would appertain the foreign property real and personal of his uncle), Bishop Grandisson requests that if any "libri de usu Anglicano," or ornaments of the chapel at Grandson, be found, they may be sent to him at Exeter. He states also that his father and his own brothers had made over to his brother, Otho "secundus," all their share in the said uncle's patrimony abroad, and he seems then to have cherished the hope that he might be soon translated by the Pope from Exeter to another bishopric nearer his ancestral home in Burgundy (*Reg.*, part i, p. 173). He wrote that same year to the Pope that he was "et juris et consuetudinum regni (Angliae) noticia, in multis ratione et iusticia carencium, extraneus" (*Reg.*, p. 93); and again the same year, "et certe pater piissime si que nunc experior indies prescivissem, alium me ydoniorem per Sanctitatem vestram destinandum ad hunc populum mirabilem angularem (a play on Angli) procurassem" (p. 103); and again the same year describes himself (p. 106) as "supra vigilias gregis elongatus maneo in extrema regionis solitudine."

For the other members of the Bishop's family see notes on pages 40 to 45, and for further details of the Obits, Stat. lxxiii and the full list of Ottery Obits at the end of the Statutes.

[xvii.] *De exempcione ministrorum ab Archidiaconi uisitacione.*

12^m fo. p. 157. **AD** hec, ut canonici, et ceteri eis inferiores ecclesie ipsius seruitores, ualeant in eadem eo
 18^m ca^m deuocius quo quociens altissimo famulari, et ut tollatur eisdem materia euagandi, uel se
 [De a diuinis officiis absentandi, statuimus et eciam ordinamus,—ex consensu speciali capituli
 iurisdiccione archidiaconi.] nostri Exoniensis et Archidiaconi Exonie,—auctoritate diocesana, quod Archidiaconus
 Exonie, qui pro tempore fuerit, non possit, nec debeat per se, uel per officiales, aut com-
 missarios suos, uel alios quoscunque auctoritate sua archidiaconali, dictos canonicos uel
 alios seruitores ecclesie, uel eorum aliquem,—(exceptis Ministro et capellano Parochiali,
 ac duobus clericis aquebaiulis),—extra eandem ecclesiam causa uel occasione aliqua euocare;
 nec eciam possit iurisdiccione suam aliqualem in quascunque personas sibi subiectas, alias
 a canonicis et seruitoribus predictis in eadem ecclesia, per se, uel officiales suos, seu aliquos
 alios quomodolibet exercere. Valeat tamen eosdem canonicos et seruitores ecclesie pro
 suis culpis et excessibus extrinsecis, in naui eiusdem ecclesie tantum et non alibi, quociens
 oportunum fuerit, per se uel alios canonicos corrigere et punire, et cetera que ad suam
 iurisdiccione pertinent quantum ad eosdem canonicos et seruitores tantummodo exercere.
 ¶ In choro autem eiusdem collegiate ecclesie, et a naui superius infra cancellos ecclesie¹,
 quantum ad personas eorundem canonicorum uel seruitorum, eidem archidiacono, suisque
 officialibus et ministris, statuendo inhibemus, et interdicimus iurisdiccione exercicium
 cuiuscunque. Per presentes autem iurisdiccione et dignitati nostre Exoniensis ecclesie non
 intendimus in aliquo derogare, quinyo semper et in omnibus eas uolumus fore saluas.
 ¶ Et licet hactenus de prefata ecclesia nos uel predecessores nostri procuracionem ratione
 uisitacionis non consueuimus percipere, quia tamen de eadem collegiata iam effecta,
 successores nostri eandem pro tempore uisitantes aliquid procuracionis nomine forsitan
 uendicabunt, nos ad tollendum omne dubium, recte moderacionis tenentes temperiem,
 ordinamus, quod episcopi in uisitacione sua ibidem procuracionis nomine xx tantum
 solidos percipiant sterlingorum.

¹ Winton and *Register* both read "eciam" instead of "ecclesie."

xvii. Cf. the ground plan of the Church. For Archidiaconal visitations see Archbishop Langton's Constitutions at Council of Oxford, 1222; Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. i, p. 588, Art. xxii. On this Lyndwood comments, *Provinciale*, lib. iii, tit. 22, pp. 219–222, ed. Ox., 1679; and again on Cardinal Othobon's Constitutions dealing with the same subject, tit. 18, p. 114 sq. The pound paid would be for the keep of the Bishop's retinue. He visited the College 2 October, 1339, by his commissary William de Nassington,

De
 correccione
 canonicorum
 et ministro-
 rum ecclesie
 per archidia-
 conum infra
 ecclesiam et
 non alibi.
 12^m fo. v

Inhibicio ne
 archidiaconus
 transeat
 quoad
 correccionem
 ultra certos
 limites
 collegij.
 Procuracio
 soluenda a
 collegio per
 ordinacionem
 Johannis
 episcopi
 de iudicata.
 [xxs.
 episcopo.]

13^m fo. p. 159.

Canon of Exeter (*Reg.*, part i, pp. 118–119), and ordered, 1 December, 1339, that the Minister having cure of souls therein was to bear the “onus supportacionis decanatus ruralis,” and for the extra expense thus thrown upon him arrangements were accordingly to be made by the College: he fined the Warden and Master Ralph Poer, fifth Prebendary, three marks each—(the latter, because he had received for two months and more his quotidiāns “fictē et sophisticē residendo,” was to receive no salary for a month)—he fined also Sir John Borastone, seventh prebendary, and Richard Hatheleseghe, precentor, two and a half marks each for neglect of duty.

[xix.] *De sustentacione et collegij appropriacione.*

19^m ca^m

PRO sustentacione uero et dote collegij ac predictorum onerum¹ supportacione, dictum manerium sancte Marie de Otery, in quo eadem ecclesia collegiata consistit, necnon ipsam ecclesiam, ut premittitur, cum omnibus iuribus et pertinencijs suis, collegio prefato, ad usus predictos, et alios necessarios, imperpetuum per presentes appropriamus, concedimus, et donamus; exceptis sex solidis et 8 denarijs annui redditus de Flokestone, et secta curie generali, ab olim dictis Rothomagensibus dominis prefati manerij ab Exoniensibus episcopis debitīs. De quibus redditu et secta successores nostros Exonienses episcopos penitus exoneramus. Sperantes, quod successores nostri iddem collegium gracia et fauore in suis semper oportunitatibus prosequantur². ¶ Per hanc autem certam et determinatam dotis assignacionem, non intendimus nobis aut dicto collegio facultatem adimere, quin possimus³ eis uberius prouidere, et ipsi possint, et debeant si possint, imposterum alias possessiones et prouentus tam in spiritualibus quam in temporalibus adquirere pociores.

[Manerij de Otery concessio.]

[Flokeston vi. s. viij d.]
De onere collegij pecunie soluendo.
De exoneracione successorum episcopi aliquorum reddituum.
13^m fo. v

¹ Winton and *Register* read “omnium” for “onerum.”

² Winton omits “Sperantes...prosequantur.” Bishop Grandisson perhaps thought it was not wanted for Edyndone’s use in drawing the Windsor Statutes.

³ Exon reads “pocius” for “possimus.”

xix. Flokestone, or Fluxton, was the Episcopal residence in Ottery Parish, now called Bishop’s Court; it had been held by the Bishop of Exeter for the time being under the Manor of Ottery; but as the manor now belonged by purchase to Bishop Grandisson, before parting with it to the new lords of the manor, the Ottery Chapter, he ordered that Fluxton was to be held by the Bishops of Exeter henceforth free of all rent and suit at the Court manor of the Chapter. In requital for the benefit his successors in the See would thus receive, he hoped they would show their gratitude to him by helping, when occasion served, his new foundation. In his will (*Reg.*, part iii, p. 1553) he left to his successors in the See “cuppam argenteam deauratam ponderis centum solidorum (i.e. weighing sixty ounces, Troy) que est apud Otery (i.e. at Fluxton) sculptam de armis meis, et ymaginibus, que inscripta est in pede—Quod habeant memoriam de Saint Mary Otery.”

[xx.] *De eleccione Senescallorum.*

STATUIMUS insuper et eciam ordinamus, quod predicti canonici residentes, annis singulis, in uigilia sancti Michaelis Archangeli, duos de se eligant Senescallos, qui fructus, et commoda quecunque ad dictum collegium pertinencia et proueniencia necnon debita collegij fideliter colligant; aut fructus predictos, si expediat, de dictorum residencium consilio uendant, pecuniamque collectam per eos in thesauraria communi secure reponant, et dictis terminis modis predictis distribuant, sumptibusque communibus cetera onera collegij subeant; ac in fine cuiuslibet termini, coram concanonicijs suis residentibus, de gestis receptis et expensis per eos in hac parte rationem et conpotum reddant, et fideliter calculent sine

20^m ca^m
De senescallis.

Distribucio
reddituum et
bonorum anni
in festo
Michaelis.
14^m fo.^m
p. 161.

Contra
canonicos
simplices si
contingat.

fraude. ¶ Si quid uero de redditibus quibuscumque presentibus et futuris et prouentibus collegij oneribus necessarijs supportatis, quolibet anno in festo sancti Michaelis remanserit, sue residuum fuerit, in duas partes diuidatur; quarum una medietas inter residentes canonicos, iuxta ratam residence annu preteriti, distribuatur. Ita tamen quod optinentes quatuor officia predicta inde in duplo plus quam alij simplices canonici percipiant. Alia uero medietas in thesauro collegij reponatur; utilitatibus seu necessitatibus eiusdem collegij applicanda. ¶ Si autem dierum crescente malicia, uel ex aliquo infortunio, nichil residuum fuerit ultra dicta onera persoluta, set defectus forsitan fuerit ad eadem supportanda, uolumus quod quantum defuerit ad supportacionem onerum collegij subeundam de distributionibus canonicorum residuum, et in duplo plus de distributionibus canonicorum simplicium et non habencium ibidem officia quam habencium officia, et nichil de uicariorum uel aliorum seruitorum eiusdem ecclesie uicarijs inferiorum stipendijs, nisi ex necessitate ineuitabili, defalcetur (Ord. xi, p. 99).

xx. At Exeter, "officium senescallorum est firmariorum et aliorum debitorum soluciones faciendas ad communem cistam in scaccario recipere, in qua cista (ut rarior ad eam fiet accessus) nihil de cetero reponatur, nisi tantum pecunie et alia que ad decanum et capitulum spectant in communi. Preterea Senescallorum officium est in fine cuiuslibet termini stipendia ministrorum ecclesie consueta solvere temporibus usitatis; necnon in fine anni, uidelicet ante primum diem Decembris annuatim, de excrescentiis singulis canonicis residentibus fideliter quod suum est solvere vel solui facere, sub pena amissionis distributionis contingentis huiusmodi senescallis pro termino in quo neglexerint id facere. Ad huiusmodi uero officium fideliter faciendum uterque Senescallorum in eorum admissione, (uidelicet feria sexta ante festum Michaelis archangeli) recipiet iuramentum corporale." Bishop Veysey, 1 December, 1544. "Horum senescallorum eleccionem feria sexta ante Michaelis festum fieri uolumus, veteri ritu ut unus in duos annos futurus quoque anno eligatur. Operum senescallum omnium esse placet eum, qui jam novissime officium senescalli impleverit." Bishop Woolton, 1580. They were to visit all chapter property once a year, both spirituals and temporals, either by themselves, or "alii duo fratres per capitulum eligendi, qui ex eleccione predicta nostraque commissione presente reformandi que viderint habeant potestatem." Bishop Quivil, 17 April, 1281. The "residuum" or surplus at Exeter "pro approbata consuetudine antiquitus observatum est, ut residuum quod ultra distributiones quotidianas remanserit, in fine cuiuslibet termini inter Residentes equaliter distribuatur." Bishop Bronescombe, 11 February, 1277.

As to the annual division of the surplus at Ottery, Bishop Grandisson sixteen years later issued this further Ordinance, in which he commands that the expenses incurred by the Warden, Minister, Precentor or Sacrist in the entertainment of guests were to be defrayed out of such surplus before any division at all was made; and then goes on to enjoin that only half of the subsequent remainder was to be divided, the other half was to be kept in the Treasury as a Reserve Fund.

Johannes, etc., dilectis in Christo filiis, Custodi et Collegio Ecclesie nostre Collegiate Sancte Marie de Otery, nostrarum Fundacionis et Diocesis, salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem.—Olim, in Fundacione dicte Ecclesie nostre Collegiate, inter cetera, utiliter extitit ordinatum quod "quicquid de redditibus et proventibus ejusdem tunc quesitis, vel extunc quomodolibet acquirendis, ipsius Collegii oneribus necessarijs supportatis, in Festo Sancti Michaelis, quolibet anno, remanserit, vel residuum fuerit, in duas partes divideretur equales, quarum una inter Canonicos residentes, per certum modum in Ordinatione huiusmodi limitatum, distribueretur; alia, vero, pars in Thesauro Collegii nostri memorati reponeretur, utilitatibus ejusdem seu necessitatibus, secundum quod oportunum fuerit, applicanda." Considerantes, igitur, inter cetera onera prefate Ecclesie nostre incumbencia, utile fore et

valde expediens personas honestas, eidem Ecclesie nostre utiles in suis oportunitatibus et devotas, cum ad ipsam declinaverint aliquociens ad mensam recipere, vel saltem exhennii aliquibus, juxta vires et facultates predictae Ecclesie nostre, attentis condicionibus personarum hujusmodi, respicere moderatis; nolentes, eciam, vos Custodem Collegii nostri memorati, ad quem illuc se conferentes solent frequencius declinare, ex receptione eorundem nimis inposterum pregravari; statuimus et eciam ordinamus ut, cum personas aliquas ad ipsam Ecclesiam nostram, ex affectione seu devocione quam habent ad eam, declinare contigerit, que utiles eidem Ecclesie, omni affectione carnali vel qualibet alia propria et non communi circumscripta, merito debeant reputari, vos, Custos supradictae, vel alius Canonicus Officium habens ibidem, pro communi honore et evidenti utilitate tocius Collegii nostri antedicti, ad mensam receperit, vel exhennium aliquod competens destinaverit eisdem, quod in fine cujuslibet termini, de expensis circa hoc factis, Canonicis ibidem residentibus, in Scaccario, clare, distincte, et fideliter computetis; de quibus vobis, Custodi, seu aliis Officia habentibus, integre satisfieri volumus de repositis memoratis. Ad hanc, vero, Ordinationem vel Statutum, sicut ad alia dicte Ecclesie nostre prius edita, vos omnes, et successores vestros, ordinamus et volumus obligari, quousque Omnipotens, per nos vel Successores nostros, dignetur vobis uberius providere. In cujus rei testimonium presentes Literas sigilli nostri appensione fecimus communiri. [1st July, 1354.] *Register*, part ii, p. 1129.

To encourage offerings from visitors the Bishop had obtained on his visit to Avignon to Pope Clement VI, in 1343, two Bulls of Indulgences for all coming to the Church at Ottery on the five chief feasts of our Lady and throughout their Octaves, on both festivals of St Edward the Confessor (5 January and 13 October) and on that of the dedication of the Church. They were ordered to be published throughout the diocese on all Sundays and feast days in the first fortnight in August, and explained in English at Mass. 23 July, 1356. (*Register*, part ii, pp. 1188, 9.)

As at Ottery, so at Exeter, the lower members of the foundation were to be paid their dues before the higher. "Cum vero ex iis que ad onera supportanda deputantur, quaedam nonnunquam excrescant, que 'excrescencias' vocamus; et eas ad Vesperas Sancti Andree dividendas residentibus censemus; ad quarum sicut et earum quas diximus 'soluciones' senescalli de suo debito officio persolvendas tenentur. Illud etiam precipientes, ut pro veteri more ea que vicariis aut aliis ministris die eius termini ultimo debeantur, priusquam nostrum computum peregerint, persolvant." Bishop Woolton, 1580. This was in accordance with Bishop Grandisson's mandate issued to the Dean and Chapter of Exeter 15 December, 1354. "Considerantes attentius quam sit justum et omnibus legibus consentaneum unicuique tribui quod est suum, vobis tenore presencium sub omni pena juris firmiter inhibemus ne, preter cotidianas distribuciones, quas estis juxta Statuta et consuetudines scriptas et approbatas rationabiliter percepturi, exnunc divisiones seu dividendas aliquas de pecuniarum summis quibuscunque in Scaccario in fine terminorum forsitan remanentibus facere quomodolibet presumatis, quousque onera incumbencia debite supportentur, ac vestris et dicte ecclesie creditoribus quibuscunque, et potissime ministris ejusdem inferioribus et magis necessariis, de pecuniarum summis quibuscunque excrescentibus, in quibus eis tenemini, fuerit plenarie satisfactum." (*Register*, part ii, p. 1138.) Cp. *Ordinacio* xi. As to the Stewards, see also *Statutes* lxiii, lxiv, lxv.

[xxj.] *De dispendijs que collegio euenire possunt si quatuor beneficia uacauerint.*

21^m ca^m

14^m fo. v

INSUPER, ut dispendijs occurramus que uacantibus dictis quatuor Officijs prefato collegio possent contingere, ordinamus, quod quociens officium Custodie uacauerit, tunc Minister, quando uero cetera predicta uacabunt officia, Custos; quod si Custodie et Ministeriatu officia uacent simul, tunc Cantor que ad custodie, et Sacrista que ad ministeriatu huiusmodi uacancia spectant officia, interim exequantur. Domos uero uacancium officiorum, et eciam prebendarum, Senescalli predicti incorruptas et integras conseruent, et ruinosas ac

De
reparacione
domorum.

De
sequestra-
cione
bonorum post
mortem.

15^m fo.^m
p. 163.

disruptas reparent et construant de bonis defuncti; si sufficiant. Et hoc quando ex culpa defuncti huiusmodi disruptio contigerit uel ruina. ¶ Et ut indempnitati collegij in hac parte, et alias¹ melius consulatur, ordinamus, quod ijdem Senescalli ualeant bona dictorum canonicorum decedencium, tam habencium officia quam non habencium, ibidem existencia, statim post mortem eorum sequestrare, et sub sequestro tenere; donec discussum fuerit coram eis, quorum discrecioni arbitrio et decreto stari² uolumus in hac parte, an defunctus ad reparacionem uel construccionem domorum aliquarum ibidem, uel alias, ad aliquid soluendum uel prestandum eidem ecclesie aut collegio teneatur. Et si repertum et per eosdem Senescallos arbitratum sue decretum fuerit, defunctum ad premissa uel eorum aliquid teneri, ualeant ijdem Senescalli bona predicta sub sequestro tenere, quousque sibi ydonee cautum fuerit de reparando uel construendo domos huiusmodi, et de indempnitate ecclesie et collegij predictorum. Si uero compertum fuerit defunctum ad construccionem uel reparacionem huiusmodi non teneri, uolumus, quod domus huiusmodi reparacione indigentes ex prouentibus ad officia et prebendas predicta tempore uacacionis eorum³ obuientibus et pertinentibus, per dictos Senescallos congrue reparentur, et in statu debito conseruentur. Residuo prouentuum huiusmodi in hoc casu, uel in totum in casu quo nichil de eis ad construccionem uel reparacionem predictas applicari contigerit, futuris in eisdem officijs et prebendis successoribus reseruato.

¹ Winton reads "alia."

² Winton, "stare."

³ Winton omits "eorum."

xxj. Bishop Grandisson would be acquainted with the York Statutes (1325), as to the defects of Canons' Houses (Wordsworth, *Lincoln Statutes*, ii, pp. 128, 211), which were identical with these. So, too, at Exeter a similar provision was made as to the repair of the Canons' Houses. "Item, quod pecunia adjudicata pro defectibus domorum Canonicorum deponatur in aliqua manu secuta, quousque ille cui adjudicata fuerit defectus huiusmodi inceperit reparare. Et tunc percipiat de huiusmodi pecunia sic adjudicata secundum quod opus inceptum exegerit." Bishop Veysey, 1525. Canons' Residences were subject in fact to the same law as to dilapidations as Rectory houses: cp. as to inquisitions regarding dilapidations at Lydford, 1328, and the report as to the same, Bishop Grandisson's *Register*, part i, pp. 349 and 356. So too Priest-Vicars, Secondaries and Clerks each and all had to keep their houses in repair at their own expense.

22^m ca^m

[xxij.] *De superuisione fabrice ecclesie per Senescallos.*

[De fabrica
ecclesie et
domorum
canonicorum.]
De
reparacione
domorum et
collegij noui.
15^m fo.^v

De pena et
iniuncione
pro domorum
reparacione.

De
temporibus
limitatis pro
reparacione.

PRETEREA omni anno, infra quindenam Pasche, superuideri et considerari mandamus per Senescallos supradictos fabricam ecclesie collegiate predictae, quam sumptibus collegij precipimus quociens oportuerit reparari. Domus eciam singulorum concanonicorum suorum, tam habencium officia quam non habencium predictorum, necnon domus uicariorum clericorum et puerorum in quibus teneantur uiuere in communi, prout ad hoc easdem domus eis construi fecimus, infra idem tempus superuideri uolumus per eosdem Senescallos. Et si que reparanda fuerint in huiusmodi domibus, ijdem Custos et Senescalli iniungant et mandent canonicis et uicarijs ac clericis secundarijs personaliter;—et quoad non residentes canonicos proposito monicionis et iniuncionis in ecclesia eadem collegiata edicto;—quod defectus repertos per dictos Custodem et Senescallos in mandato suo et edicto predictis nominatim explicandos, infra festum natiuitatis sancti Johannis Baptiste proximo tunc futurum congrue faciant reparari. Alioquin, ijdem Senescalli, infra festum omnium sanctorum proximo sequens, eosdem defectus refici faciant ex porcionibus et stipendijs

eorundem canonicorum et uicariorum ac clericorum; quas in tanto ipsis decernimus subtrahendas. ¶ Domos uero Senescallorum predictorum per prefatum Custodem modo consimili superuideri et considerari¹ uolumus omni anno. Et si que reparanda fuerint in eisdem, procedi uolumus per eundem Custodem, prout de Senescallis quantum ad domos aliorum est superius ordinatum.

De domibus
senescal-
lorum.

¹ Winton reads "reparari."

xxij. The arrangement at Ottery for the Priest-Vicars, Secondaries, Clerks, and Choristers to live together and feed together (cf. pp. 74—76) was a step in advance of what had hitherto prevailed in foundations of secular canons. A similar arrangement for instance was not carried out at Exeter till Bishop Brantingham (Bishop Grandisson's successor) built and endowed a separate hall for them. (*Reg.*, pp. 675, 6.) Where a cathedral or collegiate church was served by Regular Canons, or where it was attached to a monastery, no difficulty occurred as to the housing and feeding of the subordinate members, for then all, high or low, lived, slept, and boarded together. But where there were Secular Canons, each with his own house and independent property, a difficulty arose. At first each Canon had when in residence to feed and support his own Priest-Vicar and a certain number of the lower members of the foundation at his private table. At Exeter the oldest Statute by Bishop Warewast, 1107, runs, "Omnia bona ecclesie illius Canonicis communia sunt. Et licet communiter non vivant in uno Refectorio vel Dormitorio, de communi tamen percipiunt, unum vivunt hoc modo"; all the capitular revenue was to be gathered by the Stewards every quarter, and after each of the 24 Canons, "sive presentes fuerint sive absentes," had received one pound for that quarter, and each of the Priest-Vicars five shillings for that quarter, the rest of the income was to be laid out in buying wheat and wine, and in defraying the weekly expenses, quotidianes, and other necessities. The reckoning was to be quarterly, at Michaelmas, Christmas, Easter, and Midsummer. Then, but only after the "onera incumbencia" were fully paid for, if there was anything over each quarter, the residuum was to be divided in equal portions among such of the Canons as had resided in the last quarter, and in proportion to their residence. Bishop Bronescombe ordered, 1257, that every resident Canon who was present at Mattins should receive "de communi tres panes," or if absent from Mattins for blood-letting, or sickness, or because "hospites supervenientes habuerit," he was still nevertheless to receive as his commons these three loaves—(Seisin was given to a Canon of his Prebend by handing him either a service-book, or "panis canonicalis," or both when he was admitted in choro et stallis). In 1275 Bishop Bronescombe ordered that each Canon who wished to draw his commons must apply for them, and "qui panem diurnum querere neglexerit amittat eo die." Every Canon was also to be allowed in each week, "unam noctem quietis sine occasione, et si non surgat ad Matutinas habebit tres panes consuetos. Panis autem consuevit et esse debet bonus et albus et pure triticius ponderis septuaginta trium solidorum et quatuor denariorum cum fuerit coctus." "By consent of the whole Realm the King's measure was made so that an Englysshe peny (i.e. of silver) called a rounde peny sterlynge without clypyng shal weye xxxii cornes of wheete in the myddes of the heere (i.e. full-sized and gathered out of the middle of the ear); and xx*d.* maketh an ounce, and xii ounces maketh a pounce, that is to say xx*s.* sterlyng." "The pounce of pence, spices, confections and electuaries consisteth in weight of xx*s.* but the pounce of all other thinges weigheth xx*v*s.*" (*Assisa de Ponderibus et Mensuris*, 1267 A.D., printed in the *Statutes of the Realm*, I, 204, 5.) So that a loaf weighing 73*s.* 4*d.* or five marks and a half would contain 2½ lbs. The troy grain is the same weight as the avoirdupois grain (the Old English unit alike for measures of length and weight, three grains end to end making an inch). Wheaten bread is now usually sold in four pound (i.e. the "quartern"), and two pound (i.e. the "half-quartern") loaves, and the purchaser may require it to be weighed in his presence. Before baking a "quartern" is supposed to weigh 4 lb. 5 oz. 8½ dr. as it will lose nearly six ounces of weight in the baking. The Exeter Canons' loaves were therefore each midway in size between the quartern and half-quartern. [The size and number of the Canons' loaves at St Paul's are fully described in Hale's *Domesday of St Paul's*, Camd. Soc., p. xlix, and for further illustrations *Encyclopaedia Brit.*, vol. III, "Baking."] Each Canon then drawing over eight pounds of bread a day for commons would find it a considerable help towards furnishing his private table. As there were about sixty-five subordinate members of the Cathedral foundation to be fed daily, and as there ought to be at least a quarter of the Canons resident at one time, this would mean that there were about a dozen mouths at each Canon's table to be provided for. (At Lincoln, when resident, a Canon had to feed twenty-two persons at his table every Sunday; he kept his residence by attendance in*

choir at High Mass, and one of the hour offices at least, every day, and by feeding *all* the Cathedral establishment one day in the year. Such residentiaries as held the dignitates, *i.e.* the Dean, Precentor, Chancellor, and Sub-dean, were to feed all the choir and ministers on seven semi-double feasts in the year, and the Dean had to feed them all on the chief feasts of the year, of which there were about thirty. The cost of feeding in 1545 for a Canon's table was 6s. 8d. a day, the Sunday feedings 7s. 8d., and the Dean's days 7s. 5d. Wordsworth, *Lincoln Statutes*, part ii, pp. 283, 325, 416. The Precentor had to feed the Succentor daily, or give him £3 a year for his board (about a pound a week in modern money). If a Secondary was absent from Mattins, he was not admitted that day at a Canon's dinner (*prandium*, or chief meal of the day at eleven o'clock): the other meal was *cena* or supper, at five.

This arrangement as to boarding at the Canons' tables was found for many reasons inconvenient and uncertain, and the practice was now coming in, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, for the Vicars and Clerks to have a table of their own in a special building erected for that purpose, and a certain allowance for board and keep. Bishop Grandisson thus arranged at Ottery. Bishop Brantingham, his successor in the see, on 4 November, 1388, similarly built at Exeter "in illa area nostra, que dicitur Calenderehay, domus competentes et honeste utpote aula, camere, coquina ac cetera edificia necessaria pro ipsorum vicariorum cohabitatione vitæque communi" and ordered "quod omnes et singuli dicte Ecclesie vicarii qui tunc fuerant, et amodo inibi erunt in hujusmodi domibus, in eadem aula comederent in communi." He had the preceding year, on visitation of the cathedral (20 September, 1387), ordered "quatinus omnes et singuli vicarii in aula communi per nos noviter constructa simul prandeant et cenent; vicariis canonicorum, dum Magistri sui resident speciales, eosque ad magistrorum suorum mensam sedere contigerit, ac hiis, qui ad mensam alicujus canonici, eciam non sui magistri, fuerint invitati, dumtaxat exceptis." "Item, quia vicarii qui in novo Vicariorum hospicio sibi optinent cameras assignatas, in aliis antiquis cameris seu speluncis, non absque magna suspitione sinistra, sunt soliti pernoctare, precipimus injungimus et mandamus quod omnes et singuli hujusmodi Vicarii in Cameris novi hospicii sibi assignatis, ceterique omnes et singuli, postquam sibi fuerint camere assignate, inibi jaceant et pernoctent: ut sic de sancta et honesta conversacione valeant sibi invicem esse testes." By another ordinance issued at the same date he allowed the "Panis canonicalis" to be taken by such Priest-Vicars as were entered at the Saturday Chapter to take Canons' places at Mass for the ensuing week, "in usum omnium Vicariorum in Hospicio eorum novo per nos constructo commorancium et in aula ejusdem comedencium in communi." The appointment of such Priest-Vicars to take Canons' places was necessary because the number of Canons who were willing to come into residence became gradually smaller and smaller, till at the beginning of the sixteenth century there were only houses for nine out of the twenty-four; and thus the feeding of the "ministri ecclesie et pueri chori qui aliunde victum sufficientem quam mensam Canonicorum non obtinent" (Bishop Grandisson, A.D. 1328) became more and more difficult. For still "quilibet canonicus quotidianas distribuciones percepturus tenetur hospitalitatem cum domesticorum honesta comitiva servare, apertis sue domus foribus pro hospitibus honestis ac eciam Ecclesie ministris ut antiquitus usitatum est. Nichilominus Exoniensis Ecclesie consuetudo ex humanitate quadam introducta permittit Canonicos residentes aliquando ad invicem prandere et cenare, exceptis majorum refeccionum, sessionum, assisarum ac festis diebus, quibus pro Ecclesie honore mense proprie, regis ex injuncionibus eciam, interesse tenentur, ut veri residentes inveniantur" 1544.

Hence it had come to pass at the Cathedrals served by Secular Canons, that the more part of the canons preferred to live upon their Prebends, or at Exeter, on the gain they derived from their leases of the Chapter property, and not come into Residence at all. Moreover these leases were so beneficial to them that practically there was only a small residuum for the Chapter to divide personally every quarter amongst the Residents; and the only other payments for quotidians, obits, etc., which a Resident canon received were not held by many to be sufficient to cover the contingent expense of Residence. In fact "private means" came to be held indispensable for any one who wished to undertake the duties and privileges of a Resident canon. Hence at Exeter no canon could be admitted to Residence unless he had £40 a year clear of his own (similarly at Lichfield, A.D. 1322, Wordsworth's *Lincoln Statutes*, part ii, p. 32), and that sum (equivalent to about £600 in present money) he was to pay into the Chapter on the day he began Residence, whereof £4 was to go to the Vicars Choral, £2 to the Secondaries, 26s. 8d. to the choristers, 53s. 8d. to the Annivellers, 4s. to each of the clerks of the exchequer, and the rest into the common chest.

[xxii.] *De alienacionum inhihicione reddituum.*16^m fo.
p. 165.

ALIENACIONES autem quascumque immobilium uel reddituum ecclesie seu collegij predicti, necnon decimarum eiusdem ecclesie ad firmam ultra vnum annum dimissiones et traditiones fieri inhihemus, sub pena excommunicationis maioris; quam incurrant contrarium facientes, uel contrarium facientibus consencientes, sine causa necessaria ab Exoniensi episcopo, qui fuerit pro tempore, et decano et capitulo ecclesie Exoniensis specialiter approbata. ¶ Librorum eciam ac ornamentorum ecclesie et collegij predicti distraccionem uel impignoracionem, sine causa utili et necessaria, a dictis episcopo et decano ac capitulo prius specialiter approbata, fieri inhihemus¹.

23^m ca^mPrima
inhihicio.Secunda
inhihicio pro
libris et orna-
mentis.

¹ *Register* omits "Librorum" to "fieri inhihemus." Winton and Exon retain.

xxij. Archbishop Langton, in his Constitutions read at the Council of Oxford, 1222, deals with these two subjects. The xxiiird is entitled "de spiritualibus ad firmam non tradendis," and the xxixth "de alienacione possessionum ecclesiasticarum" (Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. i, 589); which as to the "vasa vestimenta sacra et libros" (p. 596) was altogether forbidden "nisi ingens necessitas id exposcat et prius diocesani episcopi assensus accedat." Lyndwood, *Provinciale*, lib. iii, tit. 8 (Oxford, 1679), p. 149, comments on the same. *Decretum Gratiani*, secunda pars, causa xii, quaest. 2, sets out at great length the canons of various councils "de rebus Ecclesie alienandis." (*Corpus Juris Canonici*, vol. i, 687-712, ed. Friedberg.) At Exeter Bishop Warewast, 22 September, 1109, had forbidden, in a special injunction, all "alienaciones perpetuas sive de ecclesiis sive de terris nisi cum consensu et consilio decani et capituli nostri Exoniensis." This qualification appears to be referred to in the Ordinance at Ottery. The chapter are quoted as the Bishop's Council. Bishop Bronescombe also, 15 November, 1275, had ordered "quod alienata et dispersa studiose revocentur, sub pena canonica prohibentes ne quas perpetuas de cetero citra formam juris et nostram ac nostrorum successorum conscienciam faciant alienaciones." See also Statute lxvii, *infra*.

[xxiv.] *De dimissione caparum sericarum per canonicos.*24^m ca^m

IN signum uero gratitudinis, atque ad memoriam canonicorum post mortem in dicto collegio habendam, statuimus, quod Custos, Minister, Cantor et Sacrista singuli, si in dicta ecclesia residenciam compleuerint annualem, singulas capas sericas competentes precij 40 solidorum, quilibet uero aliorum canonicorum simplicium qui ibidem canonicus fuerit per annum, unam casulam, uel tunicam et dalmaticam, uel saltem honestam albam cum amictu stola et manipulo, uel librum ipsi ecclesie utilem, precij 20 solidorum, aut saltem solidos 20 in pecunia, ad usum eundem teneantur in uita dimittere, uel in morte. Ad que eorum bona sancimus efficaciter obligari.

[Quilibet
canonicus
tenetur in
i capa.]16^m fo. v

xxiv. At York, on 16 August, 1325, the chapter determined that each prebendary should always give one choir cope, or twenty marks; and each prebendary and dignitary "eciamsi non canonicus, decedens tenetur solvere capam preciosam, quam si in vita non dederit valoris decem librarum ad minus, solvet post mortem ecclesie viginti marcas" (Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. vi, p. 1200). At Hereford the chapter resolved in 1390 that every prebendary then and thenceforth should give a cope or forty shillings, "capis processionalibus nimia vetustate corruptis adeo quod indecens est Canonicis in processionibus aut in choro publice talibus uti capis." At Lichfield one hundred marks were to be given by each canon towards the fabric and ornaments when he entered on his first year of Residence; and in 1503 the canons were each to contribute the twenty-fifth part of their stipend for five years to renew the stock of copes. At the collegiate church of Stoke-by-Clare in Suffolk, founded by Edward Mortimer, Earl of March, 1415, the Dean, within a year of his appointment, was to give a cope worth five pounds, and feast the whole college or else pay them £2

for the same. Every canon was to give a cope worth £2, or else that sum in money: he was also to feast the college, or give them £1 for a supper. Each priest-vicar, within a year of his appointment, was to give six silver spoons, or 13s. 4d. to buy the same: if he was promoted within the year he must then give a silver cup worth 26s. 8d., or that sum to purchase one.

25^m ca^m

[xxv.] *De iuramento canonicorum in principio aduentus eorum; et eorum forma iuramenti.*

[De
iuramento
canonicorum
in Induccioni-
bus suis
faciendo.]

AD maiorem insuper firmitatem omnium premissorum statuimus, quod quilibet Canonicus prefate collegiate ecclesie, tam habens ibidem officium quam non habens, in induccione sua in possessionem canonicatus et prebende, et antequam quicquam ibidem percipiat, coram concanonicis suis residentibus, per se, uel per procuratorem specialiter constitutum, iuramentum faciat infrascriptum. Alioquin, induccio ipsius eo ipso nullius penitus sit momenti. Forma autem iuramenti talis est;—"Ego N. ab hac hora in antea fidelis ero ecclesie collegiate sancte Marie de Otery, ac collegio, et confratribus meis canonicis ibidem¹. Et Ordinacionem ac Statuta dicte ecclesie a uenerabili patre domino Johanne de Grandissono, Exoniensi episcopo, fundatore dicti collegij edita, quantum ad me attinet, fideliter obseruabo. Ac iura et libertates ipsius collegij pro posse meo defendam, et tuebor; sic me adiuuet Deus et hec sancta." ¶ Omnes eciam Vicarij, et Presbiteri, ac Clerici predicti, exceptis pueris, iuramentum fidelitatis dicte ecclesie, et obediencie collegio, coram Canonicis ibidem presentibus, tempore admissionum suarum prestare teneantur. ¶ In quorum testimonium sigillum nostrum, et sigilla decani et capituli ecclesie nostre Exoniensis, ac Archidiaconi, et nomine domini Oliueri de Farcy, ad eiusdem requisicionem, eo quod sigillum proprium notum nec autenticum habebat, sigillum officialis dicti archidiaconi, presentibus sunt appensa. Data in capitulo nostro Exoniensi 22^o die mensis Januarij, Anno domini² 1367^o et consecracionis nostre 11^{mo}. ¶ Et nos decanus et capitulum ecclesie Exoniensis predicti, habito super premissis omnibus et singulis, una cum uenerabili patre et domino Exoniensi episcopo nostro predicto, tractatu communi et diligenti et solempni, ac deliberacione debita et matura, quia inuenimus ea in augmentum cultus diuini, et honorem ecclesie vniuersalis, ex deuota et pia deuocione ipsius patris laudabiliter et racionabiliter³ ordinata; et nichilominus, quia recepta informacione plenaria et fideli comperimus redditus, et prouentus dictorum manerij et ecclesie cum eorum pertinencijs 200^{tas} et 40^a marcas sterlingorum annuatim ualere, omnibus et singulis predictis consensum et consilium ac assensum nostrum concorditer impartimur, eaque collaudamus et quantum ad nos attinet imperpetuum approbamus; et in horum omnium⁴ testimonium sigillum nostrum commune presentibus apponimus, loco, die, mense, et anno domini supradictis.

De
iuramento
ministrorum
collegij.
17^m fo.
p. 167.

Anno Domini
1337,
secundum
quosdam.

Confirmacio
prior
ecclesie
Exoniensis.

De ueris
expensis
collegij primo
tempore
fundacionis.
17^m fo.^v

¹ Winton and *Register* read "eiusdem" for "ibidem."

² Exon is of course wrong in the date, as later hand notes in margin. Winton reads "vicesimo die mensis Januarij Anno Domini Millesimo CCC^{mo} Tricesimo septimo," and omits year of Bishop's consecration.

³ Winton omits "et racionabiliter."

⁴ Winton omits "omnium."

xxv. On the 26 November, 1337, Bishop Grandisson held a visitation of Exeter Cathedral, the names of the Canons then being, Dominus Ricardus de Brayleghe (Decanus), Dom. Johannes de Sharesulle (precentor), Dom. Walterus Meriet (cancellarius), Magister Ricardus de Wideslade (thesaurarius), Mag. Thomas de Nassington (archidiaconus Exonie), Mag. Rogerus de Chorletone (archd. Tottonie), Dom. Adam de Carletone (archd. Cornubie), Mag. Johannes de Nassington (archd. Barum), Dom. Ricardus de Kirkeby (penitenciarius), Mag. Johannes de Brutone, Mag. Adam Murymouth, senior, Dom. Thomas de Stapeldone,

Mag. Ricardus de Clare, Mag. Robertus Hereward, Dom. Willelmus de Westone, Mag. Adam Murymouth, junior, Mag. Thomas de Asteleghe, Mag. Willelmus de Nassington, Dom. Walterus de Cloptone, Dom. Willelmus de Pentrithe, Mag. Johannes de Northwode, Mag. Willelmus de Exonia, Dom. Johannes de Eysi, Mag. Ricardus de Thormertone, Mag. Walterus de Botriax (*Reg.*, part ii, p. 857).

[xxvj.] *Confirmacio archidiaconi imperpetuum.*

26^m ca^m

ET ego Thomas de Nassyngtone, Archidiaconus nunc Exonie, habitis super premissis vna De cum uenerabili patre domino Exoniensi episcopo, et decano ac capitulo ecclesie Exoniensis predictis tractatu et deliberacione diligentibus et maturis, omnibus et singulis premissis, pro me, et successoribus meis Archidiaconis Exonie qui erunt pro tempore imperpetuum, quantum ad nos et Archidiaconatum Exonie attinet, consencio, eaque approbo, et ratifico, tanquam racionabiliter et meritorie ordinata ac statuta. Et in testimonium ueritatis sigillum officij mei presentibus appono die et loco et anno domini supradictis.

confirmacione
et appro-
bacione archi-
diaconi et
consensu.

xxvj. Nassington is a village on the river Nen, about three miles south of Wansford, in Northamptonshire (8 miles from Stamford, 10 from Peterborough), and gave its name to a Prebend in Lincoln Cathedral, which was held by Roger de Nassyngtone, 24 May, 1319. He was also Prebendary of Piona parva at Hereford, 29 May, 1317, and on 4 July in that same year, being a subdeacon, was presented by the Abbot and convent of Peterborough to the Church of Caster, in the archdeaconry of Northampton, on the resignation of Sir Roger de Northburg; he was provided, at the request of the King, whose clerk he was, to a canonry at Wells, 22 January, 1322, and became Prebendary of Dernford at Lichfield, 24 April, 1328, Chancellor of Lichfield, 19 October, 1329, and held the post till 1361: he was Prebendary of Welton Brinkhall at Lincoln, 16 September, 1363. From the same family, or rather village and prebendal school, came also Master Henry de Nassington, Capellanus, presented by the Abbot and convent of Peterborough to the Church of Pictasle, vacant by the death of Master William de Newark, 29 April, 1285; together with William de Nassyngtone, proctor in the ecclesiastical court of York, who translated from the Latin into three thousand lines of English verse in the northern dialect a treatise by John de Waldeby, provincial of the Austin Friars in England, on "the Trinity and Unity, with a declaration of God's Works and of the Passion of Jesus Christ." This is identical with the *Myrroure of Life*, sometimes attributed to Richard Rolle of Hampole. There are three MS. copies of it in the British Museum, two in the Bodleian, and one at Lincoln. Richard Rolle died 29 September, 1349, at Hampole, near Doncaster, and William de Nassyngtone's date is usually given as 1375; if so, he is distinct from the William who was canon of Exeter.

There were four clergy of this name brought south by Bishop Grandisson from his old dioceses of York and Lincoln, three of whom were canons of Exeter at the same time—Master John, Canon 4 November, 1328, Archdeacon of Barnstaple 17 December, 1330; Master Thomas, Canon 6 May, 1329, Archdeacon of Exeter 14 June, 1331; Master William, Canon 24 October, 1329, and Sir Philip de Nassyngtone.

1. Master John de Nassyngtone, priest, canon of York and rector of Kirkton, Notts, was provided 10 September, 1320, to any other benefice value 30 marks in the patronage of Ramsey Abbey, he having resigned his canonry at St John's, Beverley, 10 September, 1319; he was "dilectus clericus familiaris et Cancellarius" of Bishop Grandisson, 15 July, 1328 (*Reg.*, vol. II, fo. 52^b, and fo. 62), was collated by him to a Prebend in Exeter Cathedral, 4 November, 1328 (*Reg.*, vol. III, fo. 5^b), at St Michael's Mount, Cornwall: he was present with the Bishop and his brother, Sir Otho de Grandisson, at Bishop's Nymeton along with William de Nassington, 22 November, 1328 (*Reg.*, vol. II, fo. 180^b), and at Chudleigh with the same two, 28 November (fo. 100); he was proctor for the Bishop at the Council of London, 19 January, 1329, and to the Roman Court 13 March in the same year, and frequently his Commissary. The Rectory of Kirkton, in Bishop Grandisson's former archdeaconry of Nottingham, he exchanged for that of Shobrooke in Devon, to which he was collated 27 October, 1330, by William de Melton, Archbishop of York, under a commission from Bishop Grandisson (*Reg.*, vol. III, fo. 16^b). He exchanged Shobrooke, 15 December, 1330, with Sir William de Wolveye, for his Prebend of West Sandford, in Crediton Collegiate Church (fo. 17): and on the resignation of Master William de la Zouche, he was collated to the Archdeaconry of Barnstaple, 17 December, 1330 (fo. 17), and to the Vicarage of St Gwinear in Cornwall, 14 May, 1335 (fo. 33). This benefice he held only for a short time. William de Penryn, his successor, was collated 4 November following (fo. 33^b). He

himself was collated to the Rectory of Bratton-Clovelly, 20 July, 1349 (fo. 84^b), and on the resignation of Sir Thomas Selewelle, de Methe, to the Vicarage of Paignton, 26 April, 1351 (fo. 95^b). On his death, 31 August, 1361, Sir William Gayllarde was collated to Paignton, 6 September (fo. 128). There was another John de Nassington who died Archdeacon of Stowe in Lincoln Cathedral in 1334, and was perhaps the same as the John de Nassington, Clericus, who was presented by the Prior and Convent of Lenton, near Nottingham, to the Church of Curtenhall in the Archdeaconry of Northampton, 1 March, 1285, and was collated to the prebend of South Newbald, in York Cathedral, in 1308, and to that of Bole in 1312.

2. Sir Philip de Nassyngtone was instituted to the Rectory of Ashcombe, Devon, 11 April, 1330, being then in minor orders; patrons the Prior and Convent of Merton (fo. 14^b). He was ordained deacon and priest 19 August, 1330, and had licence of non-residence for a year, 23 October, 1331. He was Proctor for Bishop Grandisson at the Parliament held at York, 10 January, 1333, and before the Court of Chancery, 29 May, 1334: and along with Master Robert de Nassyngton, juris civilis professor (Precentor of York 1332, died 1345), he was the Bishop's proctor to Convocation, 3 January, 1334. On the death of Sir William Cornu he was instituted to the rectory of Manaton, 14 March, 1335, resigning Ashcombe (fo. 31^b). He resigned this in 1349, and was instituted by the Bishop of Winchester, on the presentation of Bishop Grandisson, to the Rectory of Faringdon, Hants, 31 March, 1349 (*Reg.*, Edyngdone, i, 42). In 1363 he exchanged Faringdon for Edmondthorpe, Leicestershire (patron, John, Duke of Lancaster), with William Potente, who was instituted 28 April (*ibid.*, fo. 120), and thus retired into his native Midlands.

3. Master Thomas de Nassyngtone, described by Bishop Grandisson in letters to Bishop Burghershe of Lincoln (*Register*, part i, pp. 199 and 229) as having returned in 1328 "a sua absencia de studio Bononie cum maxima difficultate et corporis maceracione," "eo quod morbo tunc extiterat sontico impeditus," and as being "vir utroque jure plurimum instructus, in rebus agendis expertus, vite laudabilis et pluribus aliis articulis donis decoratus," had been provided, 11 July, 1326 (Bliss, ii, 253), to a Canonry at York, with expectation of a Prebend, "though he was rector of Yaxley, Hunts," to which he had also been provided "at the request of the King and Thomas Earl of Lancaster," 13 September, 1318 (Bliss, ii, 183), in the patronage of Thorney Abbey; he obtained the Prebend of South Newbald, York, 18 February, 1333. He was collated by Bishop Grandisson to a Prebend in Exeter Cathedral, 6 May, 1329, on the death of Master William de Kylkenny (*Reg.*, vol. iii, fo. 8). He exchanged Yaxley with William de la Zouche for the Archdeaconry of Exeter, 10 June, 1331 (*Reg.*, Burghershe, fo. 374). Bishop Grandisson issued his mandate to the Dean of Exeter for his Induction, 14 June following (fo. 18); on his resignation, Master Otho de Northwode was collated 15 December, 1345 (fo. 54^b), and Master Thomas retired to his rectory of Sibsey in the Fen, five miles north of Boston in Lincolnshire, value 73 marks.

4. Master William de Nassyngtone was present along with Sir Peter de Grandisson and others at York on 9 March, 1328, when King Edward III restored the temporalities of Exeter to Bishop Grandisson (*Reg.*, vol. ii, fo. 44^b), and was sent by him at once to the Dean and Chapter to announce the same (*Reg.*, part i, p. 160). He is described in the Bishop's letter to the Abbot of Wardone, 15 July, 1328, as Canon of the Collegiate Church of Osmunderley, near North Allerton (where there were three prebendaries and one vicar of the parish), and as "carus et specialis clericus, consiliarius noster, vir utroque jure instructus, in rebus agendis plurimum expertus, vite laudabilis, et multis aliis graciaram donis insignitus" (*Reg.*, p. 167). The Bishop begs the Abbot to present him to the Rectory of Wardone, six miles south-east of Bedford, when Richard de Gomersale resigns it (p. 92, n.). He adds that William was to the abbey "originaliter non extraneus sed vicinus, quodque fiducialiter vobis placidus erit, perutilis eciam atque gratus" (Wardone is about thirty-five miles south of Nassington and in the adjoining county). He was collated by Bishop Grandisson to a Prebend at Bosham, 4 September, 1328, on the death of Master Ivo de Berkeley (fo. 3^b), and to the Rectory of St Phillack in Cornwall, 8 March, 1329 (fo. 6^b), but resigned it on the 26th of the same month, and was sent as the Bishop's Proctor to the Court of Rome, 2 April, 1329, "negociorum gestorem et nuncium specialem" (*Reg.*, part i, pp. 98, 215, 476). He was back again at Crediton, 9 July, 1329, and on 27 September that year was sent by the Bishop to the Court of Canterbury. On 24 October, 1329, he was collated to a Prebend at Exeter (fo. 10^b), on the resignation of Sir Thomas de Heauntone. On the resignation of Master Robert Broke he was instituted to the Rectory of Bratton-Clovelly, 1 July, 1330 (fo. 15). On 17 December, 1331, he was provided "at the request of Bishop Grandisson"—(then at Avignon, 29 November to 19 December)—"whose clerk and seal-bearer he was, to a Canonry and Prebend at Bosham, although he was Canon of Exeter and of Osmunderley and Rector of Newton St Cyres." He exchanged Bratton with Sir David Anseline for the Rectory of Morchard-Bishop, 9 February, 1333 (fo. 23), and he held this benefice till his death. He negotiated the purchase of Ottery from the chapter of Rouen, 18 August, 1334,

and in 1335. He and Thomas de Nassyngtone were proctors for the clergy in Convocation, 11 October, 1334; he for the Bishop 11 April, 1330, and again 12 November in that year, and again 12 January, 1340. He as the Bishop's "clericus, servitor, et Cancellarius commensalis," together with Thomas as the Bishop's "clericus, officialis eciam et servitor commensalis," were both to be held as Resident canons at Exeter, though absent therefrom "pro nobis et negociis nostris et ecclesie nostre predicte continuo desudantes," 22 October, 1332 (*Reg.*, vol. II, fo. 155^b). He held a Visitation, as Bishop's Commissary, of the Collegiate Church of Ottery, 2 October, 1339 (*Reg.*, part i, p. 118), and was, with two others, the Bishop's Vicar-General while he was abroad, 25 May to 12 September, 1343 (*Reg.*, part ii, p. 973). He was collated to the Rectory of St Stephen's, Exeter, 28 March, 1349 (vol. III, fo. 76), and on 2 March in that year he had been collated to the Prebend of Westbroke in Bosham (fo. 73^b); on the death of William de Nassyngtone, Sir Thomas Kaignes was collated 17 June, 1359, to Westbroke Prebend (fo. 118).

[xxvij.] Et ego, Oliuerius de Farcy predictus, ante presentem Ordinacionem vicarius ^{18^m fo.} in dicta tunc parochiali ecclesia, nunc autem Minister in eadem collegiata affecta ut prefetur, ^{p. 169.} predictis omnibus et singulis superius ordinatis, quantum in me fuit, et est, consensi ^{27^m ca^m} et consencio. Et in signum consensus mei, sigillum discreti uiri, domini officialis domini ^{De sigilla-} archidiaconi Exonie, quia meum est incognitum et priuatum, presentibus apponi pro- ^{cione primi} curavi, die loco et anno domini supradictis. Et ego, officialis domini Archidiaconi Exonie ^{uicarij et} predictus, ad personalem requisicionem domini Oliueri prefati, sigillum officij mei hijs ^{ipsius} appono, die loco et anno domini prelibatis."— ^{consensu.}

Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostre confirmacionis et supplecionis infringere uel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit indignacionem omnipotentis Dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum eius se nouerit incursurum. Data Auinione V Kalendas Julij, pontificatus nostri anno primo¹. [27 June 1342.]

Winton and Exon. but not *Register* add:—"Memorandum quod predicta Ordinacio est quintuplata, et tociens sigillata, sigillis videlicet Johannis episcopi Exoniensis, capituli, Archidiaconi et eius officialis. Vnde una pars est Exonie in thesauraria; Alia cum Custode ^{28^m ca^m} et canonicis sancte Marie de Otery; Alia cum Vicarijs ibidem; Alia in custodia domini ^{De} episcopi Exoniensis; Alia Cantuarie cum capitulo, quia Archiepiscopus Cantuarie (*i.e.* John de ^{ordinacione} Stratford, 1333 to 1348 A.D.), et prior cum capitulo, dictam Ordinacionem confirmauerunt; ^{quintuplata.} et ideo penes se copiam sigillatam habere uolebant. Fuit autem ipsa confirmacio Archie- ^{18^m fol.^v} piscopi et capituli sui duplicata, et una pars Custodi et canonicis tradita, et alia penes episcopum Exoniensem dimissa."

Explicit prima pars istius libri.

¹ The copyist forgot the end of the Bull in which the Ordinacio primaria is embodied: here printed from Bishop Grandisson's *Register*, vol. I, fo. 46^v. Prebendary Hingeston-Randolph's reprint, 1894, part i, p. 130. The Winton MS., as was observed above, contains neither the beginning nor the end of the Bull; that copy of the Ordinacio and Statuta may possibly have been made for Bishop Edyngdone before the Bull was actually received in England.

FRAGMENTA DE REGISTRO

J. de G. Exon: Ep:

"The following document bears the same date as the *Ordinacio Primaria*. Unfortunately it is only a fragment, the earlier portion having been lost. In vol. ij. of Bishop Grandisson's *Register*, between folios 14 and 15, some leaves have been cut out, on which a complete copy of this Ordinance had been written, as appears by the following memorandum on the margin of a small portion of the first folio, which was retained for the purpose,—'In istis foliis hic excisis scripta fuerat *Ordinacio Ecclesie Collegiate Sancte Marie de Otery, que postea inmutata fuerat iuxta correcciones et addiciones factas in Curia Romana*'—" note by Prebendary Hingeston-Randolph in his edition of Grandisson's *Register*, part i, p. 131; who also further writes: "The small fragment is an isolated one between folios 14 and 15. The three volumes of Grandisson's *Register* contain many separate documents bound up with the *Register* proper, and here and there quite promiscuously with no reference to adjacent surroundings. One of such documents was the complete copy of the original *Ordinacio*. It was all cut out (the 'stumps,' so to speak, being still visible) except the bit of top margin of one folio on which the reason for excision was written. This excision was effected before the folios were numbered, but not long before, for the figures are contemporaneous."

Bishop Grandisson founded the College at Ottery on Christmas Eve, 1337, and at once applied himself to furnish it with a most complete set of "Ordinances." For these he obtained the approval of the Dean and Chapter of Exeter, and all others concerned, 22 January, 1338 (having collated previously on the 17th of that month to all the eight prebends at Ottery). It was evidently a very lengthy and voluminous document and contained not only the substance of what is now embodied in the preceding "*Ordinacio Primaria*," but also much, if not all, of the present "*Statuta*." The whole, of which we now possess only the last and concluding page in the following fragment, was probably despatched to Avignon to receive Papal confirmation early in 1338. Benedict XII had been elected Pope 20 December, 1334¹, to his own surprise and that of the College of Cardinals.

¹ Bishop Grandisson wrote a letter of warm congratulation to him, immediately on receiving at Exeter the news of his election, seventeen days after the event, 6 January, 1335 (*Register*, part i, p. 110), and before he knew what title the Cardinal would take as Pope. It was, he says, "as if he had heard the pleasant note of the nightingale in the chilly silence of winter. Let the heavens be glad and the earth rejoice, and all things that are therein, but specially your son John de Grandisson, who always has hoped and longed that you would one day attain to this position; you whom he may rightly call Father and Patron, inasmuch as your uncle Cardinal Novelli was always a good friend to my uncle Otho and my father William and all my family, especially to myself." This uncle was Arnold Novelli, formerly Cistercian Abbot of Font-froide in the diocese of Narbonne, who was created by Clement V, Cardinal of St Prisca, 19 December, 1310, and Vice-Chancellor of the Roman Court. Hence, as presiding in the Chancery, he would have had a chief hand in furthering several of the provisions obtained on behalf of John and Thomas de Grandisson in their boyhood by their uncle Otho and their father, as set forth at the end of this note, pp. 126, 7. As Bishop of Poitiers and Papal Legate to England he baptized Edward III 15 November, 1312, in Henry III's chapel in Windsor Castle. He died at Avignon, 1317. His nephew was crowned as Pope in the church of the Dominicans, 8 January, 1335. On 29 June, 1335, he provided Benedict de Paston, B.C.L., at Bishop Grandisson's request, to a Canonry at St Cross, Crediton, although he was already Canon of St Probus

Jacques de Nouveau, Novelli, or Fournier, had been previously known as the White Cardinal, on account of his retaining the habit of the Cistercian Order, and was sprung of a noble family in Guienne. He had been Bishop of Pamiers and afterwards of Mirepoix, and had really at heart the reformation of the Church and the establishment of ecclesiastical

(Bliss, *Calendar of Papal Letters*, II, 525); and on 30 May for his nephew Otho de Northwode, a mandate was issued to the Bishop of Winchester to provide him to a Canonry at Chichester, with reservation of a prebend, though he had already a portion without cure of souls at St Teath. This was a re-grant of the provision made, 17 December, 1331, of a canonry at Chichester (Bliss, II, 362). On 8 June, 1335, a papal mandate was issued to Bishop Grandisson to grant dispensation to Roger Slaka, of Ottery St Mary, a colet, who had been suspended for three months because he, when a boy, being deputed by the curate to read the Epistle at Mass, did so, having the maniple on his arm. The three months having now elapsed, he is to be allowed to minister in his orders, and to be promoted and hold a benefice. He subsequently became Vicar of Broadclyst, and was licensed as a Penitentiary for the Deanery of Aylesbeare, 16 February, 1355 (*Reg.*, part ii, p. 1146).

The following undated letter (*Reg.*, part i, p. 117) was probably sent to Benedict XII with the first draught of the *Ordinacio* in 1338. In it the Bishop, first, asks for the Pope's confirmation of what he is doing at Ottery, and requests indulgences for those visiting the place; secondly, sends his *Life of St Thomas of Canterbury*; and thirdly, deprecates Papal provisions for Canonries, especially as affecting two persons whom he has appointed at Exeter, and one at Crediton.—The life of St Thomas he had composed many years before, and had sent a copy to Pope John XXII when he became Pope, as he now does a new edition of the same to Pope Benedict XII. The former Pope on 8 August, 1317, addressed a letter to Grandisson, then Archdeacon of Nottingham, thanking him for the book which he has accepted, and in which he finds much that is edifying collected in a compendious form (Bliss, vol. II, p. 417). The Bishop seems to have sent a third copy with another work to Pope Clement VI on his election to the Papacy, which he describes as "*quosdam libellos parvi voluminis et valoris vestre Beatitudini destinavi*" (*Reg.*, part i, p. 112). There is one copy of this that formerly belonged to Cardinal Pole (when Dean of Exeter) in Bodley's library, and several copies in Corpus Christi College library at Cambridge. Bishop Grandisson's devotion to St Thomas dated from early years, and he was buried near his altar at Exeter (cf. *Ordinale Exon.*, 540, "On the lights in Exeter Cathedral"):

"Beatitudinis vestre pedibus humiliter mente prostratus sequitor vester, ecclesieque Exoniensis indignus Minister, Johannes, (1) pro Confirmatione Collegii Sancte Marie de Otery graciaram refero possibiles, licet tanto beneficio impares, acciones; devotis, prout audeo, precibus supplicando quatinus, ob honorem ipsius gloriose Virginis et beati Regis et Confessoris Christi Edwardi, in quorum reverencia ibidem jam Ecclesiola, inter omnes regni istius juxta statum suum venustior, est constructa, precipere dignemini predictum negocium feliciter expediri, et devote locum visitantibus in festis et octavis ejusdem benedictae Virginis et matris Dei, ac confessoris sui predicti, ad vestrorum cumulum meritorum Indulgencias concedere speciales. (2) Ceterum, Pater Sanctissime, de vestra benignitate solita fiduciam presumens, cum filiali reverencia, unum libellum, nullius quidem precii set spiritali pinguedine refertum, vestre Beatitudini transmittito; non ignorans in thesauris sapientie et scientie vestre et Archivis ecclesie Romane ea et huiusmodi omnia non deesse, set tamen estimans eadem, per talem modum collecta seriusius et plenius, non haberi. Et utinam, cum Martham quandoque seorsum dimittitis, et Marie amplexibus vacatis, ipsum libellum transcurrere non fastidiretis. In consimili namque beatus Thomas Martir, inter Missarum solempnia, cantantibus clericis, contemplabatur; cuius vitam, ex multis scriptoribus in manipulum per me noviter redactam, ex causa certa, Sanctitatis vestre oculis destino intuendam. (3) Et quia, piissime Pater, quicquid juste desidero a vestra Paternitate petere non formido, importunas aliquorum preces preveniens, intuitu caritatis supplico quatinus in Ecclesia mea propria, pro aliquot benemeritis personis, ecclesie et michi assistentibus, audiri merear et preferri. Et certe, bone Pater, jam in eadem per multos annos non potui familiaribus meis aut nepotibus providere. Set et est aliud grave cordis vulnus, quod clementi medico compellor ex intimis aperire. Dicitur quod Sanctitas vestra, a quibusdam fraterne felicitatis invidis meisque emulis circumventa, contulit duas Prebendas in ecclesia Exoniensi, pluribus elapsis annis canonice permutatas, quarum unam Penitenciaris eiusdem Ecclesie, vir sanctus et profunde literatus, Deo et hominibus dilectus, alibi non beneficiatus, qui in studio Parisius et deinceps mecum stetit, quem tunc novistis; aliam vero alius providus et maturus vir; tertiam vero in Collegiata Ecclesia Criditonensi quidam juvenis nepos meus, alibi non beneficiatus,

peace with the Emperor Lewis and with the Franciscans. The latter he accomplished; the former he was restrained from by the French King. He consecrated 50,000 florins of the Treasure left by his predecessor John XXII in the Papal coffers to repair the churches in Rome. "He sent home from Avignon all who had flocked thither in the hope of obtaining

optinent in presenti. De quibus Sanctitas vestra disponere poterit prout placet, quia ipsi misericordiam vestram et iudicium implorabunt. Parcat, si placet, et sustineat non modicum set magnum quid insipientie mee vestra simplicitas columbina, prudentia predita serpentina. Emulor enim vos Dei emulacione et filiali affeccione, presumens de scolastica nocione, quamvis modo, ut decet, omnimoda subditus devocione."

As regards Bishop Grandisson's complaint about the canonries at Exeter, if the letter was written in the summer of 1338, then eight out of the twenty-four canonries at Exeter, or a third of the whole number, had been lately filled by Papal provision, and according to Bliss, *Calendar of Papal Letters*, vol. III, there were at least eight other persons at that date who were waiting for Exeter canonries, to which they had already obtained Papal provision. So the Bishop thought the present a fit time to demur, as the Canonries were all in his patronage. Since he became Bishop he had collated the following to Prebends: William Meriet, 24 October, 1328; John de Nassington, 4 November, 1328; William de la Zouche (by Papal provision), 15 November, 1328; Thomas de Nassington, 6 May, 1329; William de Nassington, 24 October, 1329; William Wy (by Papal provision), 3 June, 1329; Henry Bloyou, 25 November, 1329; William de Grandisson, his younger brother, 30 March, 1330, who died 5 June; Walter de Clopton (by Papal provision), 5 June, 1330; Simon de Montacute, 25 October, 1330—(brother of the Earl of Salisbury, who had married Bishop Grandisson's sister in 1327; at the King's request, whose clerk he was, he had been provided by the Pope to a Canonry at Wells, with reservation of a Prebend, though he had a Canonry at York with the Prebend of Bugthorp, and had provision of the Archdeaconry of Wells, then detained by another, 30 December, 1329; was made papal chaplain, 14 January, 1330, and at the King's request provided to a Canonry at Lincoln, 9 June, 1331, with reservation of any dignity there short of the episcopal, 15 June, 1331; provided at the King's request to the Archdeaconry of Canterbury, 15 July, 1332, and to the bishopric of Worcester, 8 May, 1334; to that of Ely, 1337; he died 20 June, 1345);—William of Exeter (by Papal provision), 8 August, 1331 (he was Queen Philippa's physician, Chancellor of Lincoln, Treasurer of Chichester, and Provost of Holyhead). Then on 17 December, 1331, Bishop Grandisson obtained a Papal indult, that "in consideration of the very small number of canonries and prebends at Exeter, he might make provision of any two persons of his choice to the same, notwithstanding any papal or legatine provision, and of one person to a dignity in his church." This would almost seem to antedate the practice, which prevailed in the next century, of issuing besides papal provisions, also preference, and even pre-preference provisions to any post, so that a place was sometimes reserved four deep before it fell vacant. Though there was inherent in the Pope the plenary power, not only of dispensing with any particular enactment of conciliar or of canon law, but also of annulling any former mandate of his own or of his predecessors; yet this prerogative must of necessity be very sparingly exercised, for otherwise the market value of the provisions would be seriously lowered in the Camera: it was more expedient to allow the competitors to litigate their rival claims in the Apostolic palace. Further collations to Exeter canonries were: Stephen Ketelbury, 16 March, 1334; John de Northwode (by Papal provision at the Bishop's request), 29 March, 1334; Richard Fitzralph (by Papal provision), same date (he had been sent as tutor in charge of John de Northwode to Paris to attend Fournier's lectures, 4 October, 1329, *Reg.*, part i, p. 233); William de Kesteven (by Papal provision), 28 April, 1334; John de Ildesle, 3 March, 1334—(he exchanged with John de Eysi, Canon of St Crantock, who was collated to the Exeter prebend 21 March, 1335; this prebend was, however, claimed as a papal reservation since Richard Bury, Bishop of Durham, had been consecrated from it, 19 December, 1333); and Richard de Kyrkeby, 1 June, 1336, to the prebend previously held by William de la Zouche. This prebend, however, William de la Zouche had been ordered by the Pope to resign, 11 April, 1336, when he had been provided to another at Southwell (Bliss, II, p. 534); and there is a note in Bishop Grandisson's register that Kyrkeby's collation thereto was "vain."

So the matter stood when this letter was written in 1338, and Kyrkeby and de Eysi were sent to carry it to Avignon and plead their own and the Bishop's cause with the Pope and Roman Curia. Richard de Kyrkeby had been made sub-dean and penitentiary, 1 June, 1336. He was one of the friends whom the Bishop had brought with him from the Midlands and his old archdeaconry, and had been fellow-pupil with him under Fournier at Paris. He had been rector of a mediety of Trusswell, Notts, when he was collated

Provisions, and is stated never to have promoted more than one relative or personal friend. To the rest he said, 'As James Fournier I knew you well; as Pope I know you not. I will not put myself in the power of the King of France by encumbering myself with a host of needy relatives.' He had the moral fortitude to incur unpopularity with the clergy by

by Bishop Grandisson to a prebend at Crediton, 22 September, 1328, where he had been promoted to the Precentorship and Headship of the Chapter, 3 October, 1331. This post he exchanged with David Anselme, 29 May, 1336, for the canonry at St Crantock, which subsequently he exchanged with William de la Zouche for the canonry at Exeter, now in question. John de Eysi was steward of the Bishop 9 September, 1328, receiver of his household and chaplain, 26 August, 1328; Canon of Wells, 17 December, 1331; Canon of St Crantock (which he resigned in order that the nephew of Cardinal Peter de Pratis, to whom he was now being sent, might be appointed thereto, 1 April, 1332); rector of Clyst Hydon, 15 February, 1329; of St Just in Roseland, Cornwall, which he exchanged with Richard de Brankescombe for the rectory of Cadbury, Somerset, 7 March, 1333; and had been collated canon of Exeter, 1 March, 1335, called in question now three years after date. The Bishop's "young nephew" was either Thomas de Patteshulle or Peter de Patteshulle, clerk (i.e. in minor orders), the first of whom he had collated to a prebend at Crediton, 14 March, 1336, and the second 13 June, 1338, on the death of R. de Cheorlton. When the bearers of the letter returned to Bishop Grandisson they probably brought the "correcciones et addiciones factas in curia Romana" to the first draft of the Ottery Ordinacio. The Bishop then separated what is now embodied in the Statutes, and issued these, 29 September, 1339, and sent the new draft of the Ordinacio again to Avignon for Papal confirmation. But no indulgences had been granted by the Pope for visitors to Ottery, and no definite mandate regarding Kyrkeby and de Eysi was issued; though, through the friendly feeling of Benedict XII for the Bishop, no further Papal provisions for canonries at Exeter were made. Only one is recorded in the Papal Calendar during this Pontificate—that of John Petri, D.C.L., 10 December, 1335, which appears to have been annulled before 1 June, 1336. Bishop Grandisson is allowed to appoint to the next vacancies in his own right, until a fresh difficulty is stirred by the Curia, regarding John de Sharesulle, who had been collated to the precentorship at Exeter, 25 July, 1337 (he having exchanged for it the rectory of Wraysbury and Langley, Bucks, with Adam Murymouth), and to a prebend, 19 June, 1338; but not to a canonry till 15 December, 1340.

After the death of Benedict XII the whole question threatens to open again, and under still more unfavourable auspices. Clement VI issued six papal provisions to Exeter canonries in the first year of his pontificate. On 24 November, 1342, the Bishop writes to him complaining of papal provisions (*Reg.*, part i, pp. 111, 112), though he owns that he had been let alone in this respect by the late Pope. "Hoc precipuum et fere solum in bone memorie Benedicto XII apud plerosque extitit commendabile, ecclesias seu prelatos quoslibet non gravasse." This cold summing up of the seven years of the Pontificate of his old master is in striking contrast with the exuberant expectations with which the Bishop had ushered in his accession to the Papal dignity (*Reg.*, part i, p. 110). He cannot, however, leave the matters he had written about four years previously any longer in abeyance, and so determines personally to visit the Roman court, and face the whole question at headquarters. At Dover, 25 May, 1343, he appoints Vicars General for his diocese during his absence from England "cum, divina favente clemencia, simus ad sedem Apostolicam ex quibusdam causis legitimis profecturus." He would arrive at Avignon about the middle of June. The result is at once manifest; in Bliss's *Calendar of Papal Petitions*, vol. i, pp. 11, 63-65, we see the twenty "petitiones non onerosae" which the Bishop (*Reg.*, part i, p. 112) had apparently sent forward in the preceding autumn to the Papal court to be presented by his friend, Cardinal Peter des Prés, Bishop of Palestrina, Vice-Chancellor, and therefore head of the Chancery, "the court of grace and justice," where they would be considered: he was still Canon and Archdeacon of York (though he visited his archdeaconry by deputy) and had been member of the York chapter along with Bishop Grandisson. In Bliss, *Papal Letters*, vol. III, 67, we see their execution recorded. First, confirmation of the acquisition made by John de Grandisson, Bishop of Exeter, of the manor of St Mary Ottery, together with the advowson of the church, and of its erection into a collegiate church, with exemplification of the foundation charter dated 22 January, 1338. This was in answer to a petition preferred to Clement VI on 27 June, 1342. Next, on 6 July, 1343, relaxation of one year and forty days of enjoined penance to penitents who make charitable benefactions either to the cathedral at Exeter, or to the church of St Mary and St Edward at Ottery (p. 139). Same date, relaxation of a hundred days of enjoined penance to those who visit the cathedral at Exeter, or the church of St Mary and St Edward

persisting in his slow, cautious, and regular distribution of benefices" (Milman, *Latin Christianity*, v, 320-328). He was resolute, shrewd, sarcastic, and of great learning, as is evidenced by his Bull on the Beatific Vision, 29 Jan., 1336 (Grandisson's *Reg.*, part i, 142-144). As a youth Bishop Grandisson had attended his lectures, when he was D.D. of the Cistercian

at Ottery, on their feasts, and on that of the dedication of either church, and of forty days to those who visit the same on a feast or during its octave (p. 139). Same date, confirmation of the appropriation of Ilington to the new college of St Mary Ottery with exemplification of the Bishop's letters dated Exeter, 25 May, 1338 (p. 114). Same date, grant to Bishop Grandisson to make provision for one person of his choice to a dignity or office in his cathedral church, and for five persons of his choice to canonries at Exeter, and for four persons to collegiate canonries in his patronage, and three persons to benefices in his gift. On 3 July, 1343 (*Petitions*, vol. i, p. 65), Richard de Kirkeby, sub-dean of Exeter, petitions: "John XXII gave William de la Zouche by papal provision, 15 November, 1328, a canonry and prebend at Exeter, value 6 marks; these he was bound to resign when Benedict XII provided him, 11 April, 1336, to a canonry at Southwell and York, and the Pope 'reserved' them: but Kirkeby got them in exchange for a canonry at St Crantock with William de la Zouche. He prays his collation thereto may be confirmed." The petition is granted, the exchange is decreed as valid, and the fruits remitted (*Letters*, vol. III, p. 140).—[William de la Zouche was consecrated at Avignon Archbishop of York, by Jocelin de Ossa, Bishop of Albano, 7 July, 1342.]—John de Eysi petitions 3 July, 1343: "Believing that John de Ildeslegh held a canonry and prebend at Exeter, he exchanged with him for the same a canonry and prebend at St Crantock, value 6 marks. But as it appears that the Exeter canonry and prebend were by the consecration of Richard Bury to the Bishopric of Durham, 19 December, 1333, in the gift of the Pope, the said John prays the Pope to make him a life concession of the same, as to Richard de Kirkeby, although he has the church of Cadbury in Somerset, and is litigating at the papal court about a prebend and canonry at Wells, to which he had obtained papal provision, 17 December, 1331." Petition granted, the exchange is decreed valid, and fruits remitted. On 3 July, 1343, John de Shareshulle, B.C.L. and B.A. (brother of Sir William de Shareshulle, knight, justice and councillor of the King), petitions: "That he, not knowing that the Precentorship of Exeter belonged to the disposition of the Pope, exchanged the church of Wraybury and Langley, Bucks, with Adam Murymouth (25 July, 1337), then precentor, who had held the office for many years. But Walter de Stapeldon thirty-four years ago held it, and was papal chaplain at the time of his consecration to the see of Exeter, 13 October, 1308, and hence the said Precentorship would be 'reserved' to the Pope. So Shareshulle prays that his collation to the precentorship, value £30, may have effect, although he holds a canonry and prebend in the same church since 15 December, 1340." His prayer is granted, and the fruits remitted, as in the case of Kirkeby and De Eysi.

So the wearisome business that had dragged on for years, ever since he wrote in 1338 to Benedict XII, was finished at last, and Bishop Grandisson returned to England in August, after what must have been to him rather an expensive journey to the Roman Curia. (The usual sum a Bishop was allowed to raise in order to defray the expenses of his visit to the Apostolic see, on election, was £2,000, about £40,000 in modern money. On 21 May, 1329, Bishop Grandisson obtained papal absolution from the vow he had previously made to visit the *limina apostolorum* every three years.) He was now free from Papal provisions to Exeter canonries—(with the exception of three, which must have been despatched after him as parting shots from Avignon, Richard of Malmesbury, 18 September, 1343, Hugh de Glamuryllis, at the request of Queen Philippa, 19 September, 1343, and John Pippard, 27 September, 1343; of these only the last named apparently ever obtained collation)—till 1347, when the tide began to flow again. On 28 June, 1348, he obtained a faculty from the Pope that those whom he was allowed by grant in 1343 to nominate to canonries and benefices might still first be preferred before Papal provisors of a later date. By comparing the names of the grantees in the Papal Registers with those who obtained actual collation as given in the Episcopal Register, it would appear that a large proportion never obtained possession of the prebends: there were not enough to satisfy the demand. The provision to a canonry with reservation of a prebend or endowment was in fact tantamount to the creation of "honorary canonries." Bishop Grandisson seems to have provided several of the grantees with a benefice in Devon or Cornwall instead; and so saved them and himself the often inevitable litigation in the Papal court about obtaining possession of the prebend. But though he, along with every one of the English Bishops, groaned under the burden of the Papal provisions, as Grosseteste had done a hundred years previously, and though when he collated the Papal provisors to canonries at Exeter he inserted the

College at Paris. He was the first Pope to notify officially his election to the University of Paris.

He apparently advised the Bishop to cut out much from the original *Ordinacio* on account of its "*prolixitatem*" and "*simplicitatem*," as Grandisson states in his preamble

clause, "*Salvo jure opponendi, si et quando nobis expedire videbitur, contra ipsius gratiam, processum, et personam*" (*Reg.*, part ii, p. 625), yet neither he, nor any bishop, ever disputed the right of the Pope to make them: it was the abuse of the right and its ill effects, it was the rapacity of those connected with the Roman Curia, and the exactions and oppressions of the Church of England that resulted, that stirred these prelates to protest: cp. Stevenson, *Life of Grosseteste*, chap. xiv, pp. 306-318, and *inter alia* Bishop Grandisson's letter to Clement VI, when, after attending the Council of London, 15 October, 1342, he wrote "*ubi inter cetera, ut cum gracia vestra dicam, de onerosa et antea invisa provisionum apostolicarum multitudine admiracio non modica est exorta*," 24 November, 1342 (*Reg.*, part i, p. 112). Amongst the hundred thousand provisions that are said to have been supplicated from Clement VI in the first year of his pontificate the following were granted to foreigners in England:—7 October, 1342, to Aymer Robert, Cardinal of St Anastasia, Archdeacon of the East Riding, Canon and Prebendary of York, of Axminster and of Beverley, provision of *all* benefices to be vacated in the province of York to the value of one thousand marks (about £14,000 a year in modern money; this was the exact sum that King John in 1213 had promised to pay the Pope yearly for the whole realm of England and Ireland as held in fief of him). A like provision (5 October, 1342) to Gerald, Cardinal Priest of St Sabina, of *all* benefices to be vacated in the province of Canterbury up to the same value (Bliss, *Papal Letters*, vol. III, 74). At the same time Cardinal Jocelin de Ossa, Bishop of Albano, held canonries and prebends at Lincoln and at York, was Treasurer of Lichfield and Rector of Stepney, London; Cardinal Talleyrand de Périgord was Archdeacon of Suffolk and Dean of York; Cardinal John Raymond de Comminges, Bishop of Porto, was Archdeacon of Richmond and of Northampton; Cardinal Peter Gomez, Bishop of Sabina, was Archdeacon of Huntingdon and of Chester; Cardinal Peter de la Forêt, Archbishop of Rouen, was Archdeacon of Middlesex and Treasurer of St Paul's; Cardinal Raymund de Fargis, Archdeacon of Leicester, was Dean and Treasurer of Salisbury, in which posts he was succeeded by Cardinal Raynold Orsini, 1346; Cardinal Galhard de la Motte was Archdeacon of Oxford and Precentor of Chichester; Bertrand d'Eux, Cardinal Priest of St Mark's, was Archdeacon of Dorchester; Cardinal William de Court, Archdeacon of Wells; Cardinal Nicholas Roseli, a Dominican, Archdeacon of Ely; Cardinal John Gaetano Orsini, Archdeacon of Coventry; Cardinal Audoin Albert, Archdeacon of Lincoln; Cardinal Gerald Domar, Precentor of Salisbury; Cardinal Peter Roger, Archdeacon of Canterbury, which he held till he was elected Pope, as Gregory XI in 1365. (Cp. p. 219 *infra*.) The majority of the College of Cardinals were thus English Archdeacons. This was probably the high-water mark of the misappropriation of English Church funds by the French Avignonese Popes to the use of Edward III's French enemies, though there is a somewhat similar list of Italians beneficed in England in 1374, given in Fox, *Acts and Monuments*, I, 560-562. An English Archdeaconry at this time, with its fruits, was worth between two and three thousand pounds a year in modern money; that of Canterbury, the richest preferment in England next to a bishopric, would be five thousand a year (cp. Wordsworth, *Lincoln Statutes*, Introduction, cxliii-viii). These grants helped the cardinals with proper dignity to maintain their splendid palaces at the Ville-neuve by Avignon, on the right bank of the Rhone: even after their death the proceeds of some of these English offices were allocated by Papal provision to pay their debts. Many other foreigners were provided at the same time to English benefices. The want of practical wisdom shown by "the fisherman" so soon after his coronation at Avignon, in trying to sweep with so heavy a drag-net, is manifest. The petition of the English Commons in 1344, the determination of King Edward III to take the fruits of all church benefices in the realm that were held by foreigners, 15 April, 1346; the first statute against Provisors, 1351, and the first statute of Premunire, 1353, were the inevitable answers. The Pope writes to the King, "protesting against these novelties attempted against the Holy Roman Church; all the provisions and reservations he believes to be expedient for the churches themselves to which he has made them—(the Dean and Chapter of St Asaph he had allowed to elect a bishop 'as the people of Wales are too savage to be governed by a foreigner,' 20 April, 1344)—and he reminds the King of the power given to St Peter of binding and loosing at his will," 11 July, 1344. The next year, however, the Pope writes again that, "while not intending to restrict or limit his own power touching provisions, he promises not to exercise it so freely as he did at the time of his accession," 5 April, 1345. On 8 October, 1344, he had written

to the Statutes. This the Bishop did, and embodied the same in the present Statuta, which he issued without further delay on his own episcopal authority, 29 September, 1339. The remainder of the original document was recast and remitted for the further consideration of the Pope at Avignon, the date of the original and more ample Ordinacio being

to John de Stratford, Archbishop of Canterbury, exhorting him to follow the example of St Thomas and obtain the revocation of the King's novelties. This was tantamount to asking him to help the Pope to shear his sheep for the benefit of Italians; it put him and the other English bishops in a cruel position. None of them ever swerved from their reverence for the Pope's authority, however vigorous might be their individual opposition to particular instances of its exercise, and however vigorous were their denunciations of the abuses connected with the Curia. The wide-reaching powers concentrated in the Pope, as the Vicar of Christ, were too vast to be really exercised by any one individual personally; hence they must of necessity be delegated; and even the supervision of the exercise of the powers thus delegated, however strenuous might be the efforts of the better Popes to use it beneficially, was more than one human individual could accomplish. The Papal supremacy, no less than that wielded by any autocrat of a world-wide temporal empire, was, and is exercised merely in name by the head, but in reality by his ministers and court. Hence the growth of these evils and the hopelessness of reconciling the ideal with the actual Papacy. But the belief of the English Bishops in the unity of the Church and in the consequent need of an earthly as well as a Divine head, was too profound to admit of any essential diversity of view in regard to the theory of Papal supremacy in spiritual affairs. From Leo the Great, "the successor of St Peter," in the fifth century, onwards to the ninth century, the logical and splendid development by the first three Gregories and the first Nicholas of the central power of the "princeps" of the Kingdom of God, of its supreme head on earth, was continuous, excepting for a short break in the tenth century. Gregory VII (Hildebrand) in the eleventh century enlarged still further the conception, until in the twelfth the last and highest stage of development was reached, under the greatest of all the Popes, Innocent III, "the Vicar of God"; though Boniface VIII dared to advance one step farther when, in the celebrated Bull "Unam Sanctam" (18 November, 1302), he claimed to be head of the temporal as well as of the spiritual kingdom. With this last step we are not now concerned, though we marvel at the way in which the majestic claims therein made are based wholly upon the mystical interpretation of certain texts of Scripture (*Extrav. Comm.*, lib. i, tit. viii, c. 1; *Corpus juris canonici*, vol. ii, 1245). Innocent III first asserted for the supreme Pontiff the plenary power of disposing of all benefices; but as yet the prerogative was only asserted on special and exceptional occasions. It was under Gregory IX (1235) that the law of Papal Rome became the living voice of the Catholic Church, the jurisprudence of the Decretals a universal jurisprudence (Milman, *Latin Christianity*, vol. iv, p. 271; and for his notes on Provisors, vol. v, 425, 484, 495; vol. vi, p. 65). In the Decretals it is laid down in boldest language that a plenary power of disposing of every church, whether actually vacant or prospectively at its next vacancy, belongs to the Roman pontiff. All spiritual persons were his men, from the youngest boy who had just received his first tonsure in lowest orders upwards to the Bishops (whose whole power was derived from and through the Pope), and it was for him to place and order each where it seemed best to him in the Church Militant, as absolutely as the soldiers of the feudal lords were arrayed at their will under the banners of earthly warfare. "Ecclesiarum, personatum, dignitatum aliorumque beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum plenaria dispositio ad Romanum noscitur Pontificem pertinere, ita quod non solum ipsa, quum vacant, potest de jure conferre, verum etiam jus in ipsis tribuere vacaturis." Clement IV, 27 August, 1265 (*Sexti Decret.*, lib. iii, tit. iv, c. 2). No bishop therefore dared dispute this; to call in question any portion of the Canon law would have been heresy. But "in England the State did not suffer the Church to put in operation the whole of the Canon law." In "every century, from the twelfth onward, there has been a good deal of ecclesiastical law that has not been enforced." For instance, after the Lateran Council, 1179, it was declared "Tanta est vis matrimonii, ut qui antea sunt geniti, post contractum matrimonium legitimi habeantur" (*Decretal Greg.*, lib. iv, tit. xvii, c. 6). This was never allowed by the State in England; though in Presbyterian Scotland this enactment of the Canon Law, with its high view of the sacramental efficacy of matrimony, is part of the law of that kingdom to this day. So, again, "in matters of felony, our temporal courts never allowed to the criminous clerks that full measure of immunity which the decretals claimed." But above all "secular justice kept a tight hold over all disputes that touched ecclesiastical patronage." Alexander III wrote to Henry II, "causa juris patronatus ita conjuncta est et connexa spiritualibus causis, quod non nisi ecclesiastico judicio valeat definiri, et apud ecclesiasticum judicem

retained. The Ordinacio thus amended mainly describes the number of the officers and persons on the foundation, and their general and relative duties as regards the property and purpose of the College: and was thus quite different in character from the Statutes, which are occupied with a minute description of the details of Divine worship and the inner life

solummodo terminari" (*Decret.*, lib. II, tit. i, c. 3). But the English statute law was the very opposite of this. "Advowsons are utterly beyond the scope of spiritual tribunals. The advowson is temporal property. The laws of the Church and the courts of the Church cannot touch it." The first of the Constitutions of Clarendon (1164), confirmed by the Bishops and barons, expressly stated "If controversy shall arise between laymen, or clergy and laymen, or clergy, regarding advowson and presentation to churches, let it be treated and concluded in the court of the lord the King." Here then we have an eminent instance in which the Canon Law failed to obtain a home in England, and it was the foundation of all subsequent legislation against Provisors. "All the patronage that was in the hands of the clergy was subject to the control of the Pope, according to the belief of the clerical patrons. The Pope would not in principle have scrupled to interfere with the right of lay patrons, but in practice he dealt much more freely with the rights of the Bishops and Abbots." There appear to have been very few, if any, papal provisions made to benefices in lay patronage in England (Lingard, vol. III, p. 108). "By infinitesimally small degrees the prelates had been taught that all ecclesiastical benefices are at the disposal of the supreme Pontiff, and that he was the universal patron of all benefices whatever." "Every such interference was, from of old, a breach of English temporal law: that is to say, the papal provisor would have had no defence to a *Quare impedit*. But the spiritual patrons did not dare, or did not think it right, to sue. That is the situation which is put before us in the famous Petition of 1344. And now let us observe the remedy that is prayed for by the commons and accorded by the King, barons, and justices. 'If a benefice the patronage whereof belongs to any spiritual patron falls vacant, and a provisor appears upon the scene, the presentation is to lapse to the King, or to other the lord of whom the advowson is immediately holden.'" The laity say to the clergy, "We cannot trust you in this matter, we must protect you against yourselves. If a papal provision is made to any of your benefices and the provisor attempts to put it in force, you must forfeit for that occasion your right of presentation." "The Statute of 1351 gave the clerical patrons a chance of fighting the Pope, if they dare or will. It maintained a distinction between the lay and clerical patron. There is no talk of a lay patron having to forfeit a presentation to which he is entitled as the owner of a parochial advowson. Laymen think that they are already strong enough to hold their own there. Also what is said of the elective benefices—the bishoprics, abbacies, and deaneries—is remarkable. If the Pope makes provision of a bishopric, the King is to collate; in other words, the chapter is to lose for that occasion its normal, if shadowy, right of election. Of old, the kings used to collate to bishoprics, and they only granted the right of election upon a condition that has been broken" (Maitland, *Canon Law in England*, pp. 14, 51, 58, 59, 62, 66–68). So the Statute of 1351 (25 Ed. III, st. 4, *Statutes of the Realm*, I, 316–318) ordained—repeating the words of the Great Charter of 1215, confirmed by Edward I in 1297—that "the free election to archbishoprics, bishoprics, and all other dignities and benefices elective in England, i.e. abbacies, priories, deans by chapters, archdeacons by bishops, should be, as they were originally founded, free." It set forth, reciting from the Statute of Carlisle, 1307 (35 Ed. I, *Statutes*, I, 150), the causes of the erection of religious houses, and the forbidding of any revenues from them to be sent to aliens beyond the sea, that these positions were founded and endowed in order that the holders might reside in England, and that the kings in time past might have the greatest part of their council, for the safeguard of the realm when they had need, of such prelates and clerks so advanced. But that the Pope of Rome was accroaching and giving them to *aliens* who never dwelt in England, and to *cardinals* who could not dwell here, just as if he were the rightful patron of all such, as he was not of right by the law of England; that the evil was growing, the King's council was perishing, as the *foreigners* who held the sees and abbacies never attended the parliament, the King was losing his presentments to the prelates; and goods without number from the deaneries, archdeacons, and other benefices held by *foreigners*, and by the purchasers of such graces and provisions aforesaid, were being carried out of the realm to the annulling of the estate of the Holy Church of England, and against the laws and rights of the realm. Further, that by the reservations, general and special of archbishoprics, bishoprics, abbacies, priories, and other dignities and benefices in clerical patronage, and by such privy reservations, many clerks advanced in this realm by their true patrons, which have peaceably holden their advancements by long time, are suddenly put out. Such things were always contrary to the laws of the

of the College. Meanwhile Benedict XII died 14 April, 1342, without having issued a Bull of confirmation. Possibly the Bishop had hesitated at the fees demanded by the Roman Curia, of which he speaks so bitterly on a former occasion (*Reg.*, part iii, preface pp. viii, ix, xii, xiv), and hoped to have had them reduced. Clement VI (who as Pierre

realm, but by sufferance and negligence they have grown to the present pitch. "Therefore our Lord the King having regard to the grievous complaints made to him by his people in divers his parliaments holden heretofore, and willing to ordain remedy for the great damages and mischief which have happened, and daily do happen, to the Church of England by the said cause, by the assent of all the great men and the commonalty of the said realm, to the honour of God and the profit of the said Church of England, hath ordered and established that the free elections of archbishops, bishops, and all other dignities and benefices elective in England, shall hold from henceforth in the manner as they were granted by the King's progenitors, and the ancestors of other lords, the founders: that all prelates and other clerical patrons shall have their collations and presentments freely to the same, in the manner as they were enfeoffed by their donors; and that in case any reservation, collation, or provision be made by the Court of Rome to any archbishopric, bishopric, dignity, or other benefice in clerical patronage, then the King shall enjoy for that turn the collation to any such reserved benefice, dignity, or bishopric, seeing that the election was first granted by the King's progenitors upon a certain form of condition, as to demand licence of the King to choose, and after the election to have his royal assent, and not in other manner"—(this proviso was in John's Ecclesiastical Charter, January, 1215, afterwards confirmed by the Pope)—"which conditions not being kept, the thing ought by reason to resort to its first nature. And in case that collation, reservation, or provision be made by the Court of Rome to any church, prebend, or other benefice in clerical patronage, then the King and his heirs shall have the presentation thereto for that turn, if the clerical patrons will not present thereto of their own right within six months, or the Bishop within a month after. If any provisors appear to disturb such presentees, they or their proctors shall go to prison, and there abide till they be fined at the King's will, and make satisfaction to the party grieved, and fully renounce any intention of suing against any man regarding such at the Court of Rome." The English Bishops carefully abstained from taking any public part in the enactment of this Statute, or of that by which it was followed (25 Ed. III, st. 5, c. 22, *Statutes*, I, 323), which enacted that any purchaser of provisions at the Court of Rome for abbeys or priories should be outlawed. Neither did they take any part two years later, in 1353, when the first statute of Premunire or "forewarning" (27 Ed. III, st. 1, c. 1, *Statutes*, I, 329) was passed, which enacted that "all people of the King's allegiance, of whatsoever condition they be, which shall draw any out of the realm in plea, whereof the cognisance pertains to the King's Court (*e.g.* matter regarding advowsons) to the Papal Court, shall, after two months' warning, appear before the King and his council, or justices, to answer of the contempt done in this behalf; and if they come not they shall be outlaws, and all their goods forfeit to the King."

These Acts served their purpose as somewhat of a bulwark against the invading army of clerical Italians and other foreigners: and this, the reason alleged in the forefront of the Acts themselves (25 and 27 Ed. III), would really seem to be all they were ever seriously meant to do. For the King, the Queen, the Barons, and other great laymen of the realm, as well as both the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, go on, just as before, praying the Pope for provisions to canonries and benefices in clerical patronage for their friends and relatives, as though no such laws had ever been enacted; and the litigation in the Papal Curia of the rival grantees proceeds as briskly as ever; for instance, Queen Philippa obtains at one grant Papal provision to six canonries and prebends in cathedral churches, and six in collegiate churches, for any fit persons she may nominate. So the nomination by the Pope of foreigners to English benefices greatly decreases till 1361, the last year of Innocent VI, when it appears as if about to start again. His successor, Urban V, was altogether far stricter than his predecessors in the way in which he granted provisions, even to English subjects, and in fact he considerably cut down the benefits to be obtained by pluralists, as he usually insisted, when providing to any canonry or benefice, that one or more, and sometimes all, that had been granted by a previous provision to the recipient should be resigned. Nevertheless the thing went on. Hence in 1365 the second Act against Provisors was passed (38 Edward III, st. 2, c. 1 and 2, *Statutes*, I, 385). It reiterated and confirmed the statute against Provisors, 1351, and that of Premunire, 1353. But it stated that the object of the Act was "to nourish love and peace and concord between Holy Church and the Realm," and a clause was inserted that the King ordained the same "having a regard to the quietness of his people, which he chiefly desireth to sustain in tranquillity and peace according to the laws of the land,

Roger had been Archbishop of Rouen, when Bishop Grandisson purchased the manor of Ottery from that Chapter, pp. 12, 87) was elected to the Papal throne 7 May, 1342, and at length confirmed that which his predecessor had had so long under consideration. That both this revised Ordinacio and the Statuta were already in force, before the Papal

in aid and comfort of the Pope, who hath been oftentimes troubled by such and the like importunate clamours and impetrations, and who would thereto willingly apply a fit remedy, if his Holiness were informed concerning these matters." To this Act of 1365 the prelates and lords spiritual assented, "saving their estate," though it also decreed that "all persons obtaining or purchasing citations or benefices from the Court of Rome, Deaneries, Archdeaconries, Dignities, Offices, or Benefices, in the gift of the King, or of a clerical or lay patron, and their abettors, should be arrested and punished as ordered 25 Edward III, st. 5, c. 22." But in 1374, under Gregory XI, the nephew of Clement VI, the old grievance comes to the front again. The parliamentary petition of that year stated that the taxes paid to the Pope out of England were five times what was paid to the King: that the Pope's revenue from England alone was larger than that of any prince in Christendom, viz. £300,000 a year; and it demanded that traitorous and dangerous Italians and strangers should no longer be provided to English ecclesiastical dignities and benefices. This was the continual burden of the complaint, and its force was heaviest during the Avignonese pontificate. In 3 Richard II, c. 3 (*Statutes*, II, 14), it is set forth that "Benefices have been given to divers people of another language and of strange lands and nations, and sometimes to the utter enemies of the King and of his realm, which never made residence in the same, nor cannot, may not, and will not perform the cure thereof, and these suffer the noble buildings in old time there made, when the benefices were occupied by Englishmen, wholly to fall to decay; that laws had been made wholly to put out, or at least restrain, the said mischief, nevertheless aliens still take such English benefices; therefore be it forbidden that any one should farm such benefices for aliens, or send anything to them under penalty of 27 Edward III, st. 1, c. 1." Further, 12 Richard II, c. 13 (*Statutes*, II, 60), enacted, 1388, that "no liege man of the King, of what estate or condition that he be, great or little, shall pass over the sea, nor send out of the realm of England (without special leave of the King) to provide or purchase any benefice of Holy Church; and if any do, or accept any provision made to him, the benefice is void, the provisor outlawed, and the patron spiritual or lay may present anew." Lastly, in the following year, 1389, came the final Act against Provisors, 13 Richard II, st. 2, c. 2 (*Statutes*, II, 69-74), the two archbishops, in the name of the whole clergy, protesting against its passing. It not only admits that the former Act of 1351, which it begins by reciting, had been allowed to fall into disuse, but it goes farther and condones the action of all those who had broken it: and then orders that it should henceforth be put in force as regards all archbishoprics, bishoprics, and other dignities and benefices *elective*, or in the patronage of people of Holy Church (i.e. clerics) that fell vacant after 29 January, 1390; that if any one accepted such, or any benefice, by Papal provision, he should be exiled and forfeit all his goods; any one receiving him should suffer a like penalty. The Act however was not to apply to any who had been provided and were in actual possession before 29 January; such were to hold peaceably during their lives; and it was not to apply to any benefice actually void at the same date. "If the King send by letter, or in any other manner, to the court of Rome, at the entreaty of any person, or if any other send or sue to the same court, whereby anything is done contrary to this statute, touching any archbishopric, bishopric, dignity, or other benefice of Holy Church within the realm, if he that maketh such motion or suit be a prelate of Holy Church, he shall pay to the King the value of his temporalities for one year; and if he be a temporal lord, he shall pay to the King the value of his lands and possessions not moveable for one year; and if he be another person of a more mean estate, he shall pay to the King the value of the benefice for which suit is made, and shall be imprisoned for one year. If any man bring or send within the realm any summons, sentences, or excommunications against any person for assent to or execution of this Statute of Provisors, he shall go to prison, forfeit all his goods, and incur the pain of life or member. If any prelate make execution of such summons or excommunications, his temporalities shall be taken and abide in the King's hands till due redress and correction be thereof made." Three years later (1393) saw the third Act of Premunire, *Statutes*, II, 84, 85. So the century that had opened with the statute of Carlisle, 1307, ended, as it had begun, with the English protestations against foreign Provisors, on the one side; and with Pope Boniface VIII, on the other, re-asserting the fullest demands of Canon Law that "laymen can have no right to dispose of ecclesiastical things." Milman, *Latin Christianity*, v, 425; Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, II, 413, 430, 435, 612; III, 319-327, 340-342; Makower, *Const. Hist. Church of England*,

sanction was obtained for the former, is clear from the form of the oath taken by the Canons to observe both the *Ordinacio* and the *Statuta* (p. 112), and also from the terms used by the Bishop in his monition addressed to the Warden of the College 9 December, 1339 (*Reg.*, part i, p. 120).

pp. 25, 39-44, 229, 230. At first sight the admission in 1390 that the former Acts of 1351 and 1353 had not been carried out, and the condonation of such non-fulfilment up to that date may seem strange; and still stranger the further proviso in the new Act, that if the King should find it to his convenience to ask the Pope to provide any friend to a benefice, that friend should get off by paying one year's income to the King, and be imprisoned for one year, which latter penalty might at the King's pleasure be remitted; but in 1409 it was actually pleaded in the King's court that none of these Acts had ever been put in force. The truth being that the layman's own patronage of about one-third of the benefices in England was perfectly safe, but not content with that, he constantly wanted preferment for his English clerks to English benefices in the patronage of bishops and abbots, the chapters, the convents, and other ecclesiastics; and the only way to get it was often through the Papal provision, which he knew the clerical patrons were debarred, in conscience, from opposing. In fact, what with special, as well as general, Papal reservations, it was after all the only safe way of obtaining preferment. Very few, if any, knew what benefice in clerical patronage had not been "reserved," and hence, even after several years of peaceable tenure of a living or of a cathedral dignity, a man was liable to have sprung upon him a Papal reservation of the benefice made thirty or forty years previously when it was in the occupation of one of his predecessors, and this flaw would make null and void the tenure of it by himself and his immediate predecessor. The only way to fortify oneself against such a by no means imaginary risk was to get a Papal provision before, or a Papal confirmation after, obtaining collation; and the usual price charged by the Curia was three years' income of the post sought, or about the same figure as that for which, till recently, many laymen sold the next presentation to livings in their patronage.

Instances of each of these points have been afforded in the cases referred to in this note. Bishop Grandisson had experienced the benefits, as well as the inconveniences, attaching to Provisions; the former perhaps more in his earlier, the latter in his later years. He was dispensed by Pope Clement V "at the request of Sir William de Grandisson, his father, to hold benefices to the value of 300 marks (about £4000 a year in modern money), besides a canonry and prebend at Wells and a canonry at York with reservation of a prebend, notwithstanding defect of orders and age, he being about fourteen" (1306). So, too, his brother Thomas, "son of the same knight, about thirteen years of age, to whom the Pope had provided a canonry at Lincoln, with reservation of a prebend, had the like dispensation," and "to the teacher of civil law of John and Thomas, sons of William de Grandisson, a licence at the request of the said William was granted to hold, besides the church of Middleton, in the diocese of Ely, value £16 (or about £380) a year, one other benefice" (Bliss, vol. II, p. 5). John de Bonovillari, clerk of Otho de Grandisson, Kt, holds, besides benefices in Lausanne and elsewhere, the parish church of Middleton-super-Valle, in the diocese of York, 21 August, 1309 (*ibid.*, p. 59: there is probably a confusion between Ebor and Elen in the MS.), and on 28 May, 1310, he was dispensed to hold the canonry and prebend of Bella Aqua at Lausanne, and the R. of Middleton-super-Valle in York diocese, as well as the deanery of Sully, Geneva, having obtained this last by Papal dispensation. William de Bonovillari was provost of Lausanne. William de Estenaye, sub-deacon, nephew of Otho, lord of Grandson (and therefore first cousin of John de Grandisson, afterwards bishop), was provided, 30 November, 1289, to a canonry and prebend at Lincoln, though he held canonries and prebends at Wells and St Maurice's, Llangadock, in the diocese of St David's, and the rectory of Grinstead in Sussex, and the R. of Llanbadarnvawr, Cardigan, annexed to the prebend of St Maurice (*Letters*, I, 508); this latter he resigns 8 September, 1308, but at the request of his uncle Sir Otho is dispensed to hold it, and also the archdeaconry of Lincoln, and canonries at Wells, and at other places beyond the sea, and not be ordained priest for five years (vol. II, 45); on 30 April, 1311, he obtains an indult to visit his archdeaconry of Lincoln by deputy for three years. He died 1326, and was about to exchange his prebend of Coringham at Lincoln with William de Bonovillari, provost of Lausanne (*Papal Letters*, II, 253). John de Bonovillari probably accompanied John and Thomas de Grandisson to Paris, to attend Fournier's lectures, just as Thomas and Hugh de Cantilupe had been sent there before them under the charge of Petrus de Bultevilt, and John de Northwode and his brother afterwards, with Richard Fitzralph, subsequently Dean of Lichfield, and Archbishop of Armagh. Oliver, *Lives of Bishops of Exeter*, p. 82. Ordinary students lived together

For convenience of comparison references are here inserted at the end of such paragraphs as are now embodied in the *Ordinacio Primaria* or in the *Statuta*. These passages are printed in italics. The residuum, here printed in Roman type, is not now in either of them. In the original *Register* the whole of course runs on continuously without any such difference.

In spaciando vero et ad Villam eundo, non solivagi, set bini ad minus, incedant; pro sinistra suspicione et scandalo evitandis. (Statute xvj.) fol. 104.
Nota de
scandalo

in the several hospitia, but the sons of nobles and the more wealthy lived with their tutors in private houses in Paris. Thirteen was the normal age for admission of a student; and, as the full arts course lasted seven years, twenty years was the minimum age for M.A. In 1309, being then seventeen, John de Grandisson was collated to the prebend of Masham at York. On 7 July, 1312, Clement V granted a suppletion, at his father's request, of the absence of mention of his defect of age in the letters of Papal provision to him of the archdeaconry of Nottingham (to which he had been collated 12 October, 1310). At the same date dispensation was granted, at his father's request, since he had been previously dispensed so as to hold benefices to the amount of 300 marks, and obtained the church of Llanbadarnvawr, in the diocese of St David's, to retain this and his other benefices which do not exceed the said amount, and an indult also, at his father's request, to visit his archdeaconry of Nottingham by deputy for three years and receive procurations (*Papal Letters*, vol. II, p. 101). At the same date dispensation was granted to his brother Thomas, at his father's request, to hold a canonry at Lincoln, with expectation of a dignity in the same, though he was not in holy orders and was under age. At the same date he was "dispensed to retain the church of Chelsesfield, in Kent"—(this was part of the paternal domain, p. 38),—and on 28 March, 1317, he obtained an indult "to accept a canonry and prebend at Lincoln, he being then twenty-three, and also the archdeaconry of Northampton, if he wins the suit about it in which he is engaged." This canonry and prebend of Heydore at Lincoln, void by the death of Thomas, 14 July, in the same year, John XXII, by Papal provision, granted to his brother John de Grandisson, 17 August, 1317. On 7 August, 1322, he being then papal chaplain and Canon of Lincoln, was further provided by the Pope "to the prebend of Stoke, at Lincoln (void by the consecration of Roger de Northburgh, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, 27 June, 1322), notwithstanding that he is archdeacon of Nottingham, has a canonry at York and canonries and prebends at Wells and Lincoln, is perpetual vicar of Llanbadarnvawr, in the diocese of St David's, and is litigating about a prebend at York." (Llanbadarnfaur, the priory of St Padarn the great (who was a disciple of St David 576 A.D.), was given by Gilbert Fitz-Richard to Gloucester Abbey 1115 A.D. Bishop Anselm divided it between St David's and Gloucester, 1230–1247. It is the mother church of Aberystwyth; the present building is of the twelfth century with a massive Norman tower in the centre. There is a Runic cross, 8 feet high, in the churchyard at which, tradition says, St Padarn preached. In 1360 the living was appropriated to the Abbey of Vale Royal, Chester. Practically it would appear to have been one of those pieces of church patronage which was always disposed of by Papal provision, and the family of the holder was wont to hand it on to a relative by this means.) On 20 October, 1326, John de Grandisson had an indult to visit his archdeaconry of Nottingham by deputy for two years and receive procurations. He was in England as papal nuncio with the Archbishop of Vienne treating about a peace with France in February, 1327, and subsequently returned to Avignon, where he was provided to the see of Exeter 19 October, 1327. Of the five cathedral preferments which he vacated at his consecration, the Pope provided one to his brother, one to his nephew, and three to Italians; the prebend he held at Lichfield to Edward Sapiti, 7 December, 1327—(son of Andrew Sapiti, citizen of Florence, who was King Edward III's proctor at the Papal Court); his canonry at Wells to his younger brother, William de Grandisson, 14 December, 1327 (who had previously been provided to a canonry at Salisbury, with reservation of prebend, 28 March, 1317, and who died in 1330, Canon and Archdeacon of Exeter); his canonry and prebend of Stoke at Lincoln to his nephew, John de Northwode, 14 December, 1327; his archdeaconry of Nottingham to Manuel de Fieschi, notwithstanding he has canonries and prebends at York and Sarum, 15 February, 1330, and is beneficed elsewhere out of England (*Papal Letters*, II, 314), and who was dispensed 26 August, being resident at the Roman Court, to enjoy the fruits of his archdeaconry; he exchanged it for a canonry at Lincoln and the prebend of Milton, 10 September, 1331, with Annibale de Ceccano, Cardinal Archbishop of Naples, who also held the archdeaconry of Buckingham with it, and was treasurer of York and precentor of Lichfield. To Bishop Grandisson's canonry and Heydore prebend at Lincoln, which he vacated on obtaining the prebend of Stoke, Piggellus Manetti was provided 7 October, 1328 (vol. II, 283).

Custos eciam vel Minister in maioribus et Cantor vel Sacrista aliquie Canonici in minoribus duplicibus festis officium principaliter exequantur (cp. Statute xxv). *Diebus eciam Dominicis, si possint, celebrent eorum aliqui Beate Marie Virginis et Magnam Missas, prout Exonie consueverunt* (cp. Statute xxvj). *Cuilibet vero Canonico et eius vicario assignetur unum altare ad custodiendum et ibidem celebrandum, si tot sint altaria in Ecclesia; alioquin duobus unum; ita quod Parochiali Sacerdoti aliquod in navi Ecclesie relinquatur* (cp. Ordin. 14^m ca^m). *Et quodlibet altare habeat missale, calicem, corporalia, phiolas, vestimenta, linthamina propria, et unum cereum, ne unus celebrans alium impediatur per concursum* (cp. Statute xlij).

Omnes insuper Canonici Presbiteri et Vicarii ad minus bis vel ter in ebdomada studeant celebrare (cp. Statute xxiv). *In quibus Missis, et aliis eorum suffragiis, pro salubri statu nostro et Venerabilis in Christo Patris, Domini Petri, Dei gracia Episcopi Penestrini, Sacrosancte Romane Curie Cardinalis et Vicecancellarii, quoad vixerimus, et pro animabus felicitis recordacionis Pape Johannis xxij^{di}, promotoris nostri; necnon bone memorie Domini Willelmi de Grandissono patris nostri, et Domine Sibille matris nostre, fratrumque et sororum nostrorum; ac nostra et dicti Episcopi Penestrini, cum ab hac luce migraverimus, specialiter, omniumque Fidelium defunctorum generaliter, orare teneantur. Obitus eciam singulorum nostrorum solempniter celebrent temporibus oportunis. Die vero Obitus nostri centum pauperes in centum denariis vel equivalenti cibario, et in ceteris Obitibus viginti modo simili reficiant vel procurent.* (Ordinacio 17^m Ca^m.)

Obitus vero Canonicorum, qui domos, iudicio nostro et successorum nostrorum competentes, ibidem de novo suis sumptibus propriis construxerint, in eadem ecclesia imperpetuum teneantur¹.

Et in singulis Obitibus predictis distribuantur inter Canonicos, et omnes alios Ministros Ecclesie Vigiliis interessentes et Misse, quadraginta denarii, per Canonicos domos easdem inhabitantes imposterum annuatim solvendi.

¹ This arrangement would have been in accordance with what Bishop Bronescombe ordained as to the Obits of the canons of Glasney, who built houses of residence for themselves there: "Etsi cultores in vinea Dei laborantes veraciter sunt premiandi, illos tamen in gradu retribucionis ceteris credimus antecellere, quos labor prolixior et stipendia longiora fecerunt anteire. Cum igitur dilecti filii Magister Henricus de Bollet, prepositus, Stephanus Haym, Rogerus de Sancto Constantino, Nicholaus de Tragoreth, Rolandus de Podiford, Ricardus Vivian, Willelmus de Sancto Justo, Robertus filius Roberti, Walterus Peverel, Walterus Fermesham, Durandus Haym, Paganus de Liskered, et Walterus de Tremur, ecclesie beati Thome Martiris de Glasneya primi canonici et ejusdem loci prime fundacionis participes, edificia, mansiones, pomeria, et virgulta de rudi area, singulis Prebendis et Canonicis assignata, construxerint respectu facultatum opere sumptuoso, nos temporalem eorum industriam et laboris prolixitatem retribucione spirituali respicere cupientes, accedente ad hoc decani et capituli nostri Exonie assensu legitimo, tenore presencium ordinando statuimus et statuendo ordinamus, ut predictorum canonicorum singuli successores, futuris temporibus eis succedentibus huiusmodi edificiorum mansionum et virgultorum habitatores, octo solidos annuos die obitus singulorum Canonicorum superius expressis nominibus designatorum, annuatim persolvant, in capitulo loci memorati, ad eorum obitum perpetuo celebrandum: volentes ut quilibet Canonicus duos denarios, singuli Vicarii sacerdotes unum denarium, ceteri Vicarii inferioris ordinis, et Clerici, obituum solempnitati presentes, singulos obolos percipiant annuatim; ita, videlicet, quod quicquid de prefata pecunie summa octo solidorum remanserit, in pane pro anima defuncti Canonici cuius obitus celebratur, ipso die per visum prepositi seu seneschalli eiusdem loci erogando in usus pauperum tribuatur."—22 October, 1272 (*Reg.*, p. 96, edit. Hingeston-Randolph).

Bishop Grandisson probably omitted this ordinance in the revised Statutes for Ottery because he himself meanwhile had constructed houses of residence for the four principal Canons there, and for the same reason he omits also (Ordin. 23^m cap^m) all mention of the plots of ground set apart for such houses.

Preterea, omni anno, post Pascha, domus Canonicorum provideantur per Senescallos scaccarii, et si quid emendandum fuerit injungatur illi cuius sunt, quod citra Festum Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptiste reparentur. Et si hoc neglexerint, per Custodem et Senescallos, citra Festum Sancti Michaelis, de porcione illius reficiantur (cp. Ordinacio 22^m cap^m).

Ceram per totum annum sufficientem pro luminaribus ecclesie, juxta consuetudinem Capelle nostre, in scriptis eis per nos traditam, expendendam, Custos et Collegium ministrent fideliter integre et sine fraude, sub interminacione malediccionis eterne; et parochiani duo ceroferaria continue, et Cereum Paschalem, necnon libros calices ornamenta et luminaria alia, ad que subportanda hactenus tenebantur. Quos ab aliquibus oneribus, videlicet construccione et reparacione Navis Ecclesie et campanilis, campanarum et cordarum supportacione, aut aliis ipsos quomodolibet concernentibus de consuetudine vel de jure, exonerare non intendimus per Presentes. (Statute lxxvij, 1 and 25.)

Nota
reparacio
ecclesie ad
parochianos.

Et quia aliqui forte laici, magis ex malicia et contrarietate quam ex devocione, alias Matutinas quam illas Collegij vendicabunt, statuimus et ordinamus quod Parochiani qui Diebus Dominicis et Festivis, Matutinis et Magne Misse Chori interesse non poterunt, vel nolent, loco Matutinarum Missa Beate Marie sint contenti, Primam et alias Horas diei sequentes, cum nota, si voluerint, audiendo; vel, si maluerint, Sacerdos Parochialis aut alius loco ipsius dicat eis Missam privatam in altari sibi ad hoc assignato, aquam benedictam cum pane benedicto ministrando. In eodem eciam altari fiant Sponsalia et Purificationes et Misse pro corporibus presentibus communibus, statim post Primam, ante incepcionem aliarum Horarum, quasi Missa Capitularis¹; ita quod officium Chori nullatenus impediatur (cp. Statute xlj and Ordinacio 14^m ca^m).

¹ Just as Chapter Mass immediately follows *Preciosa*, or the meeting in the Chapter House directly after Prime (Stat. xxiv). The Missa Capitularis executed daily (except in Easter-tide), on behalf of the House or College as a body, and every member of the same past and present, "pro eorum felici statu dum vixerint et pro eorum animabus cum ab hac luce migraverint," would naturally come to be considered by those who thoughtfully took part in it more and more with reference to the "majority" of the brotherhood and of benefactors who had gone before, than the comparatively few who were living, until at last it was regarded as distinctly a Requiem Mass "pro defunctis." Cp. *Tracts of Clement Maydeston*, H.B.S., 1894, pp. 205-209, and *Rites of Durham*, Surtees Society, 1902, pp. 98, 279. "They went to the chapter-house every day betwixt 8 and 9 of the clock, and there did pray for the souls of all their benefactors and founders: and at 9 of the clock there rung a bell to Masse called the Chapter masse which was sung always at the High Altar." "The High Mass time was at about 10 a.m. Each said his private mass while not assisting at the Chapter mass or at the High Mass, half of the house being present at Chapter mass and half being present at High Mass."

The position of the altar at which it was said varied. *Primâ facie* the fittest place would have been in choir, where the conventus met for worship, rather than the Chapter House, where they met for business and discipline, though it followed immediately after this meeting. Accordingly, at St Paul's, A.D. 1339, "die Mercurii proxima ante diem Pasche, que fuit ix. Kal. Aprilis (24 March), Ricardus (de Bynteworthe) Episcopus dedicavit summum altare in ecclesia Sancti Pauli Londoniis cum duobus altaribus collateralibus, que 'capitularia altaria' appellantur. Summum vero altare consecravit in honorem Sancti Pauli; illud ex parte boreali in honorem Sancti Athelberti regis et confessoris ac eciam dicte ecclesie fundatoris, aliud ex parte australi consecravit in honorem Sancti Melliti confessoris, primi Londoniensis episcopi." *Annales Paulini*, Rolls Series, p. 368. Of the twelve minor Canons at St Paul's in 1360, "sunt duo deputati ab antiquo, qui 'cardinales' vocantur, qui eciam privatorum funerum et anniversariorum recipiunt proventus, et missas celebrent capitulares, ac egrotantibus ministrant ecclesiastica sacramenta; et quilibet ipsorum duorum duplum percipit omnium, que uni minori canonico assignantur, tam in pecunia quam in pane et in cervisia." *Statutes of St Paul's*, pp. 325, 6. Elsewhere also the "missa capitularis" was usually said by a minor canon, for it was reckoned as one of the lesser hours. "Majores hore sunt Matutine, Prima, Major

Habeat eciam dictum Collegium unum *sigillum commune*, quod eis fieri fecimus; quo, ad procuratoria consignanda et alia communia negocia Ecclesie gerenda dumtaxat, utantur. Quod eciam *sub sigillis et custodia* duorum vel trium Canonicorum in cista communi semper *in Thesauraria* remaneat, et non sine magna necessitate, et tunc *coram omnibus* confratribus presentibus, aperiatur seu exhibeatur. (Statutes lxx and lxxj.)

Sub anathemate preterea inhibemus ne predicti Custos aut aliquis Canonicorum predictorum aliquid de bonis quibuscumque eorundem Manerii et Ecclesie, seu aliarum possessionum Collegij habitarum seu habendarum, sibi ipsis, quocumque quesito colore, appropriare aut aliis tradere vel donare presumant, preter areas pro domibus et curtilagiis suis, ac distribuciones et dividendas eis per nos ordinatas; set potius, Apostolorum exemplo, in et de communi imperpetuum vivere teneantur, non superflua set necessaria victui requirendo; nunquam possessiones suas aut decimas habitas vel habendas alicui Canonico seu alteri, nisi Burgensibus

fol. 104^b

missa in magno altari, Vespere, et in quadragesima Completorium, *Placebo et Dirige* pro una hora. Minores sunt Tercia, Sexta, Nona, et Completorium extra quadragesimam, Commendacio cum Missa in Capitulo. Has horas exequatur Vicarius." *York Statutes*, A.D. 1250; *Lincoln*, A.D. 1309. "Missam capituli vicarii successive per ebdomadam celebrent per se vel per alios quos ad hoc possunt providere." Wordsworth, *Liber Niger*, pp. 294, 6. In Exeter Cathedral, similarly to the usage at St Paul's, the Chapter Mass would be usually said at one of the two "altaria collateralia," either that of St Stephen on the north, or that of St John the Evangelist on the south, side of the High Altar within the Presbytery, and to this "in choro sicut fit Exonie" Stat. lxxij may refer. It would not be said at the High Altar except upon special anniversaries or solemn obits, on which occasions it changed places with the High Mass of the day. Doubtless the same practice prevailed in other English Cathedrals and large Collegiate Churches that possessed these "altaria collateralia" thus arranged within the Presbytery, e.g. Canterbury and Worcester. At Ely, Rochester, Bury St Edmunds, Norwich, and Wells, there was an altar "in medio presbiterii" distinct from the "principale altare," and at such altar the Missa in Capitulo would usually be said; it was sometimes styled "altare conventuale, quod est intra chori septa." At Ottery, however, there was no room in the Presbytery either for two such side altars as stood at Exeter, or for any other subsidiary altar, and it would appear from this passage that Bishop Grandisson contemplated Chapter Mass being said at the parish altar in the nave as the most convenient place for the College to meet when they came into church through the cloisters from the Chapter House after *Preciosa*, at any rate "quandocumque corpus adest presens," and the service became an actual funeral service and not merely commemorative. If the Missa Capitularis was thus usually said at this altar, "for all the compeny both for thame that bene lyvyng and also for thame that be passyde owte of thys worlde," then there is a particular significance attaching to the position of the tombs of Sir Otho and Lady Beatrice Grandisson close beside it (p. 37), for there their souls would be specially prayed for daily by name along with other benefactors of the church, and the two extra priest vicars who were added to the original staff out of the Rectory of Northam in 1361 "pro anima prefati domini Othonis specialiter oraturi" would correspond in the functions committed to them to the two minor canons at St Paul's "qui missas celebrent capitulares." That no altar usually stood in any Chapter House itself would appear to be clear from a quotation from Helinand, a member of the Cistercian monastery at Fontfroide in Narbonne, given in Ducange, s.v. Capitulum. "In toto corpore ecclesie, preter illum ubi altare constituitur, nullus locus est sanctior Capitulo, nullus reverentia dignior, nullus Deo proximior," because of the discipline, obedience, and penitence that were therein enforced and effected. Cp. "The story of St Dominic and the devil," *The Golden Legend*, Kelmscott Press, 1892, vol. II, 697, 8. "Ea erat erga Capitulum in quibusdam monasteriis reverentia ut in eo omni tempore lampas arderet," as before the Holy Sacrament or the Rood. It was also a favourite place of burial for distinguished members of the Chapter. In the Ottery Inventory of 1545 no less than ten suits of Mass vestments are recorded to have been kept there, besides those stored in the Lady Chapel and the North and South Vestries. The Carthusians—a rare order in England—sometimes had an altar in the Chapter House; at Hinton Charterhouse a piscina for such still exists, and the supplementary survey of the London Charterhouse (1538–9) gives the contents of the Chapter House as "an alter wythe a table of alablaster wythe vij yoyes of ower ladye." P.R.O. Land Revenue 54/11, fo. 3^b. But at Mount Grace Sir William Hope has found no traces of one.

ibidem de Villa et eorum heredibus, quibus statum perpetuum in hiis que ad presens tenent ibidem facere valeant, *ad firmam ultra triennium tradant* quomodolibet seu dimittant (cp. Ordinacio 23^m cap^m).

Provideant etiam Custos et Canonici predicti per se vel alios sermones fieri ad populum sexies ad minus in anno, in Processionibus eorum coram Cruce, videlicet Dominica prima Adventus Domini, Dominica in Septuagesima, Dominica prima Quadragesime, Dominica in Passione, in Festis Assumpcionis Gloriose Virginis et Translacionis Sancti Edwardi, Regis et Confessoris. Quod Festum sub Maiori Duplici, cum Processione et Luminaribus, perpetuo volumus celebrari (Ordinacio 16^m ca^m)¹. In Die vero Assumpcionis Gloriose Virginis, totum Collegium in claustris, si habeatur, vel in aliquo loco competenti ad hoc providendo, simul comedant; et in signum candide sue Virginitatis, Paradisi care colonis, superpelliceis in prandio utantur, sine quibus nullus penitus ibidem intrare seu convivio interesse permittatur. Ad quod quidem convivium Senescalli scaccarii de bonis communibus necessaria ministrabunt (cp. Statute lj).

In signum etiam gratitudinis atque ad memoriam eorum in eodem Collegio perpetuam habendam Custos, Minister, Cantor, et Sacrista, capam sericam competentem; quilibet vero Canonico aliorum qui residenciam fecerit unam casulam, vel tunicam et dalmaticam, vel saltem honestam albam cum amictu stola et manipulo, vel aliquem librum ipsi Ecclesie utilem, aut saltem viginti solidos sterlingorum, in vita conferant vel in morte. Ad quod eorum bona, ad quorumcumque manus devenerint, sancimus auctoritate presentis statuti efficaciter obligari. Quam quidem pecuniam libris aut aliis ornamentis Collegii precipimus applicari (cp. Ordinacio 24^m cap^m).

Inhibemus insuper, sub pena Excommunicacionis, ne laici vel alii sine habitu, ni forte maior persona fuerit, inter Ministros Ecclesie in choro stare presumant (Statute xxxvij).

Sub eadem pena dictis Custodi et Canonice mandantes ne mulieres de eorum genere seu alias quascumque ad cohabitandum cum eis ibidem, seu perhendinandum ultra duos dies in anno, admittere presumant (cp. Statute lvj).

Nota de mulieribus

Quicquid autem, deductis distribucionibus et oneribus predictis, in fine cuiuslibet termini remanserit, vel per non residencium absenciam excreverit, excepta sustentacione fabrice que ad Custodem et Collegium pertinebit, inter Canonicos residentes equaliter dividatur; et eodem modo, si minus fuerit, de porcionibus residencium defalcetur (Ordinacio 20^m cap^m); semper tamen, si fieri possit, quadraginta solidi in empconem librorum vel vestimentorum, aut alium usum ipsi Ecclesie magis necessarium, annuatim de residencium communicato consilio convertantur, aut pro premissis reponantur; ne, quod absit, ex longo transcurso temporis, eandem Ecclesiam necessariis et honestis de quibus iam providimus contingat destitui ornamentis.

In fine etiam concludendo statuimus et ordinamus, ad maiorem memoriam et firmitatem omnium premissorum, quod Custos et Minister ac ceteri Canonici in Induccionibus suis, et Minister in admissione sua, ut premittitur, de observando presentem nostram Ordinacionem ac omnia et singula capitula in ea contenta, prestant coram Confratribus singulariter singuli, quantum ad eos attinet, juramentum; alioquin Inducciones huiusmodi nullius penitus sint momenti (Ordinacio 25^m cap^m). Et, ne quemquam cuius interest presens Ordinacio et

¹ Bishop Grandisson, 25 May, 1338, had so ordered this festival to be kept (*Reg.*, part ii, p. 875), with the same dignity as that of the Nativity of St John the Baptist. (*Reg.*, part ii, p. 697.)

contenta in ea ad falsam excusacionem lateant quovismodo, decernimus et ordinamus quod eadem in duobus vel tribus libris Chori inseratur, et *quater in anno*, in fine cuiuslibet termini scaccarii super calculo Senescallorum, inter Canonicos in loco capitulari distincte *legatur* et aperte; salva nobis ipsis dumtaxat, pro tempore nostro, potestate premissa inmutandi, nobisque et successoribus nostris cum consensu Capituli nostri ea interpretandi et declarandi, si et quando nobis vel eis videbitur expedire; iure eciam iurisdiccione ac dignitate nostre Exoniensis Ecclesie in omnibus semper salvis (cp. Stat. i).

fol. 105
Nota de
iurisdiccione
Archidiaconi.

Et, ut omnes ministrantes in dicta *collegiata Ecclesia* valeant eo devocius quo *quociens Alissimo famulari*, necnon tollatur eis materia evagandi, et a divinis se officiis absentandi, tenore presencium statuendo interdiciamus et *inhibemus* dilecto filio Archidiacono Exonie, qui est ad presens, et suis successoribus, eorumque Officialibus et Ministris, in Choro eiusdem Ecclesie iurisdiccione exercicium cuiuscumque; ordinantes expresse quod neminem de ministrantibus predictis *preter Ministerium* et eius Capellanum Parochialem ac duos aquebailulos, ut primitus solet, ab eadem Ecclesia extra Parochiam eiusdem, quacunque ratione vel causa, possint quomodolibet avocare, vel alios subditos suos ad capitulum suum ibidem aut sessionem quamlibet convocare (Ordinacio 18^m ca^m).

Si quis autem Collegium ipsum in honore gloriose Virginis et Matris Marie fundatum in personis facultatibus aut rebus ampliaverit, foverit, et defenderit, partem beatitudinis cum ipsa gloriosa Virgine, misericordie matre, eius meritis et precibus consequatur. Qui vero, Dei timore et eiusdem Virginis honore postpositis, contrarium attemptare presumpserit, in districti Judicis, Filij sui, examine, in eternum ignem qui diabolo et angelis eius preparatur nisi resipuerit, condempnetur¹ (cp. Stat. lxxvij).

In quorum omnium testimonium sigillum nostrum Presentibus est appensum. Data in capitulo nostro Exoniensi xxiij. die mensis Januarij A.D. m^occc^{mo}xxvij et consecracione nostre undecimo.

Et nos Decanus et Capitulum Exoniensis Ecclesie predictae, premissa omnia et singula laudabilia et rationabilia reputantes, et ea, quatenus ad nos attinet, approbantes, et eisdem consensum nostrum prebentes corditer et assensum, sigillum nostrum commune fecimus hiis apponi, die, loco, et anno Domini supradictis.

Et ego, Thomas de Nassington Archidiaconus Exonie, pro me et successoribus meis, Archidiaconis Exonie imperpetuum, premissis omnibus et singulis, quatenus ad nos et Archidiaconatum predictum attinet, consenciens, sigillum meum hiis apposui in testimonium veritatis.

¹ Compare the description of the Bosses in the Lady Chapel, p. 72.

STATUTA COLLEGII

Johannes de Grandissono miseracione diuina Exoniensis episcopus, dilectis in Christo filiis, custodi et canonicis ecclesie nostre collegiate sancte Marie de Otery, nostrorum diocesis fundacionis et patronatus, salutem graciam et benediccionem. Volentes ea, que cultus diuini concernunt augmentum in dicto collegio, per nos iam statuta et ordinata perficere, ac ea, que propter prolixitatem¹ in prima Ordinacione omissa sunt, supplere, uobis infrascripta mittimus Statuta a uobis et successoribus uestris sub obediencie et fidelitatis nobis et successoribus nostris sacramento prestitio aut prestando imperpetuum firmiter obseruanda.

Prologus pro
mandato
tunc episcopi
super
statutis.

i. *De presentibus Statutis habendis et legendis.*

IMPRIMIS statuimus et ordinamus, ad tollendam tam ignorancie quam neglignencie omnimodam excusacionem, quod quilibet canonicus per se, et omnes uicarij similiter², et secundarij eciam simul habeant Ordinacionem principalem collegij, necnon ista Statuta sequencia, penes se transcripta. Ita, quod uicarij faciant ea legi in mensa, inter leccionem sacram, quater in anno; et in capitulo semel in anno legantur sine nota, viz., diebus ferialibus per Aduentum, per particulas post Primam, finita leccione capituli.

19^m fo.
p. 171.
Secundi libri
hic incipit
1^m ca^m

De statutis
quater in
anno legendis.

¹ Winton reads "simplicitatem" for "prolixitatem."

² Exon. "simul."

i. Each of the eight Canons was to possess his own copy of the Ordinacio and Statuta; there was also to be one copy for the Priest-Vicars, and one for the Secundaries, that is, ten copies at least were always to be kept in the College. As to the reading at the Vicars' table, cp. Stat. li. The ordinary weekdays in Advent were about fourteen, and the seventy-seven statutes that follow group themselves, according to the subjects dealt with, into about eighteen divisions of unequal length; i. to v. of the Persons on the foundation, vj. to xij. of the services generally, xiv. to xx. of Our Lady's Hours and special masses, xxj. to xxij. of coming to church and clerical attire, xxiv. to xxvij. of Masses, xxvij. to xxxij. of the Books, xxxiv. and xxxv. of the Vestments, xxxvj. to xxxix. of places and discipline in choir, xl. and xli. of the residence of the four Dignitaries and care of the Parishioners, xli. to xlvij. of the Church furniture and the Sacristan's duties, xlix. to lxij. of the Hospicia and the common life of the College, lxij. of the Fabric, lxiv. to lxvij. of the Stewards and their duties, lxvij. and lxix. of the Sacristan and his duties, lxx. and lxxj. of the College Seal, lxxij. to lxxiv. of the Obits and Tolling, lxxv. and lxxvj. of the Ordinale and Statuta, lxxvij. of the Lights. Of these, lxij. to lxvij., and lxvij. to lxxvj. might well form two readings, "bits" or "particulae," to be taken together at one meeting in the Chapter house after Prime. To read the whole at table would take about one hour, hence probably not more than one quarter of the whole would be read at one dinner or supper of the Vicars. Bishop Grandisson had originally intended that the Statutes should be read four times a year in Chapter, once at the end of every three months, p. 132. Those he had just given to Exeter Cathedral were to be read in Chapter there once every month, "ea singulis mensibus, saltem semel, solempniter in capitulo publicetis." 4 January, 1338 (*Reg.*, part ii, p. 863). Augustinian Canons divided their rule into seven Chapters, one to be read each day of the week.

ij. *De induccionibus canonicorum et eorum iuramento.*

2^m ca^m

ITEM, statuimus quod Custos dicte ecclesie in possessionem officij et canonicatus et prebende suorum per nos, et successores nostros, aut nostros uel eorum commissarios, ¶ Minister uero in possessionem officij sui, racione cure annexe, per Archidiaconum loci uel ipsius officialem uel alterius eorum commissarium, inducatur. ¶ Idem autem minister in possessionem canonicatus et prebende suorum, necnon ceteri omnes canonici, et officia habentes,

Induccio per
episcopum.
Induccio per
Archidia-
conum.
Induccio per
custodem.

De iuramento in possessionem officiorum et canonicatum et prebendarum suarum per custodem predictum
 prefato. imperpetuum inducantur. Et statim iuramentum debitum prestant; prout in Ordinacione
 19^m fo. v prima continetur.

ij. The oath taken by the Canons on induction is in Ord. xxv, p. 112. The Minister and his three subordinates (the parish-priest and two benets) were subject to the Archdeacon, Ord. xiv. All the Canons were to be collated by the Bishop of Exeter, Ord. iij and iv, but nothing was there ordered about their actual induction. The "Ord. primaria" is not the "prima ord." of the prologue and epilogue; the latter was the original draft sent to Avignon. "Primaria" refers to its rank and importance, not to its time of issue (pp. 121-126 and note on p. 119), and is synonymous with "Principalis" of Stat. i.

3^m ca^m

iiij. *De condicionibus clericorum recipiendorum.*

De pueris
 recipiendis.

ITEM, statuimus quod nullus uicarius aut secundarius recipiatur, uel aliquid in ecclesia percipiat, nisi secum portet habitum chori bonum et honestum, et bene sciat legere, et cantare Tonaleque cum differentiis, et Uenitarium; de quibus primo et principaliter in eorum recepcione examinentur. ¶ Idem fiat, quo ad habitum, et legere uel cantare competenter, quo ad pueros recipiendos.

iiij. "Tonale cum differentiis," i.e. the eight Gregorian tones and their various endings, and the rules how to use them. "There are only three copies of the 'Tunna,' that is the Sarum 'Tonale' or 'Liber de tonis seu cantu,' known to exist: two are of the XIV. Century, one in the Cathedral Library at Salisbury (MS. 175), the other at Corpus Christi College, Oxford (MS. 44). The third is of the XV. Century in the British Museum (Arundel MSS. 130). The Sarum copy is carefully and the Arundel carelessly written, and probably actually copied from it; its chief value is that it contains pages now lost from the original at Salisbury. Each of the eight tones had one or more *endings* (*differentie*); which of these was used depended entirely on how the Antiphon *began*, the object of the ending being to lead on as smoothly as possible to the Antiphon, which in the case of Introits followed each verse of the Psalm, and in the case of ordinary Psalms the last verse of the *Gloria Patri*. Now in the case of the ordinary Psalms originally the Antiphon only *followed* the Psalm (as it does to this day in the Hexapsalmus at Mattins in the Greek Church), but in order that the choir should know which ending (*differentia*) should be used, someone in the choir was instructed by the Precentor to sing the *beginning* of the Antiphon *before* the Psalm, just far enough to tell which *differentia* would be required for the Psalm. This scrap was technically called the '*variatio*,' or rather contained it." W. J. Birkbeck. "A choir that were properly instructed in the Tonale, as soon as they heard the first notes of the Antiphon precented, would never be at a loss to know what tone and ending were to follow." *The Elements of Plain-song*, 1895, pp. 61, 62. "A Tonal was meant more properly for educational than liturgical purposes." W. H. Frere, *Introduction to Winchester Troper*, H.B.S., 1894, p. xxv. The Sarum *Tonale* is printed in full at the end of the second volume of that author's *Use of Sarum*, Camb. Univ. Press, 1901. It was the rules of the Tonale which Bishop Grandisson desired the members of the Ottery Choir to know by heart, and ear: and to show that each member knew them not merely by rote, but could practically apply them, he had to sing on probation with the other members in choir for a week. Ord. vj, Stat. xj. A copy of the Venitare or "liber ecclesiasticus in quo descriptus est Psalmus cum notis musicis *Venite exultemus Domino*, quo Matutini incipiuntur" was ordered by Bishop Quivil to be provided for every parish church in his diocese, Synod of Exeter, A.D. 1287, cap. 12 (Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. II, p. 139). "Of melodies for the *Venite* there were sixteen, one for each of the eight tones, except the fourth which had five, the sixth which had three, and the seventh which had three." W. J. Birkbeck. The Invitatory, or Antiphon for the *Venite*, was a refrain of few words, on an average from three to sixteen, generally from holy scripture, and was repeated after the first, third, and fifth verses (which in our present arrangement are the second, seventh, and eleventh verses) of the *Venite*. It was called "simple" if led off by one voice, "double" if led off by two, "triple" if led off by three voices, according to the rank of the festival. A full scheme for each of these arrangements is given in *Sarum Brev.*, vol. I, mdxv, and the eight Invitatories for ordinary Sundays throughout the year in vol. II, 3, 4, but the eighty-five Invitatories for festivals and saints' days are given under their proper services. It would be necessary for the Clerks chiefly to know the way to introduce these refrains; the few words themselves would be easily learnt by heart, and they would be always recited to them, with the other special parts of the service, in Chapter at

PRECIOsa the day before they were to be used, in order to prevent any mistake (Stat. x), and if the Clerks had been previously boys in the choir, as Bishop Grandisson hoped, Ord. vij, they would have heard them for ten years. Such refrains simply and effectively accentuated at the beginning of the day's service the thought that should be uppermost in the minds of all regarding the facts commemorated at that season or festival. They thus gave variety and additional beauty to the constant repetition of this Psalm; hence the total discontinuance of these refrains in the daily morning prayer of the English Church is a great loss. Often a Venitium contained also the Hymns that followed the *Venite*, with their musical notation. Cp. Stat. lxxvij, 2. As to "choir habit," see Stat. xxxij n.

iiij. *De etate et qualitate secundariorum.*

4^m ca^m

ITEM, statuimus, quod nullus ad gradum secundarij ibidem citra 19^m annum admittatur; set semper provideatur, quod competentis sit stature, et uoce puerili permutata sonoritatem in uoce uirili, et scienciam legendi et cantandi habeat competentem.

iv. This statute supplements Ord. vij, p. 95. Bishop Grandisson hoped that being over eighteen years of age they would be sub-deacons when elected Secondaries, as at Exeter, where in his *Ordinale*, p. 2, he had expressly stated "duodecim clerici Secundarii diaconi vel subdiaconi esse debent si comode possint." His remark about their height shows his careful regard for symmetry, cp. Stat. lxvij.

v. *De obediencia omnium ecclesie ministrorum.*

5^m ca^m

ITEM, statuimus quod omnes uicarij, et alij presbiteri, ac clerici, statim cum admissi fuerint, iurent obedienciam et fidelitatem capitulo et custodi, [prout in Ordinacione plenius continetur. Winton].

v. Cp. Ord. xxv, p. 112.

vj. *De hora matutinarum per totum annum.*

6^m ca^m

ITEM, statuimus quod Matutine a festo exaltacionis sancte crucis, usque ad cenam domini, media nocte, uel circa: tribusque diebus ante Pascha de sero propter parochianos: et a crastino Pasche, usque ad festum exaltacionis sancte crucis, in ortu solis, uel parum ante, aut statim post, iuxta diei et officij exigenciam,—(exceptis matutinis in principalibus¹ festis inter festa sancte Trinitatis et natiuitatis beate Marie inclusiue de sero dicendis),—decan-
tentur; et tunc loco pulsacionis ad Laudes ignitegium pulsetur usque ad capitulum.

20^m fo.
p. 173.

¹ Winton, "Duplicibus" for "principalibus."

vj. "Secundum antiquam ecclesie Exoniensis consuetudinem per totum annum, nisi in festis duplicibus, a die Trinitatis usque ad vincula sancti Petri (1 August) inclusive, semper media nocte vel cito postea, prout officium exigit, est ad Matutinas surgendum, ita quod semper ante auroram vel in aurora Matutine terminentur." Bishop Grandisson's *Ordinale*, p. 18. This was the monastic use. His order for Ottery is slightly different. There from 14 September to Maundy Thursday (that is during the winter half of the year) Mattins with Lauds were to be sung about midnight. But on Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Easter Eve they were to be said after Evensong and Compline of the preceding day, in order to give the parishioners an opportunity of attending them on those most solemn days when the ritual of the "tenebræ" was peculiarly impressive. Stat. lxxvij, 22. Bishop Grandisson's *Ordinale*, p. 132; *Sarum Breviary* (edit. 1882), i, dclxxiii–dccciv. No peal would be rung for Mattins on those three days, for all bells were silent from the high mass on Wednesday before Easter until Easter Eve. On 24 March, 1423, the warden and canons had licence from Pope Martin V,—since the ministers and servitors for the salary they now receive refuse to be present at midnight Mattins as they used to be, and that furthermore the inhabitants would go to Mattins if they were sung at sunrise or other convenient hour—at their said petition and that of the said inhabitants, that in future they may have Mattins on the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross until Holy Thursday at about the fourth hour after midnight, as they have been wont to do from the morrow of the feast of Easter to the said feast of Holy Cross. Bliss, *Papal Letters*, vii, 277.

In the summer half of the year (from Easter Monday to 14 September) at Ottery Mattins with Lauds were to be sung at about sunrise. As the nights were so much shorter then than in the winter half of the

year the clergy were to take their night's rest in one unbroken whole instead of breaking it into two halves as was done in the longer winter night. In the summer half, however, on certain high days Mattins with Lauds were to be sung when first Evensong with Compline was over. "Notandum quod hec sunt festa in quibus dicuntur Matutine hora Vesperarum secundum usum Sar' ecclesie, viz., in festo sancte Trinitatis, et in festo corporis Christi (i.e. the Thursday after Trinity), et in nativitate sancti Johannis Baptiste (24 June), in festo apostolorum Petri et Pauli (29 June), in translacione sancti Thome Martiris (7 July), in festo reliquiarum (the Sunday after St Thomas's Day), in festo loci et dedicacione ecclesie, si a festo sancte Trinitatis usque ad festum reliquiarum fortasse contigerit tantum." *Sar. Brev.*, I, mxlvii. The "majora duplicia festa" at Sarum were the Purification (2 February), Trinity Sunday, Corpus Christi, [the Visitation, 2 July, Relick Sunday, name of Jesus, 7 August], our Lady's birthday (8 September) [and All Saints]. *Sar. Brev.*, II, 463. At Ottery, according to Stat. lxxvij, 11, those of the above in square brackets were omitted from this class, and the Annunciation (25 March), Ascension Day, St Peter and St Paul (29 June), St Edward the Confessor (13 October), and the Dedication of the Church (first Sunday in October), were added in their stead. Bishop Grandisson's *Ordinale*, pp. 15 and 62, gives, however, a somewhat different list of this class of feasts for Exeter from that he ordered for Ottery. It would seem, therefore, that at Ottery Mattins with Lauds were sung after first Evensong with Compline on Trinity Sunday, on Corpus Christi, on 29 June, St Peter and St Paul (the patronal feast of the Mother Church at Exeter), on the Assumption (15 August), which was a "festum principale" as well as the "festum loci," on the octave of the Assumption (especially ordered to be a greater double, *Ordinale*, p. 253), and on our Lady's Birthday (8 September). Perhaps also on St Thomas's Day, 7 July (*Ordinale*, p. 239, where Mattins are expressly ordered to be said on that day "de sero"), and on St Gabriel's Day, the first Monday in September, a "festum principale" at Exeter, *Ordinale*, p. 15. Stat. xvij. On these six or eight festivals the curfew which was rung about 8 p.m. would be sounding up to the reading of the chapter, or that portion of Holy Scripture which at Lauds followed the five Psalms in that service. Ducange, s.v. "Ignitegium qualibet nocte per annum pulsandum est hora septima post meridiem, exceptis illis festis quibus Matutine dicuntur post completorium, in quibus Ignitegium ex consuetudine non pulsatur." Lichfield Statutes. But the Statutes of that Cathedral in A.D. 1190 ordered "Solet ignitegium qualibet nocte per annum pulsari, set ante Matutinas in estate in festis IX leccionum." At Exeter on Trinity Sunday, the feast days of the Nativity of St John Baptist, of St Peter and St Paul, of St Thomas's translation, and of St Peter in chains, the peal for Mattins was to be rung at such time that the first two nocturns (i.e. the six Psalms with the same number of lessons, or about two-thirds of the service) were to be over before actual sunset. (*Exeter Bellingring*, 9; *Ordinale*, p. 539.)

7^m ca^mvij. *De modestia in officijs diuinis.*

ITEM, statuimus quod tam canonici, quam omnes alij quicumque inferiores ecclesie ministri, officium diuinum, tam nocturnum quam diurnum in choro, et in capella beate uirginis debitis temporibus intrando, remanendo, et exeundo, secundum *Ordinale* et *Consuetudinarium*, que eis fecimus et extraximus ex Exonie et Sarum usibus, cum pausacione et puntuacione debitis, exequantur; a cachinnis, risibus, et colloquijs officio impertinentibus, ac discursibus hinc inde, intus uel extra, et alijs quibuscumque officium impediuntibus, utpote ab inspeccione uel studio librorum non ecclesiasticorum, et a scribendo, uel corrigendo, uel unguis scindendo, aut consimilia faciendo, interim penitus abstinentes. Interim eciam, quod nec oraciones secretas dicant in missa, dum cantanda est; nec eciam in eleuacione Domini dum chorus cantat. ¶ Quodque, si exeant pluries, uel diu, nisi ad necessaria nature, ante totas uesperas cum completorio, uel missam predictas, totum perdant de illa hora.

20^m fol. v

De pena a
choro egre
dientibus.

vij. From Stat. lxxv it might perhaps be concluded that Bishop Grandisson had drawn up both a separate *Ordinale* and a separate *Consuetudinarium* for Ottery besides the present Statutes, which in themselves contain much that would usually be found in both such books. The *Ordinale*, with the Pie, set forth in detail what was the proper service to be taken every day throughout the year, according to the thirty-five alternatives of Calendar which would be occasioned by the yearly variations in the date of Easter, and in the day on which Christmas falls. The *Consuetudinarium* prescribed the manner of conducting

such services, *who* and *what* persons were to take part in each, and *what* special portion of the service was to be assigned to each. Introduction to *Use of Sarum*, Frere, 1898, vol. I, p. xii. Bishop Grandisson in his first visitation of the Cathedral had ordered, 19 December, 1328, "de libris, qui in predicta visitacione defectivi reperiuntur, provideatur ecclesie, et maxime de certo et sufficienti *Ordinale* ac *Consuetudinario* in quibus discrepant ab usu Sarum vel aliarum ecclesiarum," copies should be sent to him for examination, correction, and approval, before the following midsummer day. (Just as Bishop Quivil in his visitation of 1 March, 1283, had also ordered that the "*consuetudinarium* et *ordinale* ecclesie" were to be corrected before Easter in that year.) Bishop Grandisson in 1337, two years before the date of these Ottery Statutes, had issued with the approval of the Dean and Chapter his *Ordinale* for the diocese of Exeter. The first thirteen folios of this work are, however, occupied with the *Consuetudines* of the Cathedral, and the *Ordinale* proper does not begin till fol. 13^b, "premissis igitur generalibus ecclesie Exon' consuetudinibus jam de *Ordinale* specialiter est agendum." That *Ordinale* continued at Exeter till Leland's time who found it still in use there. Bishop Grandisson's successor in the see, Thomas de Brantyngham, sent a copy of the Sarum new *Ordinale* to the Chapter for their adoption, which they approved, 4 December, 1391, "et in posterum observare in omnibus fideliter promisit"; with however the qualifying proviso "si et quatenus istud *Ordinale* non sit contra jura, libertates, et consuetudines istius ecclesie diucius usitatas et observatas, sic et non aliter nec alio modo," and the same reservation was made by Bishop Oldham in 1507. The *Nova Legenda Exon.*, drawn up by Bishop Grandisson, both for the hours and other services, were different in great measure from those at Sarum.

In 1328 Bishop Grandisson admonished all the canons and ministers of the cathedral "quatinus in choro psalmodizando in medio et fine versuum, interposito quodam vocis silentio, uniformem magis solito faciant pausacionem. In Antiphonis quoque, Hymnis, et Responsoriis ita uniformiter cantare, et mutuo se audiendo, pausare satagant, ne aliquis alium, quantum caveri potest, preveniat aut sequatur. Quod ut melius fiat, librorum in notis et textu diligens concordancia procuretur." *Reg.*, part i, p. 436. "Pausacio" was the pause at the colon in the middle of a psalm verse: this was to be long enough to say "Ave Maria." "Punctuacio" is the pointing, the careful observance of the number of syllables to be sung to one or more notes in the verse. In the *Ordinale*, p. 19, Bishop Grandisson bade, "In psalmis et ymnis et ceteris cum deum oratis, iuxta beati Augustini consilium, hoc versetur in corde quod profertur in ore. In vanum enim, si cor non orat, lingua laborat. Nam secundum Ieronimum 'quod flatus carboni, hoc devocio oracioni.' Quia iuxta beatum Bernardum, 'Oracio sine devocione non vox hominis sed pocius est mugitus bovis.' Ut autem devocius sit et planius, est cantandum sine seincopa vel eclipsi, ne mutulatum contra legem deo sacrificium offeratur, et malediccio negligenter agentis opus dei incurrat. Incipiatur ergo simul, et pausetur simul, et finiatur simul, mutuo expectando stando et procedendo, ut vos iugo suavi dominico coniunctos uniformiter ostendatis. Colloquia eciam et murmura, vel que ad rem non pertinent, velud divini cultus venenum, quod totum residuum corrumpit, penitus evitentur. Minus enim culpabile videtur silere, vel abesse, quam trium precedencium obnoxium esse." Private devotions were allowed to the laity at Mass, but not to clerics who should without difficulty follow every word of the service. Cp. *Lay-folks Mass-Book*, E. E. T. S. 1879, pp. xxiii, lxi, 14, 16, 158.

As to misbehaviour in choir, Bishop Grandisson, 15 October, 1330, observes "non sine gravi displicencia didicimus quosdam vicarios, ac alios ecclesie nostre Exon' ministros, in dei offensam et officii divini notabile impedimentum, et ipsorum dampnacionem, ac ipsius ecclesie nostre scandalum, dissolutiones, risus, cachinnos ac alias insolencias, intra ecclesiastici servicii solempnia, quod dictu verecundum ac auditu horrendum est, irreverenter non formidant et dampnabiliter exercere; et, ut de pluribus aliqua specificemus, superius in choro stantes, et luminaria penes se ad Matutinas tenentes, emulsiones vel muncturas candelarum, gratis et scierit, super inferius stantes, in capitibus vel crinibus eorum ad ridiculum projiciunt excitandum,"... "ex humani generis inimici incitamentis"... "Preterea, cum quandoque et nimis ut dolemus sepe in cantando vel legendo minus rite quidam expresse deficiant, alii melius scientes, qui ignorantibus compati et de alienis defectibus contristari pocius deberent, in plurium audienciam ad huiusmodi imprecacionis et derisionis vocem lingua materna prorumpunt—'maledicatur qui ultimo est mentitus.' Item, quidam cum eorum cor in foro, vico, vel lecto sit, licet corpus in choro, opus dei negligenter et fraudulenter transcurrere, quantum ad se attinet, et alios consocios ad idem trahere satagentes, ipsi quandoque ex tedio boni, ipsi executori officii vel aliis, alta voce in Anglico, ut se expediant imperant et injungunt. Preterea, quandoque ex improviso officium inchoantes, quidam unum, alii aliud officium (utpote Antiphonam vel Responsorium vel aliud huiusmodi), incipere et reincipere, cum rixis et discordiis minime verecundantur." *Reg.*, part i, pp. 586-7. That such difference as to what should be sung was not an unusual occurrence even amongst those who

wished to do their duty is shown by an incident related by William of Canterbury after the martyrdom of St Thomas Becket. About twelve days after the event (i.e. about 10 January) the Abbot of Welford sent to the mother church at Lincoln to ask if the news they had heard was true. That night one of the monks, while asleep, saw in a vision one of the elder brethren who was absent from the convent service of Mattins through ill health, reciting, as he was bound to do, the midnight hours alone and privately. This elder summoned the younger brother and another to him to join in the service. When they began as usual the Invitatory for the Epiphany *Christus apparuit nobis* (for it was within the octave of the Epiphany) "prememoratus senior coepit eis resistere, incipiens *Regem martyrum Dominum* (the Invitatory for a martyr's festival). Illi vero *Christus apparuit* repetenti, innuere signis et nutibus prout licuit tum temporis Epiphaniarum quidem debere esse, non martyrum, quae agerentur solemnita. Iste quidem, magis et magis suae importunitati insistens, de Martyribus repetit Invitatorium. Cumque in hunc modum diutius pio certassent litigio, iste in vocem prorupisse visus est *Benedicite*; illisque respondentibus, ut mos est, *Dominus*, intulit se oportere de Sancto Thoma martyre celebrare officium. Sic itaque sopito litigio, inchoatum officium de martyribus simul visi sunt consummasse. Completo igitur, ut sibi visum est, de martyribus officio nocturnali visio ipsa disparuit." *Materials for History of Archbishop Thomas Becket*, vol. I, 149 (Rolls series). Cp. also *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 28, where St Thomas appears in a vision to Benedict of Peterborough on the very night after his murder, and the next two nights, in full pontificals, and when those at the altar began the Introit "*Laetare Jerusalem et conventum facite omnes qui diligitis Dominum; gaudete cum letitia qui in tristitia fuistis; ut exultetis et satiemini ab uberibus consolationis vestrae*" (i.e. for Midlent Sunday), "innuit iis pater pius ne fieret, officiumque doloris et precum absque modulacione musica, voce submissa, in hunc modum inchoavit, '*Exsurge, quare obdormis Domine*'" (the Introit for Sexagesima). Similarly again, p. 298. "Dum clerici et monachi in eius exsequiis *Requiem eternam* inciperent, chori angelorum astantes missam martyris inceperunt, concinentes *Laetabitur justus* (Ps. lxiii. 11, one of the Introits for a Martyr, *Missale Sarum*, 670*) et tunc clerici officium hoc prosecuti sunt." Cp. also Wilkins, II, 245.

8^m ca^mviii. *De gestu standi, et modo psallendi.*

ITEM, statuimus quod in psalmodia, uel alijs cantibus, non inordinate se conglobando, ad libros transferant, set quantum possunt, in locis suis se honeste teneant; nec dum cantant plures simul ad gradum chori stent vnus ante uel retro socium, set equaliter et ordinate; et quod semper incipiant antiphonas cordetenus, et in suis stallis. Nullus eciam ante alium cantando precurrat uel sequatur; set pariter incipiant, medient, et terminent, et se inuicem cantando, stando, et uertendo, uel procedendo, conforment pariter et expectent.

viii. The exact number of books that were to be placed in the choir, so as to prevent any crowding round one volume, is specified in Stat. xxx. Besides the rulers of the choir who usually stood at the choir step, three boys began the Response and Versicle there on Advent Sunday, sometimes four Vicars, at Easter three Secondaries, at Christmas four canons, on Whitsunday seven canons. Each and all of these were to be well drilled so that they might take their places carefully and without awkwardness; rhythm and time were to be kept alike in singing and in movement. They were to begin each verse together, and in the "mediation" or inflexion of the first half, and in the ending or inflexion of the second half, were to act as one. When the choir were to stand up, or sit down, or turn to the altar, and how many at a time, is exactly specified in Bishop Grandisson's *Ordinale*, pp. 8, 9. "Et notandum est quod summi pontifices Urbanus iv et Johannes xxii indulgentias centum dierum concesserunt omnibus se devote inclinantibus quociens nomen Ihesu Christi recitatur in ecclesia...Item, ad altare se inclinent, vel potius genuflectent more ecclesie Romane, cum dicitur hec clausa *Et incarnatus est de spiritu sancto de Maria virgine, et homo factus est*; et statim stent dicendo *Crucifixus eciam pro nobis*, quia Judei irrisorie tunc genuflexerunt," p. 10. (Cp. "De conversione chori ad altare facienda," *Sarum Customs*, ed. Frere, 1898, pp. 19-22, and as to Processions, *idem*, pp. 302-4.) "Preterea quisque clericus se gerat sic in ecclesia, videlicet in psalmo dicendo, ut servet modum canendi, qui Deo et angelis placet et corda quorundam audiencium ad devocionem trahit; teste Bernardo qui ait, Psalmodiam non nimis protrahant; punctum nullus teneat sed cito dimittat. Post metrum bonam pausam faciamus. Nullus ante alium incipere et nimis currere presumat aut post alios nimium trahere vel punctum tenere. Simul cantemus, simul pausemus, semper ascultando." *Sarum Customs*, p. 36.

ix. *De executione faciendorum.*

ITEM, districte precipimus et mandamus quod quilibet officium, ad quod tenetur uel in-^{21^m fol.}
titulatur, aut quod ei assignatur uel iniungitur ab illis, ad quos huiusmodi pertinet iniunctio^{p. 175.}
uel assignacio, illud libenter et humiliter exequatur; uel, si ipsemet non possit, alium pro se^{9^m ca^m}
ad hoc provideat faciendum. ¶ Quod si forte neglexerit, uel quod diabolicum foret facere^{De pena in-}
contempserit, grauiter puniatur; et, si inobediens et rebellis fuerit, amoueatur.^{obedientibus}
^{in choro.}

x. *De preuisione seruicij sequentis.*10^m ca^m

ITEM, statuimus, ne discordia uel murmur in officio ex *Ordinali* oriatur, quod cotidie in capitulo post Primam preuideatur seruicium sequentis diei. Et si quid dubium fuerit, pro tunc terminetur. Et ut hoc arcius obseruetur, uolumus quod omnes qui possunt cotidie ad capitulum venire teneantur, uel saltem in sabbato, ut Exonie fit, ut pro tota septimana sequente officium de quo et qualiter dici debeat provideatur.

x. They were to arrange after Prime what the services of the following day were to be, so that while saying the service there should be no dispute in interpreting the *Ordinale*. The proceedings in the Chapter-house after Prime in summer and after Tierce in winter are described in *Sarum Customs*, pp. 51, 52; but with still greater minuteness in Bishop Grandisson's *Ordinale*, pp. 37-39, 60. A chorister in surplice and black cope "primo loco numerum nonarum, iduum, kalendarum, et etatem lunae, qualis erit in crastino secundum quod dies videbitur exigere pronunciet": then the Lesson from the Martyrology was read: and "obitus, si qui in crastino fuerint, pronuncientur," and if there were any, then the priest said "*Anima eius et anime omnium fidelium defunctorum per misericordiam dei in pace requiescant.* Chorus respondeat Amen. Deinde stans retro lectorem dicat sacerdos '*Preciosa est in conspectu domini, R. Mors sanctorum eius,*'" with other responses and prayers, which varied according to the dignity of the day, as in *Sarum Brev.*, II, 55-56, and I, dcclxxxiv. Then a Secondary read another lesson; and after that, one of the Clerks "Statim tabulam legat quociens legenda fuerit." Other prayers and responses followed, slightly different from those at Sarum. "Deinde tractentur negocia capituli per decanum et canonicos, vel fiant correcciones capitulares. Et si debeat dici missa aliqua de vigilia vel alias dominicalis vel de sanctis in capitulo, id est post capitulum ante Terciam, assignentur aliqui de quolibet gradu, ita quod ad minus octo sint, exceptis ministris indutis, qui eidem intersint misse, ne inhoneste, ut aliquociens contingit, missa dicatur capitularis, quia ipsa est ita ordinaria sicut et magna missa. Omni vero Sabbato per totum annum ibidem ante recessum vicariorum preuideatur de officio chori pro septimana sequente; ita quod non sint dissenciones, quod tam presentes quam affuturi sciant de quo et qualiter per ebdomadam sit faciendum officium in singulis diebus. Accusentur eciam tunc defectus et absencie precedentis septimane." *Ordinale*, p. 39. So, too, Bishop Walter Bronescombe, 15 November, 1275, ordered "quod omnia parlamenta et simplices tractatus Canonicorum die Sabbati et in capitulo tractentur, et statuta ac cetera salubria ibidem legantur et ordinentur. Ita uidelicet quod dum officium maioris misse celebratur talibus non intendant." (Their business discussions were never to be so prolonged as to last over the time occupied in saying Tierce and Sext. "Post Sextam cantetur magna missa, et hoc fiat per totum annum nisi in quatuor temporibus et in vigiliis et in quadragesima, quando jejuniū est ecclesie generalis, tunc enim semper missa dicatur post Nonam de die." *Ordinale*, p. 40.) Bishop Peter Quivil, 6 August, 1283, ordered "quod superior Capituli presidens quolibet Sabbato intersit capitulo ordinaturus cum aliis de servicio sequentis ebdomade, ac correcturus defectus et alia que in preterita ebdomada emerserint corrigenda." Cp. *Ordinacio* xij.

xj. *De cordetenus sciendis, et pena nescientium.*11^m ca^m

ITEM, statuimus quod omnes clerici secundarij, et eciam choriste, *Uenitarium*, et omnes *Benedicamus* consuetos, infra mensem a tempore quo steterint in collegio, cordetenus alicui uicario reddant. Quod si non fecerint, ex tunc medietatem distribucionum eis debitarum,^{21^m fo.^v}
quousque perfecte sciuerint et reddiderint, perdant, Cantori et succentori pro equalibus^{De pena}
ministrorum^{ministrorum}

pro divino
servicio non
scito.

porcionibus insolidum applicandam. Vicarij eciam, et omnes alij clerici, satagant scire cordetenus *Commune Sanctorum*.

xj. As to the *Venitarius* compare note on Stat. iij. *Benedicamus Domino* was the versicle with which the Hours normally ended. When "memorials" were said, a second *Benedicamus* was said after them. The arrangements for singing this versicle were in the hands of the Rulers of the choir. In the *Sarum Customs*, p. 275, three musical settings are given. On simple feasts it was sung by one boy, on doubles by two secondaries and two deacons, or by two boys and two superiors. The versicle was also sung at the end of Mass instead of *Ite missa est* in Advent and in Lent. Twelve inflexions for it in this position are given in *Sarum Missale*, 635. Whenever *Te Deum* was omitted at Lauds, the *Gloria in Excelsis* was omitted at Mass, and *Benedicamus* was substituted for *Ite missa est*. The *Commune Sanctorum* contained the variable portions of services which were common to several feast days of one class or another, Apostles, Evangelists, Martyrs, Confessors, or Virgins, such as had not a full proper service of their own. *Sarum Brev.*, II, 355-458. Bishop Grandisson's *Ordinale*, pp. 281-292; *Missale Sarum*, 657*-734*. This was to be learnt within a month: within a year the Priest-Vicars at Sarum and at Hereford had "scire cordetenus, psalterium et Antiphonarium et Hymnarium juxta exigenciam servicii diei": at Lincoln and at York "psalmos et alia que in ecclesia sunt sine libro psallenda sive cantanda." Cp. Stat. lvij.

12^m ca^m

xij. *De cantandis extra librum.*

ITEM, statuimus quod quando *Inuitatorium* cum psalmo *Uenite* a clericis uel pueris cantari contigerit, sine libro uel lumine, cordetenus decantetur, nisi quando historia propria habetur. Et quod pueri *Uersus Responsoriorum* quos cantant una cum prima dictione *Responsorij* cordetenus semper dicant.

xij. When there was a "historia propria," or series of proper Lessons from Holy Scripture appointed to be read on any particular day, there would be a change of Antiphons and probably of Invitatory, as well as of Responds. The Lessons themselves took their names from the opening words of the Respond to the first Lesson. The reading of each Lesson, whether there were three or nine, was followed by an appropriate Respond of its own, and this by a Verse, and then the last phrase of the Respond was sung over again. They were allotted to different clerics on the same principle as the Lessons, and in ascending dignity. Thus a boy appointed for the week was generally responsible for the first (as referred to in the present Statute), except on high festivals. The third and sixth had special distinction, and the ninth or last still more. They were sung at the choir step, and the choir sat as a rule during the singing of the Verse, or of the whole. They represented the singing of a solo with a short refrain by a chorus; and were expressive of the fitting thought stirred in a pious mind by the Lesson just heard. When learnt by heart and so sung they would appear to be more spontaneous utterances than if merely read off the book.

13^m ca^m

xij. *De dicendis sine nota.*

ITEM, statuimus quod illa que sine nota dicuntur in choro, utpote quotidiane Matutine et Vespere beate Marie, et feriales uigilie mortuorum, et *ad preces* in ferijs, psalmi penitenciales, et cetera talia, sub uno uocis tono, cum aliquali in medio uersuum punctuacione, plane et plene ac vniformiter proferantur.

xij. The "vigilie mortuorum" (*Sar. Brev.*, II, 271-281) were daily said in shortened form, which varied with the day of the week (*Sar. Brev.*, I, xlv-lj), after our Lady's hours in choir, which in turn followed Evensong and Mattins of the day. *Ordinale*, p. 33. The "preces feriales" were said at Lauds, the lesser hours and Compline (*Sar. Brev.*, vol. I, xii, liv; vol. II, 52-54, 89, 238-242), and the seven penitential Psalms on Fridays during Lent. All these were to be said "without note," i.e. not sung, but monotoned "sub uno vocis tono," with a certain stop at the colon; not muttered or said "sub silentio," but "plane et plene," every syllable clear and distinct; not gabbled, but "uniformiter." The tendency was always to recite the service too quickly. When one side of the choir took the first half of a verse in the Psalms, and the other side the second half, often the latter began before the former was complete, so that the one overlapped the other. "Ecclesiae sunt tres qui servicium male fallunt, Momyllers, forscyppers ovyrlepers non bene psallunt." Cp. *Customs of Augustinian Canons*, J. W. Clark, p. 85.

xiiiij. *De quotidianis matutinis et vesperis beate Marie.*

ITEM, statuimus quod quando matutine de sancta Maria dicuntur in conuentu, nullus uoluntarie sine magna causa exeat, antequam finiantur. Vnde remanentibus et deuote dicentibus 15 dies uenie indulgemus.

14^m cam
22^m fo.

p. 177.

De
indulgentia
prima.

xiiiij. "Quando plenum seruium fiat de ea in conuentu," that is when on feast days her hours were not said "in choro," as supplementary to the ordinary daily service, but as a full and complete college service by themselves in the Lady Chapel. (*Sar. Brev.*, i, lxxii-lxxviii.) At the end of Bishop Grandisson's *Ordinale*, pp. 472-5, is an "Ordinale officiorum beate Marie Virginis dicendorum in Capella eiusdem Virginis Exonie per totum annum." This is apparently alluded to in the *Ordinale*, p. 35, in the passage where her ordinary hours as dealt with in the preceding statute are described. But on high days, "Mane hora oportuna fiant tria signa per intervalla cum illa campana que debet pulsari ad missam beate Marie; et interim concurrant qui intulantur ad officium illud beate Marie in ejus capella, et cantent ibidem Matutinas et horas eiusdem, prout ordinavit supradictus Johannes Episcopus. Interim vero pulsetur ad missam eiusdem beate virginis. Et dum missa dicitur pulsetur ad Primam de die, videlicet prima pulsacio ab *Epistola* usque ad *Prefacionem* et secunda pulsacio ab *Agnus dei* usque ad finem misse. Et postea in choro cantetur Prima de die, quod per totum annum observetur nisi in die Parasceues et in vigilia Pasche." *Ordinale*, p. 35. Immediately on arriving in his diocese Bishop Grandisson issued the Indulgentia pro Horis beate virginis, 2 September, 1328. "Johannes, etc., dilectis filiis, decano et capitulo ecclesie nostre Exoniensis ac Vicariis et ceteris ministris ministrantibus in eadem, salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem.—Ineffabilis misericordiae matris beneficia toti humano generi, manu prompta, ab exordio redemptionis nostre indesinenter exhibita et perpetuo duratura, pre cordis oculis jugiter habentes, non immemores quociens nos iuverit, foverit, texerit, et apud Filium excusaverit, Sibique pie reconciliaverit; aliorum mentes ad ipsius amorem et famulatum allicere pariter ac accendere cupimus toto corde. Ipsa enim inter Deum et homines media, velut aqua supracelestis refrigerans fulgurantis iram iudicis, ipsius iudicium ad miserandum miseris inflectit, et tactu arboris vetiti a patria expulsos ad perhennis vite lignum revocat; cherubyn versatilem, ne ultra paradisi incolae terreat, amovendo. Unde, ut experimur, nonnunquam velocius adest remedium ipsius quam Filii nomine invocato; non utique quia ipsa melior est aut potencior quam Ipse, set, sicut accidere solet quod quis predilecti amici proposito nomine efficacius ab alio inpetrat quod reportare sua prece simplici non valebat, ita eius Filius, iudex noster et dominus, singulorum districte merita decernens, invocatus a nobis quandoque non exaudit; set, adhibito matris nomine, Maria, etsi merita invocantis non sufficiunt, suppletibus invocare meritis, statim ad tribuendum quod petitur inclinatur. Si itaque tam utilis et necessaria est in subveniendo clamantibus memoria matris Dei, non mirum si grandem afferat fructum eius in ecclesia quotidianum officium mente sedula persolutum. Omnibus igitur ecclesie nostre Exoniensis ministris in gracia existentibus, in choro ipsius seruium consuetum, maxime vero Commemoracionem ejus semel in ebdomada devote facientibus, necnon nomen Filii sui Jhesu Christi vel Marie, dum cantatur vel legitur, inclinato capite, dulciter recolentibus tociens quociens id fecerint, de Filii sui et ipsius largiflua misericordia confidentes, ultra illas pregrandes Indulgencias quas Urbanum papam quartum et Johannem papam XXII. pie concessisse novimus, omnibus hujuscemodi donativi capacibus, qui ubicumque in divinis obsequiis humiliter caput inclinant in prolacione nominis Jhesu Christi, triginta dies Indulgentie, Deo propicio, concedimus per presentes." *Reg.*, part i, 388. Two years later the bishop again dwells on the same matter, writing to the dean and sub-dean of Exeter, 15 October, 1330, "Est et aliud non tam commissionis quam omissionis peccatum, ibidem in consuetudinem ductum, de quo, si recolitis, per nos personaliter remedium ut credebamus sufficiens tam per simplices admoniciones quam indulgentias allectivas erat tunc appositum, set nunc per incuriam deterius renovatum; quod videlicet in quotidianis matutinis beate gloriose ac dulcissime matris misericordie Marie paucissimi in choro remanent; non attendentes quod, licet quilibet eorum forte distinctius, ut quidam de seipsis judicant, extra eas dicant quam simul in choro, propter vocum diversarum murmuracionem et tumultum discordancium; tamen magis Deo ac matri sue benedictie incomparabiliter ab omnibus simul oblatum munus oracionum est acceptum quam ita separatim in vicis et angulis dictum seu decantatum, tum propter ecclesie unitatem commendandam, tum propter eiusdem consuetudinem statutum et preceptum humiliter observanda, tum propter presentacionem *multarum facierum*, ut ait Apostolus (2 Cor. i. 11, in the Greek, not in the Vulgate); tum quia per se quilibet forte non meretur audiri,

qui propter acceptarum Deo in communi *personarum* ibidem existencium consonas preces posse nulli fideli dubium est *adjuvari*. Et preterea si diligencia sedula ac voluntaria adhiberetur, cum modicissimi temporis additamento, distincte et meritorie Deo laudes debite redderentur, que isto modo satisfactorie vix solvuntur." *Reg.*, part i, 587. See also note to Statute xx.

15^m ca^mxv. *De solempni quotidiana missa beate Marie ; et eius pulsacione.*1^a pulsacio2^a3^a4^aDe ictibus
pulsacionis
in missa.22^m fo.^vDe pena pro
absencia
misse.

ITEM, statuimus quod omni die per annum (excepta feria sexta Parasceues et sabbato sancto), cantetur solempnis missa de beata Maria in capella eiusdem, antequam pulsetur ad Primam diei. Ad quam missam, in omnibus maioribus duplicibus festis per totum annum, maxima campana ecclesie pulsetur. ¶ In medijs uero duplicibus, secunda maior campana. ¶ In omnibus alijs duplicibus, tertia maior campana. ¶ Et quando Inuitatorium triplex habetur, quarta maior. [Et predictae quatuor maiores campane debent pendere, sicut Exonie, in parte ecclesie dextra, et alie cotidiane quatuor in sinistra ; quarum maior semper ad missam beate Marie pulsetur, nisi in predictis temporibus¹ ;] et semper cum illa campana que debet pulsari ad missam beate Marie pulsari debet ignitegium. ¶ Pulsabitur ad missam sic. Primo illa campana, cum qua pulsari debet, tinniat 8 uel 10 ictibus continuis, et facto bono interuallo, quasi dimidij miliarij, pulsetur cum eadem campana per dimidium miliarij ; et cessetur. Et iterum statim repulsetur eadem per tantum tempus ut primo, et cessetur : et statim tercio pulsetur breuius ; et tunc celeriter clerici omnes et pueri, cum duobus ad minus uicarijs, uadant sine mora ad capellam beate Marie, et dictis horis beate Marie, cum sufficiens numerus uenerit, incipiatur statim missa, et terminetur campana ; qui uero tenentur uenire, et non uenerint ante *Gloria patri* officij, grauiter puniantur.

¹ Winton omits all from "et" to "temporibus."

xv. Our Lady's mass was usually said while the bells were ringing for Prime ; but at Ottery it was to be sung "solempniter" and would therefore take rather longer. Lichfield Statutes (1190 A.D.) order, "missa beate Marie ante Primam pulsetur et celebretur ; pulsata uero Prima, dicatur ipsa hora in choro statim." There too the bell-ringing for her mass appears to have been distinctive. "Pulsaciones ad missam beate Virginis fiunt ter alternatim per aliquam magnam campanam." Twenty-one feast days are given in *Sarum Customs*, pp. 28, 181, under the classification "when the Invitatory was led by three voices," and sixteen are enumerated below, Statute lxxvij, 9, 17, as "semi-doubles." The North Tower at Ottery with its four lighter bells belonged to the Parish, and the South Tower with the four heavier bells to the College.

Similarly also at Wells, Canterbury, and Lincoln there were two separate rings of bells hanging each in its own tower. At Lincoln there were two rings and great Tom besides. Eight bells hung in St Hugh's or the South-west Tower, and six bells, our Lady's (in whose honour the church is dedicated), in the central tower ; great Tom hung in the north-west Tower as great Peter does now in the North Tower at Exeter. The singing boys used to ring our Lady's bells for sevice, two for common days, four on eves of Saints' days, on Saturdays and Sundays. This they now do on four of St Hugh's bells, one bell is still rung at 7 a.m....In 1834 our Lady's bells were recast along with the then great Tom, and made into a new great Tom, and two quarter bells for the clock, and hung in the central Tower. At Sarum there were 8 bells in a "clockeard" or campanile on the north side of the church, the tenor named St Osmund. As to the time during which the bells were to chime Lichfield Statutes (1190 A.D.) order "In omni pulsacione ad Vesperas (preterquam ad Vesperas in Quadragesima) et in omni pulsacione Matutinarum et Prime hore diei, et Collacionis in Quadragesima, debet primus pulsus durare ad estimacionem itineris unius milliarii (i.e. about twenty minutes), et pulsus Ignitegii fere tantum, set non omnino." No doubt the bell-ringer knew, by habit and practice, exactly how many of his strokes or steps would be thus required. So "half a mile" would be about ten minutes, the average time occupied in walking that distance. Thus in Chaucer, *Shipmann's Tale*, 276, "a myle-wey," i.e. about twenty minutes ; "a furlong-wey or two," i.e. three or five minutes, *Clerke's Tale*, 516 ; "a furlong-wey," *Legende of Good Women* ; *Hous of Fame*, 2054 ; "and if I slepe a furlong-wey or two," *Anelida*, 328 ; cp. Skeat's Chaucer, notes to *Canterbury Tales*, pp. 172, 346, and

other similar passages. In the East, distance is still measured chiefly by time, one place is "an hour" or "half an hour" distant from another, so in German "eine Stunde weit entfernt." In the West, however, time was more usually measured by distance, as above—notion of time and space being in each case instinctively interchanged. Further, it should be remembered that it is only since the fourteenth century that we have become accustomed to each hour being of equal length, and so divisible into minutes; for the preceding two thousand years, and all the world over, it was not so. The day was reckoned from sunrise to sunset, and the night from sunset to sunrise, and day and night each always contained twelve hours; the consequence therefore was, that each of the night hours in winter and each of the day hours in summer were very long, and the day hours in winter and the night hours in summer were very short. Except at the spring equinox towards the end of March, and the autumn equinox towards the end of September (when the days and nights are equal in length, and so each of the twelve hours of the day and of the night were of equal length), the length of an hour was an ever variable quantity from day to day, and so any shorter period than an hour had of necessity to be defined by the time occupied by some motion of the body or the mind, the former as in the instances quoted above, and the latter by such instances as the saying of the seven penitential psalms (about fifteen minutes) or five pater nosters (four minutes) or an Ave Maria, etc.

xvj. *De spaciando inter matutinas et missam beate Marie.*

16^m ca^m

ITEM, statuimus et precipimus quod semper inter Matutinas et pulsacionem misse beate Marie fiat largum et maximum interuallum. In quo pausare si oportet, et in estate missas suas celebrare, uel ad campos spaciari, aut scribere poterunt uel studere. In spaciando uero et ad villam eundo, non soliuagi, set bini ad minus, quociens poterunt incedant; pro sinistra suspicione et scandalo euitandis.

xvj. Mattins (de die) would be over by dawn in the summer half of the year, Stat. vj. Then the Morn-Priest would say the "morrow-mass" (at about 4 a.m.) at our Lady's altar "outside" the entrance to the choir in the transept on the south side of the Rood (pp. 48, 54), for the labourers who cared to attend before going to their field-work. [It was said at 5 a.m. at Lichfield in St Chad's Chapel A.D. 1420. Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VIII, 1262.] After that would follow a more or less constant succession of private masses by various priests (Stat. xxiv) at the other seven lesser altars in the church, so that any townspeople who came in then for their devotions would always find a service going on to join in. Thus at Lincoln in the *Novum Registrum* it was laid down, "a missa que ex more in aurora diei celebratur ita celebrent continue et successive usque ad Missam beate virginis; ne tempore ipso intermedio pro divinis audiendis convenientes, ecclesia cathedrali dimissa, petant oratoria exteriora. Proviso quod, antequam is qui prior inceperit missam impleverit posterior suam incipere non presumat." *Lincoln Statutes*, II, 361. All such masses were to be over at Ottery before Prime. Stat. xxvj and xlj. But at Norwich "nullus sacerdos celebret quousque Prima canonice sit completa." 1257 A.D. Wilkins, I, 735, 668. At Worcester, 1240 A.D., "quia, sicut accepimus, quidam capellani ad annualia vel ad officium beate Virginis assumpti interdum Matutinis praepositis, aut seorsum a choro vel ab ecclesia per se dictis, Missas celebrant immature, per campos vel per villas postmodum currentes:—precipimus ut omnes capellani qui in una parochia commorantur, simul intersint et convenient Matutinis et Vesperis et aliis horis canonicis in ecclesiis celebrandis, et Missis, et maxime de die, nisi causâ rationabili fuerint impediti; nec aliquis celebret quousque Prima fuerit canonice completa." Lyndwood, III, tit. 23, "Primam," p. 236. (That many of the laity did attend such daily services is clear from Piers Plowman, Passus v, l. "The kyng and his knightes to the kirke wente to heere matyns and masse and to the mete aftur." Ed. Skeat, 1886, vol. I, 122, and from quotations in *Layfolks Mass-book*, p. xxxix.) So also at Exeter Bishop Brantyngham, 20 September, 1387, "Quia ea, que ad laudem et honorem Dei et devocionem populi ampliandam tendere dinoscuntur, perfectius et peramplius sunt agenda, precipimus et mandamus quod annuellarii in dicta ecclesia nostra existentes, omnes et singuli, post Missam 'de Bratton' vulgariter nuncupatam decantatam, successive et devote, ut convenit, Missas studeant celebrare, ut eas valeant audire ad eandem ecclesiam diversis vicibus concurrentes, cum omnes ad eas audiendas simul nequeant convenire." *Reg.*, part II, 665. In Cheapside the shops were not to be opened till Prime was rung at St Paul's (perhaps in order to give the citizens a free opportunity of attending church). Meanwhile those of the College who were not engaged in the church in these private services would gladly use the hour and a half, or thereabouts,

from Mattins up to half-past five o'clock in spring, summer and early autumn, for a walk before breakfast in the fields, woods, and hills round Ottery, or in quiet study. Bishop Grandisson doubtless knew the pleasure to mind and body that comes from thus using the fresh morning hours, and how either would tend to render the feelings the fitter for the next act of worship. "Walking alone was not merely unmonastic, it was considered undignified or bad form for persons of the least consideration." Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, II, 654. "Cum post Vesperas communiter scolares spaciari et aerem capere paulisper consueverant, volumus quod socii qui spaciari volunt adinvicem se conferant et ambulent bini et bini, de doctrina vel de honestis solatiis conferendo, et sic simul redeant tempestive." Archbishop Islip, *Constitutions for Canterbury Hall at Oxford*, A.D. 1362. Wilkins' *Concilia*, III, 54. *Lincoln Statutes*, part II, 351, 353, 362.

17^m ca^mxvij. *De sancta Anna ; et Gabriele archangelo.*

De oblatione
beate marie
et missis.
23^m fol.
p. 179.

ITEM, statuimus quod in crastino sancti Iacobi apostoli fiat solempnissima missa de sancta Anna, matre beate Marie, pulsando ut in principalibus festis, loco etiam et tempore quo alias dicitur missa beate uirginis, cum diacono et subdiacono et duobus rectoribus chori; et dicatur a digniore collegij presente, in uestimentis candidis, cum incenso et alijs solempnitatibus. ¶ Eodem modo fiat solempnis missa, feria secunda post inchoacionem historie *Si bona* [*suscepimus de manu Domini*] et cetera, de sancto Gabriele Archangelo; quo die fit ejus festum Exonie. Set apud Ottery fiat eadem die de sancto uel de feria totum; excepta missa beate Marie que erit de ipso Archangelo. ¶ Eodem modo fiat in crastino sancti Edmundi regis et martiris missa de oblatione beate Marie uirginis. Vnde omnibus ad predictas tres missas uenientibus, et ipsas deuote audientibus, concedimus 40 dies indulgentie.

De
indulgentia
secunda.

xvij. The morrow of St James the Apostle is 26 July. The feast of St Anne was newly coming into vogue. In 1336 a *Recommendacio* of St Anne was added to the Ave Maria at the close of all hours and masses of our Lady. In 1351 her festival was enjoined as a double in the province of Dublin (Wilkins, III, 18), but not till 18 May, 1383, by Archbishop William Courtenay for the province of Canterbury, in accordance with the bull of Urban VI, dated 21 June, 1381, on the occasion of the marriage of Richard II, with Anne of Bohemia. Before that date Rome had neither day nor office set apart in her honour. (Wilkins, III, 178.) It is entered however in the Kalendar of the Westminster Mass-book. (1362-1386.) The mass for her feast is in *Missale Sarum*, 825. There is no notice of St Anne's festival in Bishop Grandisson's *Ordinale*, 17, or 243. But at Ilstington, rescued from the binding of one of the parish books, they have the remains of a St Anne's mass in a fourteenth century hand that may have come there from Ottery. She appears in paintings with our Lady and Child, with Elizabeth and the Baptist as child, herself with the blessed Virgin as child, in the Basilica of St Maria Antiqua in the forum at Rome. Between 685 and 741 nine of the Popes were Syrians or Greeks: and at Constantinople in the sixth century Justinian had erected a church in St Anne's honour. When it was rebuilt 150 years later a Bishop of Rome was present. Pope Constantine, a native of Syria, ruled from 709-711: and her body was "translated" thither from Palestine in 710. He probably ordered the paintings in St Maria Antiqua on his return to Rome, and about the same time her relics arrived there. On the introduction of the cultus of St Anne in the West, see *English Hist. Review*, January, 1903, p. 107.

Si bona etc. are the opening words of the Responsory after the first lesson from Job i. read on the first Sunday after August 28. *Sarum Brev.*, I, mclxxx. At Exeter St Gabriel's feast was kept as a greater double. *Ordinale*, pp. 15, 187. This was in accordance with Bishop Bronescombe's ordinance issued 5 September, 1278, wherein he states, "Eo puriori desiderio et fervenciori zelo felici celestis curie senatui, licet nostro non eget ministerio, honorem quem possumus pro nostro infirmitatis modulo impendere nitimur, quo eundem humane fragilitatis custodie credimus et speramus deputatum, certis beatis spiritibus angelicis certis fidelium animabus a summo celi opifice misericorditer assignatis. Proinde celebrem eiusdem curie Paranimphi, sancti videlicet Gabrielis, memoriam, cuius beneficium, divina volente clemencia, frequenter sensimus nobis profuisse, sicut possumus honorare cupientes," he appropriates to the Dean and Chapter the Rectory of St Breward in Cornwall, in order that they and their successors "singulis annis, prima die Lune mensis

Septembris, in nostra maiori ecclesia beati Petri Exonie, eiusdem sancti Gabrielis memoriam consimili honore in luminaribus et aliis que in die Natalis Domini vel Pasche fieri consuevit, sollempniter celebrent imperpetuum." Whereat every canon being present was to receive 2s.; every vicar 1s.; every secondary "in sacris constitutus" 6d.; every chorister 2d. On the day following, being Tuesday, the Dean and Chapter were to hold in the church, "sollemnibus anniversariis dies pro anima nostra et pro animabus bone memorie Willelmi [Bruere] et Ricardi [le Blonde] predecessorum nostrorum episcoporum Exonie, et pro animabus patris et matris nostre, benefactorum nostrorum, omniumque fidelium defunctorum," with payment to those present as on the Monday, and "quingentos pauperes debiles" to be fed annually on that day "ita quod annona cuiuslibet unum denarium valeat in esculentis et poculentis." Bronescombe, *Reg.*, p. 243. There is a special service held to this day in St Gabriel's chapel (at the east end of the south choir aisle at Exeter, on the north side of which chapel Bishop Bronescombe lies buried, ob. 22 July, 1280) on the 26 July, and another also on St Michael's day. At Ottery the day was not to be kept as a double feast as at Exeter and at Glasney Collegiate Church (Grandisson, *Reg.*, 755); the only point was that St Gabriel's Mass was to be sung instead of the Lady Mass, the rest of the service both at hours and mass was to be that of the day whatever it might be. Two masses for St Gabriel are printed in *Sarum Missale*, 911*-916*, immediately preceding that for the Presentation of Our Lady, 917*, 918*, to be said on 21 November. That day is entered "Oblacio beate Marie Virginis" on the Kalendar of the Westminster Mass-book, which dates from 1362 to 1386, and in that of the Sherborne Mass-book which dates between 1396 and 1407. (*Missale West.*, vol. III, p. 1446.) The event itself is depicted on a boss in the centre of the choir at Ottery, and so likewise is St Gabriel (cp. p. 64). The *Officium presentacionis beate Marie* is printed in *Sarum Brev.*, II, 329-351. There is no notice of the festival in Bishop Grandisson's *Ordinale*, p. 277. In the Kalendar 21 Nov. is entered as a greater double, being *Dedicacio ecclesie beati Petri Exon'*.

xviii. *De instruccione organici cantus.*

18^m ca^m

ITEM, statuimus quod Cantor, et Capellanus beate Marie, per se uel alios, teneantur semper pueros choristas et clericos de secunda forma ad hoc habiles, in cantu organico et organicis instrumentis informare, et uideant quod tam clerici secundarij quam pueri frequentent missam beate Marie; uel grauissime puniantur¹.

¹ Winton adds: "et gratiam beate uirginis perdant."

xviii. "Cantus organicus" is music in parts. "Organum" is a term implying harmony. "Descant" was an independent melody accompanying the plain song, and was intended to produce an agreeable harmony to the ear. The instruments too would not play the plain-song tune but an accompanying melody. Grove's *Dict. of Music*, 1907, vol. III, 565, 6. *Winchester Troper*, xxxviii-xl. There is a note by Sir John Stainer on the subject in the *Registrum statutorum et consuetudinum ecclesie cathedralis S. Pauli Londinensis*, 1873, p. 73. As to the use of organs, that is any instruments whatever in churches, cp. Durantus, *de ritibus ecclesie*, lib. I, c. 13. On the front of Bishop Grandisson's minstrel-gallery in the nave at Exeter angels are sculptured playing all sorts of musical instruments. The instructions at Ottery would take place in the gallery at the west end of the Lady Chapel (p. 70). At Exeter, as at Ottery, "est preterea unus qui vocatur clericus beate Marie, sacerdos tamen ordine, qui habet custodiam capelle beate Marie et omnium ad eandem pertinentium, et habet annuale officium annexum, et debet interesse matutinis et omnibus horis ac Misse beate Marie cotidie, et quod debito modo omnia fiant providere, et absentes puntuare et puerorum defectus et delicta, dum ibidem officio intersunt, succentori notificare." *Ordinale*, p. 5. Ord. v and xiii.

xix. *De ueniendo ad missam beate Marie.*

19^m ca^m

ITEM, statuimus quod omni die ad minus vnus Canonicus, qui benedictionem beate Marie habere uoluerit, intersit misse sue, ut superuideat quod honeste et deuote dicatur.

¶ Similiter alij canonici et uicarij, qui non fuerint tunc racionabiliter occupati, nisi missas 23^m fo.^v suas interim dicant, uadant ad missam beate uirginis, si eam plus diligant quam uanitates suas, ut ipsi benedictionem matris Christi et gratiam filij uberius in suis necessitatibus consequantur. Vnde et interessentibus 20 dies uenie cotidie impartimur.

De terciis
indulgentia.

xx. *De pena non ueniencium ad eandem missam.*

ITEM, iniungimus in uirtute obediencie, tam Cantori quam Sacriste, ac eciam Capellano beate Marie, quod uideant qui secundarij tarde ueniunt ad missam beate Marie, uel male ibi se gerunt, et eos faciant puniri per custodem et senescallos, sicut malos et ingratos beate Marie seruos; si eiusdem uirginis adiutorium in hora mortis desiderant optinere.

xx. At Exeter by Bishop Bruere's ordinance (1237) five out of the twenty-four priest vicars, five out of the twelve secondaries, and four out of the fourteen boys, "cotidiane misse beate Virginis in capella ipsius in eadem ecclesia Exoniensi, omni excusacione postposita, diligenter intererunt et devote"; and "qui facere neglexerit nec alium sui ordinis ad hoc necessarium pro se subrogaverit," was to be fined accordingly. The ill attendance of the Clergy at our Lady's hours complained of by Bishop Grandisson, in 1330, as quoted above under Stat. xiv, appears to have increased at Exeter; for Bishop Brantyngham ordered, 20 September, 1387, "quatinus ob honorem genitricis dei, Marie Virginis gloriose, omnes et singuli vicarii ecclesie nostre matutinis de eadem beata Virgine Matre domini, quotiens eas in choro post matutinas de die dici contigerit, ut tenentur, studeant interesse, a choro predicto ante complecionem earundem matutinarum de beata uirgine nullatenus recedendo, sub excommunicationis maioris pena in singulos in hac parte culpabiles non immerito promulganda." *Reg.*, part ii, 666.

In the fourteenth century the devotions to our Lady had attained a considerable development from that which prevailed in earlier times. In the second century the parallel between her and Eve, as between Adam and Our Lord (St Paul, 1 Cor. xv. 22), was common. "As Eve had brought about the curse by listening to the serpent, so Mary the blessing by listening to the Angel" (Justin Martyr and Tertullian). During the first four centuries, however, she was apparently not invoked. From the time of St Athanasius the title Θεοτόκος, *Dei Genetrix*, was hers, and is so used at the Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431. In the popular mind the fuller development of the doctrine of the Divinity of Our Lord inevitably tended to obscure His Humanity. Thus "the loving sympathy of one who could be touched with the feeling of our infirmities was transferred to Mary, whose mediation with her Son, the stern and terrible Judge, was every day felt to be more necessary to weak and erring mortals. Add to this the chivalrous sentiments and the respect for woman among the northern nations of Europe, and we shall not be surprised at the subsequent developments." Henceforward Our Lady's feast days were multiplied. The oldest of these, that of the Purification of the Mother of the True Light (2 February, the old lustral month of the Romans), dates from the time of Justinian, A.D. 542. That of the Annunciation (25 March, on which day the pagan feast of the *Hilaria matris deorum* was also held) from the end of the sixth century, and in 680 the Council of Trullo ordered it to be kept even in Lent. That of the Assumption (15 August) dates from the beginning of the sixth century. Bäumer, *Hist. du Bréviaire*, Paris, 1905, i, p. 267. Every Saturday was set apart for her special commemoration and service, in 1096 for the clergy, and in 1229 for the laity. Our Lady's Hours "seem to have originated in a special commemorative service to be used during Advent in connexion with devotion to the Incarnation; just as still later we find the Hours of the Passion (Horae de sancta cruce) and the Hours of the Holy Ghost (Horae de sancto spiritu) drawn up, apparently, as special commemorative services for use at Passion-tide and Whitsuntide. As time went on, the constant public use of the full daily hour-service in church, at which all were expected to attend, fell off; while the clergy, being bound in any case to say their hours, were allowed to repeat them privately. The laity were relieved from the use of the full hour-service of the Breviary, and these shorter commemorative services were then made of general application, instead of being supplementary devotions to be used merely during the season of the year to which they were especially appropriate. They thus came to be more constantly found in the layman's prayer-book. With the growth of the devotion to the Mother of our Lord, the *Advent Hours of the Incarnation* took the form, or rather the name, of Hours of the *Blessed Virgin* used constantly throughout the year." H. Bradshaw, *The Hibernensis*, p. 55. "There does not appear to have been any recitation of a *cursus* in honour of St Mary earlier than the tenth century. In the next century letters of Peter Damian, written about 1056, refer clearly to the recitation of such an office." *Facsimiles of Horae de B. V. M.*, by E. S. Dewick, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1902, p. ix. The Ave Maria as a church formula dates from 1196, and the Angelus or repetition of the same at Morn, Noon and Night from 1287. Stavenby, Bishop of Coventry, ordered it 1237, and the Friars minor at Padua in Chapter 1296 A.D. ordered "Pulsetur in locis singulis de sero campana ter paulatim ad honorem virginis gloriose, et tunc fratres omnes genuflectant et dicant ter Ave Maria gracia plena." *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, July,

1903, p. 495. St Dominic, 1210, introduced the Rosary or string of beads to facilitate the repetition of 15 Paternosters and 150 Ave Marias. In the eleventh century Peter Damian, in the twelfth Bernard (b. 1091), in the thirteenth Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274) and Bonaventura accentuated still further this growth of devotion, "ut ipsa sit Regina misericordiae ut Christus est Rex justitiae." Her house from Nazareth was translated to Loretto, 1294. All Cistercian churches are of St Mary. The festival of the Visitation (2 July) was ordered by Pope Urban VI in 1389; that of the Nativity (8 September) dates from the tenth century; but Innocent VI added octaves to it, and Gregory XI, in 1372, prefixed a vigil. The festival of the Conception by St Anne (8 December) was instituted by the Canons of Lyons in 1140; but the Council of Oxford, 1222, left its observance optional for England till 1383. The oblation or presentation of St Mary in her third year (21 November) was known in the East in 1150, but not generally adopted till 1375 in the West. "Regarding the worship of the Virgin, as the deification of Beauty and Goodness, from an historical point of view, who can dispute the immense gain to humanity of the substitution of such worship for any pre-existing idolatry? (as that of the Canaanites, the deification of Cruelty and Vice, against which the Mosaic law was directed, or that of the Greeks, the deification of Beauty and Intellect). Contrasting it even with some other forms of Christianity, say with the more rigid Calvinistic school, we can see reasons why the continued existence and prevalence of Mariolatry should have been permitted 'for the hardness of men's hearts' by Divine Providence. Tenderness, gentleness, reverence, sympathy; enthusiastic devotion to high objects; a deepened sense of the gracious dignity of motherhood; joy in all beauty, whether of art or nature, as the outward manifestation of the Supreme Beauty; a kindly natural piety breathing trust and hope; some faint reflexion of the modest meekness, the resigned submission, the pure unruffled calm of the maiden of Nazareth,—such we might anticipate would be some of the effects of the contemplation of so noble an ideal. And such, no doubt, have been its effects in thousands of simple believers, to whom Mary has been the authorized representation of the Divine goodness. But even so, there are certain qualities of mind and character, such as veracity, justice, fairness, honesty, an open eye, robust common sense, large-minded considerateness, which are liable to fall into the background, when the feminine ideal, often coloured by mediaeval modes of thought, bulks so large in the foreground....Where the sovereignty of Mary has tended to eclipse the sovereignty of God, the idea of Goodness has been exchanged for that of mere weak indulgence, while the thought of the All-Holy and All-Just has been first shrunk from, and then forgotten. ...The sense of personal responsibility, of the inexorable claims of duty, of the heinousness of sin, has been perilously weakened by the fatal error which led to the separation of the spheres of mercy and justice, assigning the former to the Madonna, the latter to her Son. The God of Love, the meek and lowly Saviour, are robbed of their highest prerogatives, while the Virgin and the Saints, whose perfection on earth consisted in conforming their wills to the Divine will, are too often represented in popular Catholicism as seeking to resist and control that will." Professor J. B. Mayor, art. "Mary," Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. III, 286-292. In the East a Queen-mother's influence has ever been preponderant.

Both Bishop Grandisson and King Edward III in their devotion to our Lady were pre-eminently children of their age. In 1339 our Lady was universally considered as the highest Ideal of Virgin Purity, Beauty, and Goodness. Every Knight was a sworn servant of our Lady, and to her he looked for success and victory. Even Wycliff, who died in 1384, wrote in his early days, "It seems to me impossible that we should obtain the reward without the help of Mary. There is no sex or age, no rank or position, of any one in the whole human race which has no need to call for the help of the Holy Virgin." At the beginning of his career it was noted of King Edward III that he, like King Arthur, was called to the Kingdom of Britain in the fifteenth year of his age. Arthur, "propter verum dilectionis indicium in scuto depictam gessit imaginem Virginis gloriose. Edwardus rex junioris etatis in regni solio sublimatus benedictae Virginis speciem ob purum devotionis affectum secum defert sculptam in cordis triclinio reverenter, cuius etiam nomen mellifluum in ipsius ore frequenter residet nominandum." "*Gesta Edwardi III*" in *Chronicles of Edward I and II*, Rolls Series, vol. II, p. 95. And on escaping from shipwreck for the second time in the Channel (the first having been after Sluys) on his return from France in 1347, the King "in talem admirativam querimoniam prolapsus est, 'O bona domina mea Maria! quid est et quid protendit quod tendendo versus Franciam aura grata potior, mare arridet, et cuncta mihi eveniunt prospere, sed in redeundo versus Angliam infortunia nimis adversa perpetior,'" *op. cit.*, p. 294, and again p. 151, at the close of his life, "hic prae omnibus regibus Anglorum devotissimus erat Virgini beatae, quam semper habuit protectricem." He associated also both our Lady and St George in the rededication of Henry III's chapel of St Edward the Confessor at Windsor. Of Bishop Grandisson, Adam Murymouth, who was canon and precentor of Exeter

under him, notes in the *Continuatio Chronicarum*, Rolls Series, pp. 55, 56, "Anno domini 1327 papa fecit consecrari dominum Johannem de Grandissono in episcopum Exoniensem in festo sancti Lucae evangelistae (18 October, being that year the nineteenth Sunday after Trinity); qui in Romana curia per aliquod tempus tardavit, pro diminuenda quadam inmoderata obligatione per predecessorem suum Jacobum in camera papae pro servitio communi nominato." (This would be probably six years' income of the See, three for his own provision, and three for Bishop Berkeley's provision who had died within the first few months of his Episcopate, cp. note, p. 126.) "Quod servitium multas ecclesias in servitum diabolicam redegit, ut paene Simoniacam haeresim, salva gratia Romanae curiae, sapere videatur. Cuius promotio fuit in die Cinerum (16 February, 1328) postea Exoniae publicata; et in octava die Assumptionis (22 August) ob devocionem glorificationis seu resurrectionis beatae Virginis, quae per octavarum significatur numerum, fecit se in ecclesia Exoniensi intronizari, accepto in sermone themate, '*Tenuisti manum dexteram meam, et in voluntate tua deduxisti, et cum gloria suscepisti me*' (Ps. lxxii. 24), de beata Virgine exponendo. Constituitque postea ut eadem dies celeberrima in ipsa ecclesia haberetur; similiterque ut in capella eiusdem Virginis tam matutinae quam vesperae et aliae horae de eadem quotidie cantarentur, cuilibet feriae per hebdomadam officium juxta beatae Mariae festa distinguendo, et in singulis anni temporibus officium proprium ordinando. (Cp. *Ordinale Officiorum B. M. V. dicendorum in capella eiusdem Virginis Exon. per totum annum. Ordinale*, pp. 472-475.) Fundavit etiam idem Johannes Episcopus novum collegium canonicorum et clericorum saecularium apud Otry sanctae Mariae, eiusdem dioeceseos, in honore Virginis gloriosae."

21^m ca^mxxj. *De introitu et exitu, et habitu [in] ecclesia.*

ITEM, statuimus quod nullus clericorum, et precipue puerorum, inter officium diuinum intret et exeat, uel discurrat, sine licencia Cantoris uel Succentoris; quodque nullus post pulsacionem misse beate Marie usque ad prandium, nec post pulsacionem uesperarum usque ad cenam, ecclesiam sine habitu ingrediatur; nisi maior necessitas hoc requirat.

xxj. At Exeter Bishop Bronescombe, 15 November, 1275, after visitation of the Chapter wrote, "Honestatem ecclesie nostre zelantes, ut tenemur, precipimus ne quis Canonicus, Vicarius, aut alius attitulatus in habitu seculari ambitum chori ingrediatur, vel per eum transeat aut moretur in eo, a pulsacione ad missam beate Virginis et deinceps, sub pena amissionis superioris indumenti quod ipsum gestare contigerit, usibus clericorum de secunda forma et puerorum convertandi." And Bishop Brantyngham, 20 September, 1387, "Cum ex insolentis et indevotis actibus clericorum, et presertim virorum ecclesiasticorum, decus ecclesie honestasque cleri diminuantur sepius et decrescant, ac populi devocio subtrahatur, et exinde grave scandalum oriatur, precipimus et mandamus quod nullus canonicus, vicarius, annivellarius aut secundarius ecclesie nostre extra chorum eiusdem, in ambitu ipsius chori, seu in ecclesia ipsa, dum divina officia in choro ipso peraguntur, in habitu suo vel sine, ut fieri solebat, discurrat aliquo modo seu vagetur." *Reg.*, part ii, 666. The service would be continuous from the ringing to Lady Mass, to the breakfast or dinner hour—(Prime, *preciosa*, chapter-mass, tierce, sext, High Mass, nones)—and from Evensong to the supper hour.

24^m fo.
p. 181.
22^m ca^m

xxij. *De habitu extra non ferendo.*

ITEM, inhibemus ne uicarij, aut clerici, seu pueri uadant ad forum seu domos in uilla cum habitu chori¹.

¹ Winton adds: "nec extra classicum (*sic* pro clausum) nisi quando processiones fiunt."

xxij. Bishop Bronescombe's ordinance to Exeter Chapter, 15 May, 1268, confirmed by Cardinal Ottobon at Canterbury, 10 July, 1269, laid down "quod pueri in habitu chori per civitatem discurrere non presumant. Idem quoque ad omnes superiores de choro extendi volumus et mandamus." Bishop Brantyngham, 20 September, 1387, wrote to the same effect that no member of the cathedral clergy, "in habitu chori per civitatem discurrere presumat, sub pena canonica, pro modo culpe cuilibet ipsorum vicariorum, annivellariorum et ceterorum ministrorum predictorum, qui in hac parte culpabilis fuerit, per decanum vel presidentem capituli una cum capitulo infligenda; pena vero canonicorum nobis et successoribus nostris specialiter reservata."

xxij. *De diligencia clericorum, et superiorum reuerencia.*23^m ca^m

ITEM, statuimus quod ex quo nullus canicorum dicere poterit sana mente, iste est uicarius, secundarius, aut chorister meus, quia non eis nisi de bonis communibus ministratur, quod caueant, ne eos aut aliquem eorum a diuinis obsequijs, ut eis uel alijs extra ecclesiam deseruiant, retrahant quouis modo. ¶ Reuerenciam tamen canonicis uicarij, ut dominis, et uicarijs clerici exhibeant, ut magistris; "non enim meretur ascendere, qui nescit subesse."

xxij. On some collegiate foundations of secular canons each priest-vicar was appointed and paid by the Canon himself, and the clerks and choristers were fed at his expense when in residence (Ordinacio xxij, note); and there might then perhaps be some excuse for the Canon thinking he had a lien upon their private services. But at Ottery such excuse did not exist; they were all appointed by the Chapter (Ord. v) and paid out of college funds. At Exeter Bishop Bronescombe, 12 November, 1275, had ordered "quod canonici vicarios non impediunt per aliquod obsequium familiare quominus sua officia exequantur, sub pena canonica arbitrio nostro canonico contrafacienti infligenda." But although every cleric at Ottery was alike paid out of the college funds, and no one had a claim to the private services of another, yet the juniors were to remember the reverence due to superiors, and the parable in St Luc. xiv. 7-11, "*Amice ascende superius*"; quia omnis qui se exaltat humiliabitur, et qui se humiliat exaltabitur." Cp. Prov. xxv. 7, "Melius est enim ut dicatur tibi '*Ascende huc*' quam ut humilieris," and 1 St Pet. v. 1-6. Every dignitary and archdeacon at Lincoln was first admitted to a prebendal stall in choir, and then bidden to advance to the place assigned to his dignity or office, in the words "*Frater, ascende superius*." Wordsworth's *Lincoln Statutes*, part i, "Liber Niger," pp. 131, 275; part ii, pp. 314, 714. This form should have been used when Bishop Grandisson was installed there as Archdeacon of Nottingham. A similar form was used at St Paul's, *Registrum Statutorum S. Pauli*, ed. 1873, p. 26. At Ottery the choristers were to go up as Secondaries, and the Secondaries were to go up as Priest-Vicars if deserving. (Ordinacio vij and Stat. lvij.) "No man securely commands, save he who hath learned well to obey." Thomas à Kempis. "Qui descendit, ipse est et qui ascendit." Ephes. iv. 10.

xxiiij. *De missarum celebracione; et confessione.*24^m ca^m

ITEM, statuimus quod omnes et singuli canonici presbiteri et uicarij ad minus bis in ebdomada, nisi racionabiliter impediuntur, missas suas teneantur celebrare. Ita tamen quod si intitupati uel ebdomadarij fuerint, siue ad magnam missam, uel beate Marie, uel capitulare, non excusentur quin personaliter celebrent, nisi ex euidenti et certa causa. ¶ Et quia, testante sacro eloquio, *septies in die cadit iustus*, ita quod uix aliquis ita perfectus esse potest, quin cogitacione, locucione, uel operacione peccat omni die, hortamur sanoque consilio suademus et mandamus quod, antequam celebrent, prius¹ confiteantur semper, uel bis ad minus in singulis septimanis. Et quod vnus de uicarijs, deuotus, et maturus, per Ministrum ad audiendum confessiones huiusmodi deputetur, absoluendumque confitentes a peccatis confessis, et iniungendum penitencias salutare.

De intitulatione missarum. 24^m fo.

De assignacione confessorum per ministrum.

¹ Winton omits "prius."

xxiiij. There would seem to have been possibly 12 altars in the church at Ottery (see Plan) or perhaps only 11 before the Dorset aisle was added. Thus the greatest number of masses that would be said in any week was 84, one at each altar each day. There were 21 priests on the foundation (without reckoning any Secondaries who might possibly be in priests' orders, Ord. v); and thus if each priest said 4 masses a week the *maximum* number would be fulfilled. Bishop Grandisson hoped for 2 at least from each priest. But of the four junior or simple canons most were not usually "in residence." The fifteen priests bound to continual residence were the Warden, the Minister, the Chanter, the Sacristan, eight (afterwards ten) vicars, the parish-priest, the morn-priest, and our Lady's chaplain. The four masses that were always said every

ordinary day were the high mass, at No. 1 altar on the plan, our Lady's mass at No. 2, Chapter-mass at No. 11, and the morrow-mass at our Lady's altar "outside" the choir, No. 9. For the first three of these some members of the College were entered on the tabula by the Chanter, "intitulati," or on the weekly rota, "ebdomadarii." For the fourth the morn-priest, or the parish-priest, were responsible. Four was therefore the *minimum* number of masses that were said on any day in the church. There would be therefore 7 or 8 altars free every day for private masses, and about 8 (or 10) priests waiting for them. Archbishop Peckham in his constitutions of A.D. 1281 ordered, "ut quilibet sacerdos, quem canonica necessitas non excusat, conficiat omni ebdomada saltem semel" (Wilkins, *Concilia Mag. Brit.*, II, 52), on which Lyndwood (*Provinciale*, lib. III, tit. 52, Ox. Ed. 1679, p. 232) comments: "*Quilibet sacerdos*. Sive curatus, sive non curatus." He then defines what *canonica necessitas* is, and proceeds "*conficiat, i.e. missam celebret, in qua confessionem omittere non debet, et non solum debet conficere sed etiam communicare. Omni hebdomada, i.e. septimana. Saltem semel, et hoc fiat die Dominica, si fieri poterit, juxta illud Augustini*" ("de ecclesiasticis dogmatibus," c. 53). "*Quotidie Eucharistiae communionem accipere nec laudo nec vitupero, omnibus tamen Dominicis diebus ad communicandum hortor. Dixerit quispiam non quotidie accipiendam eucharistiam, alius affirmat quotidie; faciat unusquisque quod secundum fidem suam pie credit esse faciendum. Neque enim litigaverunt inter se, aut quisquam eorum alteri se preposuit, Zaccheus et ille centurio, cum alter eorum gardens in domo sua suscepit Dominum, alter dixerit, Domine non sum dignus ut intres sub tectum meum. Ambo Salvatorem honorificantes, quamvis non uno modo, ambo peccatis miseri, ambo misericordiam consecuti.*" *Decretum*, III pars, dist. ii, c. xiii. (*Corpus juris canonici*, ed. Friedberg, vol. I, 1318, 1319.) The same passage is quoted again by Lyndwood, p. 228, in illustration of the question as to daily celebration for a priest. "*Assidue, nisi corporis infirmitate fuerit impeditus, faciat; et quanto frequentius potest, salva honestate sua et debita devotione. Nam ut quotidie quis ad hoc arctetur, non convenit juri communi (i.e. canon law common to the universal church). Ubi enim sacerdos sentit suum fervorem et amorem erga Deum augeri, potest quotidie celebrare. Si autem sentiat suam devotionem minui, bonum est quandoque abstinere, ut cum majori reverencia et devotione postea accedat.*" Then proceeding with his comment on *saltem semel*, Lyndwood says, "*Ista constitutio (i.e. Peckham's) facta est ad invitandum Presbyteros frequentius celebrare, qui forsitan vix quater in anno consueverunt celebrare; secundum ea quae leguntur.*" (*Decretales Greg. IX*, lib. III, tit. 41, c. 9.) "*Dolentes referimus quod non solum quidam minores clerici, verum etiam aliqui ecclesiarum praelati, circa commensationes superfluas et fabulationes illicitas, ut de aliis taceamus, fere medietatem noctis expendunt; et, somno residuum relinquentes, vix ad diurnum concentum avium excitantur, transcurrento undique continua syncopa matutinum. Sunt et alii qui missarum solennia vix celebrant quater in anno, et, quod deterius est, interesse contemnunt. Et si quando, dum haec celebrantur, intersint, chori silentium fugientes, intendunt exterius colloctionibus laicorum, dumque auditum ad indebitos sermones effundunt, aures intentas non porrigunt ad divina. Haec igitur et similia sub pena suspensionis penitus inhibemus, districtae precipientes in virtute obedientiae, ut divinum officium nocturnum pariter et diurnum, quantum eis Deus dederit, studiose celebrent pariter et devote.*" (*Corpus juris canonici*, ed. Friedberg, vol. II, 641, 642.) It is in fact c. xvii of the fourth Lateran Council, A.D. 1215. (Harduin, *Acta Conciliorum*, VII, 34.) "*Et hic nota (says Lyndwood) quod licet quidam dicant sacerdotem non peccare qui dimittit celebrationem missae, nisi habeat populum sibi commissum, vel ex obedientia teneatur celebrare; tamen, quia cum crescunt dona rationes crescunt donorum, ideo cum sacerdote sit data potestas nobilissima, reus est negligentiae nisi utatur ea ad honorem Dei et salutem animae suae et aliorum vivorum et mortuorum; secundum illud I Petri iv. 10 unusquisque, sicut accepit gratiam, in alterutrum illam administret, &c. Sacerdos enim tenetur Deo sacrificium reddere, licet nulli homini teneatur. Sacerdotibus enim preceptum est Hoc facite in meam commemorationem. Et sic dicit Thomas in ultima parte Summae, q. 82, artic. 1, et addit quod saltem videtur quod celebrare teneatur in precipuis festis, et maxime in illis diebus in quibus fideles communicare consueverunt.*" Bishop Grandisson originally wished each priest in the college to celebrate three times a week (Fragmenta de Registro, p. 128), but was now content with twice a week, and even this would be double the *minimum* required by Archbishop Peckham in the preceding century. A layman over 14 was to communicate at least three times every year. "*Etsi non frequentius saltem ter in anno communicent homines, nisi forte quis maioribus criminibus quibuslibet impediatur, in Pasca videlicet et Pentecostem et Natale Domini,*" can. 47 of the Second Council of Chalon-sur-Saône held by order of Charlemagne A.D. 813 (Mansi, XIV, 103). "*Seculares qui in Natale Domini, Pascha et Pentecostem non communicaverint Catholici non credantur, nec inter Catholicos habeantur,*" can. 18 of the Council of Agde in France A.D. 506. Both of which canons are embodied in the third part of the *Decretum Gratiani*, dist. ii, c. xvi, xix. (*Corpus juris*

canonici, ed. Friedberg, I, 1319.) Similarly the rule at the end of the English Communion Service, "every parishioner shall communicate at the least three times in the year, of which Easter shall be one." *Piers the Plowman*, Skeat, II, 272.

As to confession, the quotation in the Statute is compounded from Prov. xxiv. 16, "*Septies enim cadit justus et resurget*," and "*Si septies in die peccaverit frater tuus in te, et septies in die conversus fuerit ad te, dicens Poenitet me, dimitte illi*." St. Luc. xvii. 4. 1 Kings viii. 46; 2 Chron. vi. 36; Eccles. vii. 21; Prov. xx. 9 and 1 St. John i. 8 are also referred to. The penitential discipline of the Church in its original conception required a delinquent to pass through three stages, first a Confession of his guilt, secondly the Penance, and thirdly the Absolution and restoration of forfeited privileges in the Church. This last could only be obtained after the performance of the second, the poena or Penance, which consisted in outward acts of self-abasement and self-denial that were of necessity to accompany the inward feeling of contrition and be the outward and visible sign thereof. The Confession during the first five centuries of the Christian era was public, either general and made in the daily service of the Church, or else individual if it was a notorious crime or open sin, such as idolatry, murder, adultery, or acts closely allied to these, and then it was made after the Missa Catechumenorum, and to the congregation at large who had been offended by such open sin in one of its members. The culprit asked their pardon, and their prayers for his conversion, in order that his public exclusion from the body of the Faithful, and thus from the way of salvation, might be taken off. This public confession was always of public and notorious acts of sin: secret sins were to be confessed only in the general confession. But the northern races of Europe as free men shrank from the public humiliation incidental to such public confession, and from this and other causes the practice arose in the sixth century of making confession of public sins to the Bishop, and of private or venial ones to the priest, as to the properly accredited officers to whom the organised community or church had delegated the power of acting in their name. Nevertheless private sacramental confession does not seem to have had any existence in the first 500 years of the Christian Church, though secret confession from the time of Leo, and Gregory the Great, a century and a half later, was the rule, with private penance to follow, such as fasting and abstinence, almsgiving, making satisfaction to the injured person or his friends, etc. In the seventh century public penance was altogether dead in England. What was good for one age had given way to what was better for another age in wholly different circumstances. Bishop Chrodegang of Metz in the eighth century (c. 32) orders confession to be made at each of the three fasts of the year, "*et qui plus fecerit melius facit*"; and monks were to confess on each Sunday to their Bishop or Prior. Bishop Herzog (*Revue Internationale de Théologie*, 1901) is inclined to think that compulsory auricular confession to a priest as a necessary condition of sins being forgiven originated with the Paris theologians of the twelfth century. At any rate it was the twelfth General Council, the fourth Lateran, A.D. 1215, under Innocent III, that ordered every one to confess to his own priest at least once a year. Canon 21 decrees "*omnis utriusque sexus fidelis, postquam ad annos discretionis pervenerit, omnia sua solus peccata confiteatur fideliter, saltem semel in anno, proprio sacerdoti, et injunctam sibi penitentiam studeat pro viribus adimplere, suscipiens reverenter ad minus in Pascha eucharistiae sacramentum, nisi forte de proprii sacerdotis consilio ob aliquam rationabilem causam ad tempus ab huiusmodi perceptione duxerit abstinendum; alioquin et vivens ab ingressu ecclesiae arceatur, et moriens Christiana careat sepultura*." "*Si quis autem alieno sacerdoti voluerit justa de causa sua confiteri peccata, licentiam prius postulet et obtineat a proprio sacerdoti, quum aliter ipse illum non possit absolvere vel ligare. Sacerdos autem sit discretus et cautus*." *Decretales Greg. IX*, lib. v, tit. 38, cap. 12. (*Corpus juris canonici*, II, 887.) The change of the form of absolution from the precatory or intercessory to the indicative was a natural result of this development. The priest from being a minister of the congregation interceding, became a judge pronouncing sentence. The first to defend the indicative form "I absolve thee" was Alexander of Hales, A.D. 1245, without which addition henceforth the precatory form previously in use was invalid. Accordingly Confession prior to Holy Communion was enforced by Archbishop Peckham's Constitutions (A.D. 1281) "*Parochiales insuper sacerdotes caveant diligenter, ne alicui dent corpus Domini, nisi prius constet eis ipsum fuisse confessum, testimonio vel iudicio fide digno*" (Wilkins, II, 52). On which Lyndwood comments *Provinciale* (ed. Oxon. 1679, p. 232) "*sed numquid contritus, non tamen confessus, recipiendo corpus Christi peccat?*" and states when he considers the will may be taken for the deed.

As regards the Confession of the Clergy themselves, Archbishop Walter Raynold in his Constitutions (A.D. 1322) laid down "*prohibemus quod nullus sacerdos lapsus in mortale peccatum ad altare accedere praesumat celebraturus, antequam confiteatur. Quidam enim errant credentes quod mortalia peccata deleantur per Confessionem generalem*." Lyndwood, *Provinciale*, lib. III, tit. 23, and lib. v, tit. 16 (Ed. Oxon.

1697, pp. 236, 334) comments, "confessio generalis" was such as was made at the beginning of the Holy Communion Service, or at Mattins (Prime) or Evensong (Compline), "talis confessio habet effectum quoad dimissionem venialium." But not of "mortale peccatum (deadly sin) quod dicitur voluntas retinendi vel consequendi quod iustitia vetat; et sunt peccata mortalia omnes transgressiones Decalogi, item ea quae enumerat Apostolus ad Rom. i., item ad Galatas v.; de omnibus his adjungit apostolus *qui talia agunt digni sunt morte*, Rom. i. 32, et *qui talia agunt regnum Dei non consequuntur*, Gal. v. 21." No priest however, before being entrusted with the cure of souls, could exercise the power of the keys judicially, unless licensed by the Bishop of the diocese, or unless he had special license thereto from the Pope as supreme Ordinary (which was often given to the Friars-Preachers, first instituted in 1217); and each Bishop exercised the powers inherent in his office, not his person, only when such were delegated to him from the Apostolic See. At this date (A.D. 1339) the usual practice in England was for every person of any standing or respectability, whether clerical or lay, to obtain an indult from the Roman curia for choosing their own confessor. The fee was not heavy, but the aggregate sum thus raised for the Papal coffers was very considerable; and the purchaser was thereby assured against all contingencies, as in the case of Provisions, p. 126, *n.* But for such of the clergy as had not obtained such an indult, Archbishop Walter Raynold writes, "Cum saepe contingat quod rectores ecclesiarum, ac etiam nonnulli sacerdotes, et in sacris ordinibus consistentes (*i.e.* deacons and subdeacons) eo quod nullis curatis (ut eis videtur), quoad forum penitentiale sunt subjecti, vel omnino non confitentur, vel ad quosdam accedunt qui nullam ipsos absolvendi vel ligandi habent potestatem; statuimus quod per archidiaconos singulorum decanatum duo presbyteri idonei preficiantur singulis decanatibus, competentes literaturae et probatae opinionis, ad confessiones talium audiendas et penitencias eisdem injungendas; quibus per nos, vel vicem nostram gerentem, auctoritatem volumus impertiri, firmiter prohibentes ne religiosi monachi vel canonici, subditum alicujus audeant ad penitentiam admittere." Wilkins, II, 514. This was in accordance with what the Pan-Anglican council held under Cardinal Otho, and the Archbishops St Edmund Rich of Canterbury and Walter de Gray of York (A.D. 1236) had ordered, "Quod in quodam concilio statutum est approbantes, statuimus ut per quoslibet decanatus viri prudentes et fideles constituentur per Episcopum confessores, quibus personae et minores clerici valeant confiteri, qui Decanis erubescunt confiteri forsan et verentur. In ecclesiis vero Cathedralibus confessores institui precipimus generales." (Wilkins, I, 651.)

Acting on these rules Bishop Grandisson orders in this Statute that the Minister, who had the cure of all the souls at Ottery, might depute the duties of Penitentiary to one of the Priest-Vicars for the benefit of all in holy orders in the College. In other words he desired that the influence of the most experienced and spiritually minded member of the body upon the others should be assured and established as far as he could foresee.

The instinct of confession of sins to another shows itself alike in the modern methodist class-meeting as in this older ecclesiastical arrangement. Many pious souls have found each system helpful and other pious souls prefer to remain without either. Each practice has its dangers, the first perhaps of hypocrisy and self-advertisement, the second of abnegation of personal judgment, and the third of self-delusion and neglect of all discipline. Meanwhile in the spirit of St Augustine, as quoted in the first part of this note regarding a more or less frequent celebration or partaking of the Holy Communion, the exhortation in the Prayer Book of 1549 requires "that such as shall be satisfied with a general confession should not be offended with them that do use, to their further satisfying, the auricular and secret confession to the Priest; nor those also which think needful or convenient, for the quietness of their own consciences, particularly to open their sins to the Priest, to be offended with them that are satisfied with their humble confession to God, and the general confession to the Church. But in all things to follow and keep the rule of Charity, and every man to be satisfied with his own conscience, not judging other men's minds or consciences, whereas he hath no warrant of God's word to the same."

ITEM, statuimus quod Custos uel Minister in maioribus festis duplicibus, Cantor uel Sacrista, seu alij Canonici in minoribus duplicibus, officium principaliter exequantur.

*De missarum celebratione in dominicis per canonicos.*26^m ca^m

ITEM, statuimus quod diebus dominicis si possint, aut saltem duplicibus festis, celebrent aliqui Canonorum missam beate Marie uirginis, precipue uero magnam missam, prout Exonienses canonici consueuerunt.

xxv. At Exeter all the twenty-four Canons were to be in Priest's orders, and "singuli Canonici certis saltem ebdomadis sacerdotale officium personaliter agnoscere teneantur," Bishop Bronescombe, 28 April, 1268. (So too all priests, Archbishop Peckham's Constitutions, A.D. 1281, quoted in the note, p. 150.) Further, "Cum ad instar Tabernaculi secundi, archam testamenti et manna continentis, in quod soli Pontifici intrare licuit, ecclesiarum cathedralium presbiteria et earundem altaria singulari prerogativa deceat venerari, ordinamus et statuimus quod, sicut predecessorum nostrorum temporibus fuerat consuetum, in maiori altari ecclesie nostre missam maiorem non celebret nisi Canonicus, aut alius in eminenciori gradu constitutus. Et quod, absentibus interdum Canonicis aut paucis ad ordinem sacerdotalem promotis, Canonorum huiusmodi copia aliquando non habetur, eligantur ex parte decani et capituli vicarii honestiores de ecclesia, sex ex una parte chori vel quatuor, et totidem ex altera, qui vices Canonorum ebdomadiorum cum necesse fuerit suppleant reverenter et devote, quorum vicariorum vices cum celebrent in altari maiori, si ad aliud officium fuerint intitulati, iidem ebdomadarii per se vel per alios suppleri procurent." 15 May, 1268. At Exeter "Decanus tenetur missam principalem celebrare ('divinum exequi officium,' *Ordinale*, p. 3) omni duplici maiori festo per annum (absente episcopo) et in prima dominica Adventus, in dominica Palmarum, feria quarta in capite jejunii, in tribus diebus ante Pascha, in vigilia Pentecostes, in anniversariis Regum, Episcoporum, Decanorum per eos fundatis." Bishop Veysey, 30 November, 1544, who then had been connected with the cathedral for over fifty years, as Canon, Archdeacon of Barnstaple, Precentor, Dean, and Bishop.

At Ottery the Warden and Minister, who were to be always in residence, have to sing high mass like the Dean at Exeter on greater double festivals. One of the Canons was always to attend our Lady's Mass. Stat. xix.

*xxvj. De priuatis missis dicendis.*27^m ca^m

ITEM, statuimus et inhibemus, ne officium chori quoquomodo impediatur, quod nullus de collegio celebret in ecclesia, a tempore quo Prima incipitur in choro; nisi forte extranee persone egregie superuenientes aliud requirant. Quo casu, prohibemus, ne campanelle ad eleuacionem sacramenti pulsantur, quodque canentes in choro non exeant, nec se tunc diuertant ad uidendum sacramentum, set devote officio suo intendant. Caueant eciam semper ne uagos oculos ad hostium¹ chori habeant, ut uideant transeuntes; unde mentis intencio aut seruicium impediatur.

25^m fo.
p. 183.De stabilitate
oculorum.¹ Winton reads "officium."

xxvj. All private masses would be said between Mattins and ringing for Prime. Stat. xvj. Each priest would say his mass in succession after the Morn-priest had said the Morrow-Mass. So at Exeter after Bratton's mass, where the gates of the close were first opened "in aurora diei" for those coming to this, the first mass. Oliver, *Lives of Bishops of Exeter*, pp. 253, 467.

The reading of Winton MS. would refer to those employed in these exceptional masses: they were not to look at the others engaged about their office in the choir. The reading of Exon. MS. refers to those in the choir at Prime looking out through the western choir door at those who passed across to the transept altars, or through the side-entrances into the presbytery at those who passed to the north and south choir aisle altars.

*xxvij. De inclinacione intrancium chorum.*28^m ca^m

ITEM, statuimus ut honore quilibet alium inuicem iuxta statum preueniat, et iuxta consuetudinem ecclesiarum cathedralium, intrantes chorum et exeuntes in occidente inclinent

se ad custodem, uel alium maiorem propter modum concinnandum; et intrantes, uel exeuntes superius, uel transeuntes de una parte ad aliam, semper ad altare humiliter se inclinent.

xxvij. "Chorum intrantes clerici ita ordinate se habeant, ut, si ex parte orientali intrauerint, ad gradum chori se ad altare inclinent; postea ad episcopum, si presens fuerit. Si vero ex parte occidentali ingressi fuerint, primo ad altare se inclinent, deinde ad decanum. Eodem moderamine chorum exeant." "Preterea, si quis clericus ab una parte chori in oppositam transierit, in eundo et redeundo ad altare se inclinet." *Sarum Customs*, ed. Frere, pp. 14, 16. This was embodied word for word in the *Wells Statutes*, A.D. 1241-1273, ed. Reynolds, p. 2. "Omnes tam maiores quam minores chori in ingressu et egressu chori ad decanum in stallo constitutum inclinabunt. Preterea decano chorum vel capitulum intranti vel transitum vel alterutrum facienti, omnes maiores et minores debent assurgere." *Lincoln Statutes*, Liber Niger, p. 282. "Canonicis chorum vel capitulum intrantibus vel transitum ad alterutrum facientibus omnes maiores et minores illius partis qua canonicus est excepto decano debent assurgere. Quilibet intrans in chorum debet se inclinare ante gradus chori. Si etiam contingat aliquem de choro transitum facere ab una parte in aliam, inclinet se ante altare in superiori parte chori coram lectrina. Si transitum faciat in occidentale inclinet se in inferiori parte ante altare predictum iuxta stallum decani." *Ibidem*, p. 390. "Omnes de choro cum ab oriente intrent, post descensum ultimi gradus in choro, inclinent se primo ad altare, postea ad episcopum si presens sit, vel ad decanum si episcopus absens sit, et sic ingrediantur stallum suum. Si autem ex parte occidentali ingrediantur, statim ingressi inclinent se primo ad altare, postea ad episcopum et ad decanum. Et si quemquam oportuerit ab una parte chori usque in aliam transire, vel in extrema parte chori versus orientem vel occidentem transitum faciat, et in eundo et redeundo, ad altare se inclinet." *Ibidem*, part II, p. 150, *Lincoln Customs*, A.D. 1236. "Cum incedere debeant in choro, primo versus ad altare, deinde decano, vel crucifixo, reverenciam exhibeant aliquantulum inclinando." *York Statutes*, A.D. 1221, *ibidem*, p. 104. "Ingredientes in chorum, antequam ad locum suum accedant, in medio chori detecto capite ad maius altare humiliter inclinent; et reverenciam decano similiter exhibeant, si presens fuerit in stallo suo. Exituri a choro idem faciant. Si vero contigerit aliquem ex causa honesta et necessaria ab una parte chori ad aliam transire, idem faciat in eundo et redeundo." *Hereford Consuetudines*, A.D. 1280, *ibid.* p. 79. Bishop Grandisson had been Canon of York, Lincoln, and Wells, and so accordingly in his *Ordinale*, p. 8, laid down that "intrantes clerici chorum ita ordinate se habeant, ut si ex parte orientali superius versus maius altare a dextris vel a sinistris intraverint, ad gradum chori se primo ad altare inclinent, postea ad episcopum si presens fuerit in sede sua. Si vero ex parte occidentali intrent, statim se ad altare inclinent, deinde ad decanum. Eodem etiam modo chorum exeant cum oportet. Si vero ab una parte chori ad aliam transeant, semper se in medio ad altare inclinent." Cp. "Ante et retro" of the *Evesham Book*, H. B. S. 1893, p. 181.

"Alium maiorem," either higher in rank than the Warden (as would be any Bishop if present), or, in the absence of the Warden, any one higher in rank than himself, "propter modum concinnandum." The MS. here reads *pp* modū concinnand. *pp* is the same abbreviation as is used for "propter" in Stat. xxxviij "propter fures et latrones," and in Stat. xl "propter talia negocia." Oliver, *Monasticon Exon.*, p. 270, reads "prope modum continuandum." The writer it is true often forms his "t" as a "q" and his "u" and "n" are very similar. But to construe this reading, "continuando" would be required: he was to bow "to any other of higher rank near by continuing the mode," or "the motion" as in drill, taking "modum" for "motum." As at St George's the K.G., canon, or military knight at his installation first bows to the altar on entering the western door of the choir, then turning him about bows to the sovereign's stall (occupied in his absence by the dean), next advancing three paces eastwards bows again to the altar, and turning about as before bows to the sovereign's stall, and yet a third time three paces further up the choir, on arriving opposite the stall wherein he is to take his seat, repeats again the double action. Another interpretation of the words "propter modum continuandum" would be "for the sake of keeping up the custom." The right reading, however, seems to be "concinnandum." "Concinnare, concinnatio, voces in luminaribus ecclesiae praesertim usurpatae apud interpretem Bibliorum non semel, ad luminaria concinnanda, ad concinnandas lucernas, Exod. xxv. 35, Levit. xxiv. 2," Ducange, s.v.; and "concinnare est apte componere," Andrews' Lexicon. So at Otery the custom of bowing was to be adjusted or courteously adapted as occasion required. Thus at Exeter Bishop Bronescombe, 28 April, 1268, "ut debitus honor Prelatis et senioribus Canonicis in incessu et sedibus exhibeatur, statuimus et statuendo precipimus ut decano canonici et ceteri ecclesiae ministri transeuntes inclinent, et transeunti assurgant; ceterisque ecclesiae Prelatis debitus et consuetus

honor prout eorum status exigit a singulis impendatur, sicut canonicam et nostram effugere voluerint ulcionem," and again, 15 November, 1275: "Item statuimus quod canonici et inferiores clerici majoribus debitam reverenciam exhibeant, sub pena stationis ante Crucifixum extra chorum ad omnes horas unius diei et noctis sequentis, et amplius ad arbitrium decani et capituli si eorum culpa hoc exegerit." Similarly in *Customs of Augustinian Canons*, J. W. Clark, p. 86, it was ordered "si duo prelati vel tres sint simul in choro, illi prelato qui stat in stallo prelati nostri debent prius fratres inclinare, et postea ceteris." "Prelatus" is any ecclesiastical dignitary who has a jurisdiction inherent in his office, and not merely one transmitted to him as the delegate of a superior; e.g. Bishop Grandisson, 26 September, 1348, writes "Abbatibus, Prioribus, Decanis, Archidiaconis, Archipresbiteris, et aliis ecclesiarum Prelatis." *Reg.*, part II, p. 1068. "Vocantur 'prelati' nedum superiores, ut episcopi; sed etiam inferiores ut archidiaconi, presbyteri plebani, et rectores ecclesiarum. Quilibet, qui praeest curae animarum, dicitur esse prelatus, dummodo habeat potestatem Sacramenta dispensandi." Lyndwood, lib. I, tit. 7, p. 43. That Bishop Grandisson wished to provide for such salutations when more than the usual number of dignitaries might be present, becomes clearer still by reference to *Manuale sac. ceremoniarum juxta ritum S. Romanae ecclesiae*. M. Bauldry, Venice, 1745, p. 23. "Illud autem memoria teneant, quod quando pluribus reverentiam facere debent, non ejus cui prius debetur ratio habenda sit, sed tantum attendenda commoditas gradientis: regulariter enim primum ei, a quo disceditur, deinde ei ante quem transitur, et ultimo ei ad quem sit accessus, fieri debet reverentia, id est, si disceditur ab Episcopo, primo illi, deinde altari, et e contra. Si quis ex Canonicis superveniat inchoato jam officio, vel Missa, prius versus altare genuflexus parumper orat, mox surgens, et non prius, inclinat se profunde altari, deinde Episcopo: postea Canonicos salutatur, et alios circumstantes de choro prius, minus tamen profunde ob reverentiam Episcopi, et hi tunc et non prius assurgentes eum consalutant, et Canonici parum inclinati, beneficiati magis (quos capellanos vocamus in multis locis) saltem absente Episcopo, et vadit ad locum suum." The succeeding nine paragraphs prescribe with great minuteness how such salutations were to be given at any particular point in the service, and by or to any distinguished layman who happened to attend. These salutations were to be given by those entering the choir when others were already there. At Ottery it would seem that the clerks and boys were to be in their places before the service began, Stat. xxj. At Exeter, "Nullus clericorum ad Matutinas, vel alias horas que inceptio ymnos habent, post ymnum dictum ad eandem horam primo intrare debet, nec ad Vesperas post primum psalmum, nec ad Completorium extra quadragesimam, nisi interfuerint Vesperis precedentibus immediate. In quadragesima tamen intrare possunt ad Completorium sicut aliis temporibus ad Vesperas. Ad Missam vero ingredi licet usque ad primam collectam tantum. Processionibus tamen interesse poterunt indifferenter. Ad exequias vero mortuorum ab inceptio *Placebo* usque ad primum psalmum de *Dirige* '*Verba mea*' intrare possunt per totum annum, quia *Placebo* et *Dirige* simul apud nos semper dicuntur. Sed si tardius venerint, de stipendiis pro eisdem vigiliis assignatis nichil percipient illa vice." *Ordinale*, p. 8. The same rule applied to Canons keeping residence, "intrando chorum et ibidem expectando usque quo predicta officia terminentur." Bishop Veysey, 30 November, 1544. Similarly, too, at Sarum (*Sarum Customs*, p. 15). At York A.D. 1290, the rule was slightly stricter. At Ottery entrance to our Lady's Mass was forbidden after the Introit was half sung, Stat. xv. At Exeter in the Missa de Requiem "post finem Epistolae."

At Exeter the choir-boys were excused from attendance on ordinary weekdays, both at Compline and Mattins, except the four who were on the list for duty. "Pueri, qui numero quatuordecim faciunt primam formam, tenentur omnes in duplicibus festis et dominicis per totum annum interesse tam Vesperis quam Matutinis et Misse atque omnibus horis de die: excepto quod ad Primam, dicto responsorio *Jesu Christe* (at the end of Prime before the beginning of the preces and *Preciosa*), possunt omnes, excepto illo qui lecturus est Martilogium, recedere quousque capitulum finiatur, et Tercia incipiatur. Nisi forte Missa debeat dici in capitulo, tunc enim duo eorum ad minus sint ibidem presentes. Similiter in dominicis, quando aqua benedicitur in choro, tunc omnes interesse tenentur. In festis vero ix. leccionum, quociens chorus regitur, ad Matutinas, Missam et Vesperas tenentur quinque eorum interesse, ad horas tantum illi qui debent legere vel cantare. In festis iiii. leccionum et feriis tenentur ad minus quatuor eorum interesse. Ceteri interim excusantur propter exercitium scholarum, unde vacantibus scholis omnes indifferenter et semper in toto officio ecclesie sint presentes, ut semper in aliquo bono opere occupentur." *Ordinale*, p. 7, so they practically got no real holidays in the year, though their schoolmaster did. Cp. *Ordinacio* x. At Sarum, too, the boys were excused from attendance at the ordinary night hours. *Sarum Customs*, p. 40.

29^m ca^mxxviiij. *De libris et uestibus extra non portandis.*25^m fo.^v

ITEM, statuimus quod libri ecclesie non portentur extra ecclesiam; nisi forte debeant de nouo alij scribi, siue notari, aut corrigi, et tunc non extra clausum, set in domibus canonicorum aut uicariorum, ita quod ad officium, si¹ necesse fuerit, reportentur. ¶ Et idem de uestimentis precipimus obseruari; nisi forte aliqui de collegio sub ipsorum periculo, et pignore exposito, ad ordinem² duxerint commodanda, quo casu, ne per pluuiam uel aliter sordidentur, de simplicioribus et deterioribus illud fiat.

¹ Winton, "cum" for "si."² Winton, "ordines."

xxviiij. From the ground-plan of the College it will be seen that the books could be carried under cover from the church through the cloister to the Vicars' house, and probably also to those of the Canons, p. 74. It would generally be an "exemplar originale" that was required to be thus taken out for copying, "de novo scribi," or for correcting either the words or the music (notari) in other copies before these were allowed to be brought into the church (Stat. xxxj), and therefore it might be necessary at short notice to carry this exemplar back again for service. The vestments were only to be removed for repair and putting in order when their value had been assessed, and a proper security deposited by those who thus took them away at their own risk. It was needful for Bishop Grandisson to make these and other precise rules as to the care of the ornaments and fabric of the church, inasmuch as he had exempted the College from the jurisdiction of the Archdeacon (Ord. xviiij), to whom would have otherwise belonged their care and supervision. "Item injungimus archidiaconis et eorum officariis, ut in visitationibus ecclesiarum faciendis diligenter conscribi faciant vasa, vestimenta, libros et alia que ad officium pertinent diuinum, habeant quoque nihilominus considerationem ad fabricam ecclesie et maxime cancelli, si forte indigeant reparatione." Stephen Langton, Council of Oxford, 1222 A.D. (Wilkins, I, 596, 662; II, 9), and Bishop Quivil's Exeter Synod, 1287 A.D. (II, 151), where it was ordered that Archdeacons should visit every church in their archdeaconry once a year, "quarum vestes, libros, utensilia et cetera ornamenta habeant in scriptis redacta, ut videant que a tempore proxime visitacionis per diligentiam personarum superaddita fuerint, et que per earum negligentiam deteriorata medio tempore vel deperdita. Provideant, quod quelibet ecclesia, juxta suas facultates decentibus fulgeat ornamentis et eorum habeat copiam," and Archbishop Walter Raynold of Canterbury's Constitutions, A.D. 1322 (Wilkins, II, 513), which Lyndwood (*Provinciale*, Lib. I, tit. 10, p. 52), comments on. Bishop Grandisson, 23 April, 1354, writing to his archdeacons complains, "licet inter cetera que ad sollicitudinem Archidiaconalem in visitacionibus vestris pertinere noscuntur, de ornamentis ecclesie visitate, ut ad decorem domus dei sint fulgida et honesta, secundum precepta canonum et sanctorum patrum constitutiones penaliter editas et publice promulgatas, teneamini curam impendere efficacem; vos tamen dum temporalis commodi plus debito lucrum appetitis, defectus in hac parte humanis oculis abhorrendos negligenter relinquitis incorrectos. In ecclesiis namque parochialibus nostre diocesis vestimenta, ut communiter, que nitida fore deberent, sordida remanent, madida et immunda, multociens absque paruris, enormiter dilacerata, et ut plurimum abhominabiliter putrida, veluti menstruata, que ad nauseandum, quod dicere pudet, multociens provocant intuentes et devotionem refrigerant eorumdem" (*Reg.*, II, 1126).

30^m ca^mxxix. *De honesta librorum custodia, et eorum abscisione.*26^m fo.
p. 185.

INHIBEMUS eciam districte sub pena excommunicationis ne quis presumat, ut quandoque uidimus in ecclesijs ruralibus, de folijs librorum ex quacumque [eorum]¹ parte aliquid abscindere, uel superscribere, ad librorum deformitatem aut mutilacionem, nec eciam sub colore correccionis, aliquid in litera uel nota immutare, nisi forte aliquis peritus et sciolus, ad hoc assignatus, novos libros corrigat, ad exemplar aliquod originale, quod iuxta iudicium seniorum exemplar fidelius reputatur. Omnes eciam ecclesie ministri sepius moneantur libros ecclesie honeste uertere, et tenere, et seruare. ¶ Et idem de capis sericis, et uestimentis alijs obseruare.

¹ Winton omits "eorum."

xxix. Ecclesiis ruralibus. Bishop Grandisson, 3 March, 1355, writing to the Dean and Chapter of Exeter, complains "non sine vehementi cordis displicencia et tristicia, intelleximus quod labor noster et diligencia circa officium divinum in ecclesia nobis indignissimis commissa, jam per viginti septem annos pro viribus adhibiti, per vestram precipue Domine decane et aliorum consequentem concanonicorum negligenciam, ita hiis diebus plus solito in ceremoniis et observanciis ad ecclesiam cathedralem pertinentibus debitis et consuetis deficere incipiunt et perire, quod nisi Deus advertat, successive in brevi, *more rurali* potius quam cathedrali officiabitur, vel verius contempnetur." *Reg.*, II, 1150. Cp. Statute xlij.

"Aliquid in litera vel nota immutare," many were capable of correcting a false reading of the text itself, but few comparatively a false note. "Cum multi sint grammatici, aut vix aut numquam veraces inveniuntur libri, maxime dum sepe in eorum emendacionem laborentur, musici autem perpauci inveniuntur, et per multa jam tempora Antiphonaria vel Gradalia emendata non sunt. Non est ergo mirum si in multis locis falsitas inveniatur cantuum." *Sarum Tonale*, p. xxij. "Inter cetera vero summe cavendum est de librorum chori discordia, que auribus abhorrenda totam armonie dulcedinem dissolvit; unde oportet necessario quod Psalteria, quoad textum et medias versuum pausas vel punctos, et Antiphonaria cum Gradalibus ad unguem corrigantur, tam in litera quam in cantu, juxta aliquem librum qui veracior inter ceteros reputatur, quorum nunc illud Antiphonarum quod dicitur Grantson et illud Gradale antiquum cum Psalteriis que idem Johannes episcopus contulit ecclesie, dicuntur veriora: juxta que expedit ceteros libros corrigi, et quoad formam antique note Sarum, ac in ligaturas atque stringentes, ut omnis dissonancie materia ex nunc cesset. Nec illi qui proprios habent libros presumant eis cantando in choro inniti, nisi ad instar aliorum correxerint eos prius." *Ordinale*, p. 22. The books that every church was bound to possess as ordered by Bishop Quivil in the Exeter Synod, 16 April, 1287, were "missale bonum, gradale, troperium, manuale bonum, legenda, antiphonale, psalterium, ordinale, venitare, ymptare, collectare," and Archbishop Winchelsey in a synod at Merton, 1305, had ordered the same for the whole of his province, but without expressly mentioning the three last, Wilkins, II, 139, 280. Of these, such as were music books for the choir, the *Venitare* and *Ymptare* are described under Statute iij, and the *Gradale*, *Troperium*, *Psalterium* and *Antiphonale* under Statute xxx. The non-musical books each contained the various component parts of the service so as to enable each individual therein engaged to contribute his quota. Of these the *Missale* or Mass-book "in quo continebuntur omnia ad Missam singulis diebus dicendam pertinentia" was for the priest's use as he stood at the altar. Statute xlij directs there should be one at each altar in the church. Out of the Mass-book there were copied the "Epistle-book" for the subdeacon, and the "Gospel-book" for the deacon at High Mass. The *Legenda*, "Lectionary" or "Reading-book," was for the use of the Reader of the long lessons at Mattins, the first three of which were taken from Holy Scripture, and the others from sermons and homilies by the fathers and doctors of the Church explanatory of the same, and sometimes from short lives of the saints and martyrs on their respective feast-days. The *Collectare* was written for the principal officiant, whose duty it was to say the Collects and the Capitula or short Scriptural lessons used at all the hour services except Mattins. The Breviary or *Portiforium* (liber quem portat secum foras, the priest's constant companion) or *Porthos* combined the Psalter, the Anthem-book, and Hymnal, the Reading-book and the Collect-book in one volume for the use of those who recited the office-hours out of church. The *Manuale* or hand-book contained the occasional sacramental services performed by a priest, such as baptism, marriage, churching of women, visitation of the sick, unction of the dying, burial of the dead, the ceremonies for Candlemas, Ash Wednesday, Palm Sunday, etc. "Sic dictum a manu, quia assidue habetur ad manum, et in eo continebuntur omnia quae spectant ad sacramentorum et sacramentalium ministrationem. Item Benedictiones tam Fontium quam aliorum secundum usum ecclesiasticum benedicendorum. Et hic, in hoc loco, *Manualis* nuncupatione, puto etiam contineri ea quae sunt usitata in Processionibus ecclesiasticis quodocunque fiendis; ut sic etiam Liber Processionalis dicatur *Manuale*, licet hic de eo non fiat mentio specialis." Lyndwood, lib. III, tit. 27 (p. 251), commenting on Archbishop Winchelsey's constitutions. (Dr Henderson has edited the York and the Sarum Manuals for the Surtees Society, 1875.) The *Ordinal* "in quo ordinatur modus dicendi et solemnizandi officium divinum" was not for liturgical use at all, but was a directory or guide-book which gave general directions and rules for the service in view of the variations of the kalendar from year to year. Statute vij. "Its method was to go through the year and show what was to be done; what days were to take precedence of others; and how, under such circumstances, the details of the conflicting services were to be dealt with." H. Bradshaw, *Life*, p. 425. Of the *Pontificale* or Bishop's Book, one copy only would of necessity be required for each diocese, and as this was generally the private property of the bishop the MSS. that have survived of these service books are naturally fewer than those of any other. The *Pontifi-*

cale of Egbert (A.D. 732-766) and that of Cardinal Christopher Bainbridge (1508-1514), both Archbishops of York, and respectively the earliest and the latest form of old English use, were edited by Dean Henderson for the Surtees Society in 1853 and 1875; that of Bishop Lacy of Exeter (1420) was printed by Ralf Barnes in 1847. Bishop Grandisson in his will (*Reg.*, III, 1552) left to his successors in the see, amongst other things, "libros meos episcopales, maiorem et minorem, quos egomet compilavi." These were respectively the greater part of the Clifford Pontifical (Parker MS. 79, C. C. C., Cambridge) and of the Lansdowne MS. 451 in the Brit. Museum. The first is a folio, and the latter a quarto volume. They are described in *Alcuin Club Collections*, 1904, "Pontifical Services," vol. I, pp. 89, 90, by W. H. Frere. Both pontificals were left unfinished by Bishop Grandisson, at his death in 1369, and would appear to have passed into the possession of Robert Braybrooke, one of his executors who became Bishop of London 1381-1404, in which see Bishop Clifford succeeded him 1407-1422. The Pontifical contained the variations in the church service when a bishop took part in it, e.g. his Mass blessings when present, and the rites and ceremonies that could be only performed by a bishop, after he had obtained license from the Pope to exercise the functions of his office. These were the consecration and reconciliation of churches and churchyards, of altars, fonts, bells, and church furniture, the confirmation of the baptized, the ordination of door-keepers, readers, benets, and collets, and of subdeacons, deacons, and priests, the consecration of bishops, the sacring and crowning of a king, the admission of abbots and abbesses, the profession of monks, nuns, anchores, and hermits; the blessing of the candles at the Purification, of the ashes on Ash Wednesday, of the oils on Maundy Thursday, of the palms on Palm Sunday.

31^m ca^mxxx. *De numero et loco librorum in choro et candelis.*

ITEM, statuimus quod Antiphonaria omnia¹, et Gradualia, et Psalteria, ita semper sint correcta, quod non discordent in aliquo; et quod ita diuidantur, quod una medietas eorum ponantur a dextera chori, et alia medietas a sinistra. Ita quod semper ad minus sint tria Antiphonaria, et tot Psalteria, cum tot Gradualibus ex uno latere, et tot ex alio latere²; et liber unus ad gradum semper chori, uel³ in medio alius, coram Rectoribus ad missam. ¶ Et inhibemus, ne aliquis ex quacunque causa asportet, uel ammoueatur, uel transmutet tales libros de locis suis, quibus specialiter assignabuntur, ac etiam ascribentur, quia ex hoc posset officium impediri. Vnde uolumus, quod armarioli fortes fiant in stallis secundariorum per quatuor partes chori ad reponendum tales libros; et [quod]⁴ clauas tradantur clericis ecclesie, qui eos quotidie extrahant et reponant. ¶ Ad matutinas uero de nocte, tres candelae ad maius ex uno latere; et tres ex alio latere chori accendantur. ¶ Canonici autem prouideant sibi ipsos.

De lumine
candelarum
in matutinis.¹ Winton, "et omnia Gradualia."³ W. "et" for "uel."² W. omits "et tot ex alio latere."⁴ W. om. "quod."

xxx. The Antiphoner or Anthem-book, the Psalter and the Grayle were the three music books that contained the choral parts of the divine service. In them, for the convenience of the choir, both the words and the musical notation were written in as large and bold a hand as possible. The Anthem-book and the Grayle were usually of larger size than the Psalter, the pages of the latter would often measure on an average about eight by ten inches. But the folio choir-books averaged two feet in height, and one and a quarter in breadth. Each letter of the text would be two-thirds of an inch in length, the initials larger in gold and colours. The music was on four-line staves, ruled red, each stave an inch and a quarter high, the notes, of course, of the old square and diamond shape. Many of the books for large churches were written on an even ampler scale. They were bound in thick oak boards, protected round the sides by a deep border of metal, fastened on by means of round-headed nails, and with two clasps at least at the side. 1. The Anthem-book contained the Antiphons (or refrains to the Psalms) arranged properly under the respective hours and days, the Responds to the Lessons (for assisting meditation on what was read), and the other odds and ends of Verses and Responds throughout the choir service of the hours, each, of course, with its musical setting. "Antiphonarum non solum continebit in se Antiphonas, prout ipsa dictio nude sonat, sed etiam continebit

Invitatoria, Hymnos, Responsoria, Versus, Collectas, Capitula et alia quae pertinent ad decantationem horarum canonicarum, tam pro Matutinis quam Prima, Tercia, Sexta, Nona, Vesperis et Completorio." Lyndwood's *Provinciale*, lib. iii, tit. 27 (p. 251). The Sarum Antiphoner of the XIIIth century has been edited in facsimile by W. H. Frere, Quaritch, 1899. 2. A copy of the Venitarius was on the lectern at the choir step at Ottery, Stat. lxxvij, 2. 3. The Psalter contained the psalms arranged for use at the different hours. The whole to be sung through once every week, instead of every month, as in the Prayer Book arrangement, the first 109 psalms at the morning services, and the last 40 at the evening. (At Mattins on ordinary week days there would be twelve psalms and three lessons.) The majority of the choir would know most, if not all, the psalms by heart, Stat. lvij. (The eighth Council of Toledo, A.D. 653, ordered that no one was to be ordained unless he knew by heart the Psalter, the Canticles, and the daily hymns.) Besides the Psalms the book contained the Gospel Canticles (*Benedictus*, *Magnificat*, *Nunc Dimittis*), the Old Testament Canticles (*Benedicite opera omnia* for Sunday, Isaiah xii. for Monday, Isaiah xxxviii. for Tuesday, 1 Sam. ii. for Wednesday, Exod. xv. for Thursday, Habak. iii. for Friday, Deut. xxxii. for Saturday), the *Te Deum*, *Quicumque vult*, the Litany as used on occasions, and the Service for the Dead. 4. The Graduale cum notis, or Grayle, contained the Scriptural words of the choral portion of the Altar Service throughout the year, both the Proprium and the Commune, and each varied according to the season and the day. The book would average a foot and a half in height, and one in breadth; the text and Gregorian notation would be in red and black. The five component parts of each Mass taken from Holy Scripture were the Introit of Office (a verse from a psalm with *Gloria patri*, and the Antiphon thrice repeated before the Collects), the Grayle with its Respond, the *Alleluia*, or Tract, the Offertory (an Antiphon with a verse from a psalm, sung during the offering of the oblations), and the Communion (a verse from a psalm with its Antiphon sung at the end during the reception of the consecrated elements). The Graduale Sarisburiense has been reproduced in facsimile, and edited with a dissertation and historical index, by W. H. Frere, Quaritch, 1894. The book took its name from one of the principal elements, the Grayle or Respond to the Epistle, which consisted usually of two sentences, the first of which was sung by the whole choir, and the second of which was called the verse, and was sung by two boys on ordinary Sundays, but on double feasts by three secondaries; after which the whole choir sang the first sentence again. This was followed by *Alleluia*, which was originally used here only on Easter Day, and then more frequently, till St Gregory extended its use to all Sundays and festivals, except from Septuagesima to Easter Eve, and in the Ember seasons. The Tract—"Tractus a trahendo dicitur, quia trahendo id est tractim canitur," slowly, "longa et morosa modulatione," by the Cantor alone, without any repeat "in directum," and without any response from the choir, who listened in silence,—took the place of the *Alleluia* and the Sequence from Septuagesima to Holy Thursday. "Tractus qui nullo respondente cantatur et in melodiis suis similitudinem fert gemitus" (Ducauge, s.v.) thus appropriately marked the season of Lent. "Tractus semper in causa humilitatis ponitur," Alcuin. At other seasons the last syllable of the *Alleluia* was protracted through a long musical phrase or passage, an air or "melody without words," sung or played by the organ, "pure folk-music, the spontaneous outflow of the untutored soul of the people." Afterwards, instead of this prolongation of one syllable or vowel sound, a "prose" or "sequence," which was a rhythmical or metrical composition, supplied words to the melody (which it was found difficult to remember without words) on such Sundays as fell in Advent or Eastertide, and on such saints' days as were not in Septuagesima. Sarum had 94, York 172, Hereford 81 such sequences or "followings-on" of the *Alleluia* before the Gospel. 5. The Troper was "an independent music collection supplemental to the official books," and contained the non-Scriptural tags and farsings, which by a further development were attached to the beginning or the end of, or inserted within the Introits, the *Kyries*, the *Gloria in excelsis*, the *Alleluia*, the creed, the offertory, the *Sanctus*, *Benedictus*, the *Agnus Dei* and the Communion. Durandus, lib. iv, c. 5. (In the introduction to the *Winchester Troper*, pp. i-xlii, is a full explanation and history of the rise and fall of Tropes, Tracts, Proses and Sequences in France, Germany and England.) These additions were introduced into the Liturgy about 900 A.D. Since 1570 they have all been removed from the Roman Mass, and all the Sequences except four; these are *Victimae paschali* at Easter, *Veni sancte spiritus* at Whitsuntide, *Lauda Syon* on Corpus Christi day, and *Dies irae* in the Requiem Mass. In the Sarum Grayle-book nine farsed *Kyries* survived into the sixteenth century, and one still retains its place in the English Prayer Book, where it is farsed with the Ten Commandments. By the beginning of the thirteenth century the bulk of these "tropes" or "turning-about" of words, amplifications of the normal text and adaptations (τρόποι) of popular melodies to sacred uses in the Mass, had disappeared; such as remained, consisting chiefly of sequences, came to be generally included in the Grayle-book which would

then contain the musical notation for everything that was sung by the choir in the Mass. In the Grayle, says Lyndwood, "contineri debent officium aspersionis aquae benedictae (consecrated every Sunday), Missarum inchoationes sive Officia, *Kyrie* cum versibus, *Gloria in excelsis*, Gradalia, *Alleluia* et Tractus, Sequentiae, Symbolum cantandum in Missa, Offertoria, *Sanctus*, *Agnus*, Communio, et cetera quae ad chorum spectant in Missae solennis decantatione." *Provinciale*, lib. III, tit. 27 (p. 251).

It will be evident, by reference to the ground plan of the church and p. 56, that Bishop Grandisson expected that every four persons at least of the priest-vicars, secondaries, and boys would require one of these three Music-books to themselves, one would lie in the upper stalls for the priest-vicars, and two in the second row on either side the choir. At the night services three lights on each side were to be provided by the college, and on referring to the ground plan of the church, it will be seen that six holes still exist in the groining of the roof over the old position of the choir stalls. From each of these three holes, on either side, a "large candle, clear and bright," Stat. lxxvij, 26, used to hang. Thus perhaps the choir men would not be tempted to amuse themselves, as did their compeers at Exeter, when the lights were lower down, note on Stat. vii, p. 137. How the men were to stand about these books is described Stat. viij and lxxvij. The Canons were to find their own books, but not casually, Stat. xxxj. At Exeter, Bishop Quivil wrote to the Chapter, 17 April, 1281, "quoniam ad faciendum divinum obsequium Antiphonaria Gradalia et Troperia sunt necessaria, non pauca set multa, precipimus senescallis quod citra Pascha anno revoluto proximo sequente procurent quod sint ex utraque parte chori duo Antiphonaria (cp. p. 218) et quatuor Gradalia cum totidem Troperiis ad minus, que sint competencia et sic ascultata et correcta quod consonent et concordent prout ecclesie condecet honestati." The choir at Ottery was proportionately stronger than that at Exeter. Though the chapter was one-third the size of that at the mother church, and though the building was far smaller than the cathedral, yet there were (after 1361) half as many priest-vicars (ten priest-vicars, the Parish-priest and Morn-priest), 12 as against 24 at Exeter, 8 secondaries as against 12, 8 boys as against 14. At Exeter and Ottery alike, however, there were to be six Music-books on either side the choir: and for the Rulers, of whom there were four on double feasts and two on simples, and whose place was on each side in the middle of the choir, there were to be at Ottery other two copies of the Anthem-book at Mattins and Evensong, and of the Grayle at the Mass.

26^m fo. vxxxj. *De nouorum librorum correccione.*32^m ca^m

ITEM, quociens aliquis nouus liber portatur in chorum, nullus canonicus nec alius utatur eo, quousque corrigatur.

33^m ca^mxxxij. *De libris processionalibus; et processionibus.*

ITEM, statuimus quod quilibet canonicus residens, et quilibet uicarius, habeat per¹ se vnum Processionale; ne in eundo et cantando mutuo impedianur, uel se extranverso inordinate coniungant. Que Processionalia remaneant semper successoribus vnus cuiusque.

¹ Winton, "pro."

xxxij. The Processioner contained for convenience sake a collection made up of materials drawn from other sources, viz. the Anthems, Responses and Proses, the Litanies, Psalms and Hymns chanted in various processions. The choir-habit for all men and boys was the long surplice and black cope. Over that the seniors wore the almuce, amess or hood (not to be confused with amice, Stat. xliij), generally of black with various linings according to the dignity of the wearer. When thrown back off the head on to the shoulders the lining then became the outer part, this was of spotted grey fur for cathedral canons, of brown fur (calabre) for the next in dignity, and of simple black cloth for clerks "de superiore gradu"; below these none were entitled to the almuce. Every clerk in orders had to provide himself with the choir-habit. Stat. iij. In Processions on ordinary Sundays all wore the choir-habit except the officiating priest, who wore a silk cope; on great feasts they all wore silk copes. At Exeter (as at Sarum) "Omnes clerici in choro cuiuscunque status indifferenter nigris utantur capis per totum annum ad omnes horas diei, nisi in illis duplicibus festis, que ex proprietate sua Processionem habent adiunctam, vel in aliis eciam festis duplicibus que diebus fiunt dominicis, tunc enim omnes capis utuntur sericis ad Processionem. Item, in vigilia Pasche, quando *Gloria*

in *Excelsis* inchoatur, facta genuflexione osculantes formulas, deponant capas nigras omnes clerici et in superpelliceis appareant. Et exinde per totam septimanam, et etiam in octava die, superpelliceis utantur, preterquam ad Matutinas. Simile quoque observetur in vigilia Pentecostes et per totam ebdomadam. In omni etiam duplici festo a Pascha usque ad festum sancti Michaelis semper de die in superpelliceis appareant in choro et capitulo et ad omnes horas diei, et per totas octavas apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et Assumpcionis beate Marie. Ad Matutinas tamen per totum annum capis nigris utuntur. Quandocunque fit servitium pro mortuis, dum corpus ad ecclesiam deportatur, et ad *Placebo* et ad *Dirige* et ad Commendaciones et ad Missam, licet duplex festum fuerit, et etiam in Processione causâ temporis vel tribulacionis, et in Rogationibus, licet in festis duplicibus fuerint. Similiter etiam fiat in festo sancti Marci Evangeliste ad Processionem, que solet fieri ipso die de jejuniis, semper capis nigris utuntur. In vigiliis vero et quatuor temporibus semper quando de jejuniis dicitur Missa, utantur clerici in choro nigris capis; exceptis ad *Placebo* et *Dirige* tantum in octavo die Assumpcionis et die Gabrielis archangeli." *Ordinale*, 11, 12; and with the exception of the last paragraph *Sarum Customs*, p. 25. The choir in white surplices only on so many feast days forestalled the post-reformation arrangement for the whole year. The black choir cope must have been an ugly thing at best, and was originally worn simply for warmth. It was left off by the canons at Stoke from Easter onwards. Now that we have warmer underclothing, and also warm our churches better, we are well rid of it. White was a favourite with Bishop Grandisson, the cloaks and hoods for the hundred poor at his funeral were to be white or grey, and the priests and clerks of his chapel were in surplices and white copes usually. *Reg.*, part iii, pp. 1511 and 1512, and compare his order for surplices at Ottery. *Stat.* li.

The Processions were of various kinds, either ordinary, which regularly recurred with more or less frequency throughout the year, or else occasional and special, as at funerals, or times of distress or public necessity (e.g. they were ordered by the Legate Othobon in 1268 to take place on Trinity Monday for the peace of the kingdom and deliverance of the Holy Land; by Archbishop Raynold, 21 July, 1321, on Wednesdays and Fridays for the peace of the Realm and English Church; on 9 January, 1350, by Archbishop Islip, twice a week for deliverance from the Black Death, Wilkins, II, 14, 507, 752), and sometimes they were held for the reception of eminent persons on a visit to the church. "A liturgical procession had always some definite point in view to be reached, and was not a meaningless walk round the church; before Mass it led to the High Altar, at other times to the Font, the Rood, the Churchyard Cross, or some side altar." Ordinary Processions were made on all Sundays before High Mass, generally after Prime and Chapter. In cathedral and collegiate churches the "preces dominicales" or bidding prayers were said in the Procession as it halted before the Rood, and the Sermon was then delivered in the Nave before Mass began. This was to be the case at Ottery, op. pp. 102 and 131. At Lincoln, in 1475, there were twenty such in the year, of which nine had been delivered by the Friars-Preachers. In parish churches, however, the Bedes with Sermon were not in the Procession but after the Gospel and offertory in the Mass. (*Lay-folks Mass-book*, p. 317; Lyndwood, lib. v, tit. 5, p. 291.) Similar Processions took place on Christmas Day, Epiphany, Candlemas, Lady Day, the first three days of Easter and Whit-weeks, Ascension Day, Corpus Christi, the Assumption and Nativity of our Lady, All Saints, and on three days fixed, but locally variable, which were the feast of Relics, of the patron saint of the church, and of the anniversary of its dedication. There was one to the Rood daily after Mattins in Easter-week. Processions took place also after Evensong at Christmas, and the next three days, to the altars of St Stephen, St John, and the Holy Innocents, and on the feast of every saint in whose honour an altar was dedicated in the church; to the Font from Easter Day up to the Friday following; to the Rood on Low Sunday and thence forward till Ascension Day, and on all Saturdays from the first Sunday after Trinity to Advent Sunday, and on the two Holy Cross Days in spring and autumn (the Finding, 3 May, and the Raising, 14 September). In Lent after None and before Mass to the altars in turn on every Wednesday and Friday, except Ash Wednesday, and in Passion Week. Besides these, there were Processions with special ceremonies on Ash Wednesday for the ejection of Penitents at the West-door, on Palm Sunday outside the church, on Maundy Thursday at the Restoration of the Penitents at the West-door, at the Consecration of the oils after Mass that day, and again in the evening at the washing of the altars, and of the feet of the poor; on Good Friday after the Reproaches and creeping to the Cross, when the Host and Cross were buried in the Easter sepulchre, at Easter Eve for the blessing of new fire, of the Paschal Candle, and of the Font; on Easter Day before Mattins to the Sepulchre to take out the Host and the Cross; on the three Rogation Days to neighbouring churches and into the open country. Many of these Processions had naturally their special Litanies, Anthems, and Collects. Dr Henderson has edited the *Sarum Processionale*, Leeds, 1882, and that of York for the Surtees Society, 1875. *Ceremonies and*

Processions of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury, by C. Wordsworth, 1901, contains much interesting information regarding the same. Judging from contemporary compotus rolls a Processioner and a Manual would wear out more quickly than the choir books proper, on account of their constant handling, and exposure to the weather. They seem to have required renewal on an average about every ten years; the Anthem books and Grayles perhaps every thirty.

34^m ca^mxxxij. *De modo tractandi libros.*

ITEM, ut honestius libri et uestimenta custodiantur, statuimus et mandamus, quod clerici tenendo libros, quantum possunt, manicas superpellicij inter librum et manum interponant, et folia uertendo, non cum digitis sputo tinctis, ut sutores, nec plicando quasi per aures caperent, set cum digitis incipiendo in superiori parte, descendendo uertant; et stringendo libros aperiant, non firmacula subito euellendo. Eosdem eciam libros in fine officij semper claudant.

xxxij. In England the surplice has always been particularly long and full, reaching down to the heels with loose falling sleeves, ending in a point below the knees, the arms at least three feet and a half long and two yards wide. "Debent itaque omnes, ut supradictum est, indui exterius capis nigris decentibus et integris non laceratis, longis ad minus usque ad pedes. Et interius superpelliceis longitudinem cape non excedentibus." Bishop Grandisson's *Ordinale*, 12; *Sarum Customs*, p. 263. It would have been impossible that the curt and short-sleeved surplice, or "sausage-skin," introduced within the last twenty years into England, could have been used as Bishop Grandisson here wishes for keeping the hot or moist hand from direct contact with the illuminated manuscript, in the same way as in the British Museum reading-room the reader is forbidden to place his hand upon such without the intervention of paper, or some other guard, against soiling. The old habit of putting the fingers to the lips before turning the leaves is still practised by country choirmasters, and their pupils sometimes through slovenliness still dog's-ear their service books. The deliberate movement of the hand from the top of the page to the bottom while turning over, and the light touch "stringendo" in opening the volume after unfastening the clasps "firmacula," not roughly tearing them apart, and the closing of the volume again at the end of the service before it is left to be put away in the book-press by the church clerks, Stat. xxx, when they lock up the choir, Stat. xxxviij, are dwelt upon by the Bishop with loving care. Similar characteristics of the high-born scholar in contact with the rough boorish ways of the half-educated countryman are shown in the provisions against scribbling in the books, tearing off corners of pages for private uses, cutting nails in choir, Stat. vij, making foolish corrections or notes, Stat. xxix, disorderly shifting them from their proper places on the desks, Stat. xxx, carrying them or the vestments carelessly into the rain, Stat. xxvij; against rolling or lolling about in choir, Stat. viij, or in procession, Stat. xxxij; against wandering glances, Stat. xxvj, or stubborn neglect of duty, Stat. ix. So, too, in the provision of little handkerchiefs to prevent their hands soiling the embroidery of the mass-vestments, Stat. xxxij, of napkins to prevent the dropping of wine or water on them, and the care lest the melting wax from the large tapers should do any injury, Stat. lxxvij, 8. "Ut fit in ecclesiis ruralibus" (Stat. xlij), "ut quandoque vidimus in ecclesiis ruralibus" (Stat. xxix and note), was always recurring to his mind. Not that he did not himself thoroughly enjoy the country quiet and beauty, whether at his seat at Ottery, or at Chudleigh, his favourite home. He is depicted on his boss in the centre of the transept of the former church surrounded with foliage, and in Stat. xvj apparently refers to walks in the Harpsford woods or the Devonshire lanes over the East and West hills, or along the banks of the Otter, up which came the boats in those days from Otterton, before the mouth of the river was silted up, bearing the coloured glass from Rouen, and other ornaments for his church. But anything uncouth seems to have irked him much, e.g. hunting in particular, Stat. liv and note. The statutes in which the minutiae of the service and of the daily life of the college are dwelt upon are very characteristic, e.g., the choir boys' ways and tricks, xxj, xxxix, 1, the sudden noise made by thumping down the misericords, xxxvj, or too violent ringing of the bells, lxxiv, carelessness about the altar fittings, xlij, each of the pair of the tapers to be of even length, xlij, the folding up of the vestments in their presses, xlv, the dusting and cleaning of the pictures and images, walls and windows, "tam super quam subter," xlvij, the precautions against the candlesticks of the taperers being upset on the choir-step, lxxij, 5, how all in the college were to be peaceful, quiet, chaste, liv, yet of good stature, iv, and sensible in arranging themselves in choir, lxxvij, well behaved at table, lij, and cautious

in putting out the lights in the dormitory, xlix, the games they might play or not play, liv, the books to be taken out and read, lxi. No item of the sacristan's duties, however small, is passed over, xlv, xlv, xlvj, lxij, even the plumber from Exeter to repair the slightest defect in the gutters and rain-pipes at a fixed annual stipend is specially provided for by the Bishop's forethought. How thoroughly artistic were his tastes, and how liberally he expended his resources on works of art, is shown not only by what remains at Exeter Cathedral and Ottery, but by the long and carefully enumerated list left in his will, *Reg.*, III, 1549-1557.

xxxiiij. *De custodia uestimentorum in missa.*

35^m ca^m

ITEM, statuimus quod ad missam sacerdos et diaconus cum subdiacono semper parua 27^m fo.
manutergia in manu teneant; ne uestimenta in pectore sordident, et ut sudorem tergant. p. 187.
Dum uero vinum et aqua ad calicem uel ad lauandum ministratur, manutergium interponatur. Et cum sedent, super eorum genua aliquis pannus lineus ad hoc specialiter seruiens supponatur.

xxxiiij. "The maniple was originally a napkin or handkerchief for ordinary uses as the stole had been before it." The latter was primarily a face-cloth, but, after it had fallen out of use by the laity, acquired a sacred character in the sixth century as a badge of the ministry. Then the maniple succeeded it, and was borne by *all*, boys as well as men at higher festivals. Rock, II, 7n. Hence Roger Slake, as colet at Ottery, p. 117, was only old-fashioned not playful. But the maniple, too, became, in process of time, so stiffened and embroidered that it could no longer be used for such practical purpose. Occasional attempts were made to remedy the inconvenience caused by the conversion of the old Sudarium into a merely ornamental appendage. Rock, I, 422. About the year 1197 a Synod of Paris decreed "ut quilibet sacerdos habeat in celebratione Missae propter munditiam uestimentorum circa altare unum manutergium," Labbé, x, 1808. The Council of Cologne, 1280 A.D., ordered "Missale semper involvatur camisia vel panno lineo et mundo, et apponatur parvum manutergium, quo presbiteri nares vel faciem detergant, ne contingat sacra vestimenta maculari," Labbé, XI, 1113. "The canons of Rheims, no longer able to put the maniple to its first use, have substituted for it another *mouchoir* of simple linen, which they call a finger cloth (*doigtier*) because they carry it on their finger when they go to the altar." De Vert, *Cérém. de l'Église*, II, 2, p. 295. Seudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*, 1876, pp. 87-95. Bishop Grandisson, adopting this convenience, ordered that two, instead of one, such little handkerchiefs should be carried by each of the altar ministers at Ottery: one to be used as a face-cloth to prevent the perspiration from soiling the upper part of the chasuble, dalmatic, or tunicle. These vestments, when embroidered with gold or silver thread, or of thick stuff enriched with precious stones, are very heavy and warm to wear over the close-fitting albe and cassock, more especially when the stiffened amice comes right up round the neck under them. The other clean little handkerchief was to be used for intercepting drops of wine or water that might be carelessly splashed on to the lower portions of the embroidery. There were eight points in the service where this might happen, either at the preparation of the wine and water by the subdeacon with a collet's help before the Grayle, or at the ablutions, when first wine and water were poured by the subdeacon over the priest's thumb and forefinger into the chalice, or when secondly wine was poured to rinse the chalice, or again at either of the four cleansings of the hands with water by the deacon, subdeacon, and priest. The subdeacon did this before preparing the bread and wine for the altar, the deacon before unfolding the corporas on the altar (during the *Alleluia*), and the priest after censuring the oblates before their consecration, and again after all was over at the end. The napkin for drying the hands after either of these washings was altogether distinct from what Bishop Grandisson here specifies. St Edmund Rich, in his *Canterbury Constitutions*, A.D. 1236 (Wilkins, I, 639), orders "habeat sacerdos juxta altare pannum mundissimum alio panno circumdatum undique et honestè ac decenter coopertum, in quo post susceptionem sacramenti salutaris digitos cum labiis ablutos emundet," and Lyndwood, lib. III, tit. 23, p. 235. This napkin was brought in by one of the taperers with the bason and water, when the other taperer brought in the bread and the wine and water cruets after the Introit (*Sarum Customs*, p. 68). The present statute is concerned only "de custodia uestimentorum in missa"; accordingly the Bishop adds even a third precautionary measure, in the way of another linen lap-cloth or apron, to prevent their being soiled by the hot hands with the little handkerchiefs in them as they rested on the knees when sitting down. Cp. "Sedente abbate capellanus manutergium extraverso gremii sui apponat." *Evesham Book*, H. B. S. 2, 172. After the censuring of the altar and while

the *Kyrie* was being sung "sacerdos et sui ministri in sedibus paratis se recipiant et expectent usque ad *Gloria in excelsis*" (*Sarum Missale*, 583; *Sarum Customs*, p. 66; Rock, I, 410); and they sat again, as did all the choirmen, while the epistle was read by the subdeacon (he standing, of course) and while the Grayle, *Alleluia* (except on double feasts, when all stood for this) and the Sequence or Tract were being sung (*Sarum Missale*, 587), also during the sermon, when there was one after the Gospel, though that would be at Ottery generally in the nave (p. 161).

36^m ca^mxxxv. *De capis sericis utendis ad processiones.*

ITEM, Nolumus, quod in maioribus duplicibus festis stent ad totam missam in capis sericis sicut Sarum; set sicut Exonie omnes¹, exceptis Rectoribus et postea qui Gradale et Responsum² et *Alleluia* debent cantare, statim processione facta sericas exuant capas in uestibulo deportandas.

¹ Winton omits "omnes."² W. omits "et Responsum."

xxxv. The Sarum rule given in the Consuetudinary (A.D. 1220) is, "in illis festis duplicibus que ex propria sua solemnitate processionem habeant sibi adjunctam, vel in aliis festis duplicibus que diebus fiunt dominicis, omnes capis utuntur sericis ad processionem et ad missam." The Customary (about 1350) adds after "missam," "usque ad *agnus dei* tantum et donec pax per totum chorum data fuerit," *Sarum Customs*, p. 24. But the silk copes appear to have been put off at an earlier point in the Mass on Advent Sunday, for at p. 71 the Customary orders "finito *Alleluia* clerici cantores ad gradum chori inclinati redeant, deinde ad vestibulum ad capas sericas exuendas." They would be put off when the Procession arrived at the Presbytery. At Windsor two large linen clothes on which to lay the copes, when put off, are enumerated in the Inventory. Rock, II, 85; IV, 12. In the Lincoln Liber Niger (in the portion F. dating from 1390-1400), "ad *agnus dei* cum rectores chori pacem dederint in eodem choro deponant omnes capas sericas et induant se capis nigris in choro, et hec mutatio habitus fiet in locis ubi stant." *Lincoln Cathedral Statutes*, 1892, part I, 391. These qualifications of the older Sarum rule as given in the Consuetudinary would therefore all be later than Bishop Grandisson's remarks in this Statute: but it would appear that an inclination for the cope-men to put off their silk copes after the procession had arrived at the altar, at some point in the Mass, early manifested itself at Sarum. At Exeter Bishop Grandisson (A.D. 1337) in his *Ordinale*, 67, ordains that after Tierce on Christmas Day, "tunc fiat processio in capis sericis: qua finita et depositis capis cantetur Sexta dum ministri se preparant ad magnam missam. Non enim apud nos Exonie chorus totus induitur capis sericis, nisi tantum in processionibus, et hoc in maioribus festis duplicibus, quia cape serice nimis attererentur in stallis." And again on Whit-sunday, "tunc fiat processio, et postea depositis capis sericis cantetur Sexta. Post Sextam cantetur magna missa cum quinque rectoribus chori," p. 168. The motive that actuated Bishop Grandisson was the very practical one, the better preservation of the fine work of the copes which is injured by nothing so much as by rubbing or sitting in the stalls at certain portions of the mass service. The Rulers of the choir would remain outside the stalls, and therefore the order would not apply to them. With the same intention Bishop Quivil had written, 17 April, 1281, that in the nave at Exeter, "ut capae sericæ melius conserventur, precipimus in solemnioribus processionibus sterni per ipsos custodes tapeta, sicut antiquitus fieri consuevit." The present statute is also an instance of how Bishop Grandisson modified even the Exeter use for Ottery: he allows those who were to sing the Grayle and the *Alleluia* to retain their silk copes there as well as the Rulers, though apparently they did not so do at Exeter. This is in exact accordance with Statute lxxv. "Nolumus quod alligent vel dicant unquam se usum tenere Sarum, set magis Exonie, vel ut verius dicant, usum per nos eis traditum proprium et specialem," "secundum Ordinale et Consuetudinarium, que eis fecimus et extraximus ex Exonie et Sarum usibus." Stat. vij. "Non oportere sui in sacris ita moris esse tenaces ecclesiæ ministros, ut aliarum ecclesiarum antiquas ceremonias damnent vel contemnant: memores, tum moniti Gregorii magni ad Augustinum, quod in restaurandâ apud antiquos Britanniae insulanos aut fundandâ apud Anglo-Saxones ecclesiâ Christianâ religiose secutum eum esse æquum est censere, scilicet, ut 'non ita ceremoniis propriis foret addictus ut abhorreret ab ecclesiis Gallicanis quæ diversis ritibus utuntur quos ab iis mutuari recte posset,' tum etiam Tridentinae Synodi, quæ, ut officiorum ecclesiasticorum novos ritus antiquandos, ita antiquos retinendos sanxit: posse ergo antiquari novos ritus, ut qui aliunde antiquis sepius nec conveniunt nec cohererent. Proprios ritus, licet forte nullius momenti

videantur, non esse repudiandos modo antiqui sint, sed cum veteribus, aliis neglectis, et cum aliarum ecclesiarum ritibus esse conferendos; et plerumque fieri ut ex illa collatione lux illis afferatur, et ratio eorum quae latebat, pateat clara, pia, nobilis, et dignitati ceremoniarum maxime consentanea." *Caeremoniale Parisiense*, 1703, caput praeivum, p. iv.

xxxvj. *De modo standi et sedendi in stallis.*

37^m ca^m

ITEM, ordinamus et mandamus quod quando in choro stare tenentur, non super partem superiorem stallorum semisedeant, sed omnes vniformiter sese gerant sursum stando; et cum sedere debent, ita secrete stalla demittant cadere quod non audiantur; et maxime, cum lecciones incipiuntur.

xxxvj. How they were to stand is well described in *Caeremoniale Parisiense* (edit. 1703), p. 5. "Non stabunt capite in cubitum nixo, vel in alterum latus inflexo, sive etiam divaricatis, vel super inferiora stalla elevatis pedibus, aut manibus dissolutis. Omni studio vitabunt de loco in locum divagationes, oscitationes, brachiorum extensiones, cancellationes tibiariarum inter sedendum aut standum, et eiusmodi alia....Cum frequentior, et diuturnior situs corporis, et dispositio in officiis ecclesiasticis sit statio; stalla ad faciliorem huiusmodi situs, et dispositionis observationem, erecta sunt in choro, in quibus, qui sacro ministerio sunt addicti, stantes inniti possint erectis sedilibus, seu elevatis subselliorum assulis, quas plerique vocant Misericordias, pro temporis et officii ratione et opportunitate." But "brethren should always be careful, when they get up or sit down, to raise or lower the seats of the stalls gently and noiselessly with the left hand." *Customs of Augustinian Canons*, J. W. Clark, 1897, p. 87. Bishop Grandisson desires that at Ottery they should never rest themselves by leaning on the upturned misericords. They were not to half-sit when told to 'stand. Apparently this was to avoid the risk of the misericord suddenly and with noise flapping down if the occupant carelessly rested himself upon it. The seat would be turned up to give more room in the stalls for kneeling or turning to the altar. When they were to stand or sit is defined, *Ordinale*, 8 and 9, and the rule at Exeter was slightly stricter than at Sarum: when they were to turn to the altar and when they were to kneel is nearly the same in both cathedrals, with the exception of what is noted under Statute viii, p. 138. At the reading of the lessons at Mattins with their responsories and verses and at Mass, "dum lecciones et epistole leguntur et Gradale et *Alleluia* cantantur," were the only times when all men and boys alike sat down together, hence the caution as to care in then lowering the seats. "In omnibus tamen duplicibus festis decet quod chorus surgat et stet dum *Alleluia* repetitur ab eodem."

xxxvij. *De illis qui stare possunt, seu debent et qui non.*

38^m ca^m

ITEM, statuimus quod nullus clericus aut laicus in choro sine habitu inter ministros ecclesie, nisi forsitan maior persona uel religiosus fuerit, stare permittantur. ¶ Et si aliquis talis forte habeat loqui cum aliquo de choro, exeat ad eum extra chorum, et celeriter reuertatur, ne ex tali causa dum fit officium cum alijs in ecclesia fabulentur.

xxxvij. Bishop Quivil writing from Paignton to the Exeter Chapter, 6 August, 1283, ordered, "Nullus deinceps qui habitum chori non gestat ibidem stare aut moram facere dum divina celebrantur officia aliquid permittatur; confabulationes vero et colloquia in choro et precipue cum personis extraneis interdiciamus omnimodo." One of the questions to be asked by Archdeacons of all incumbents in the diocese of Lincoln, A.D. 1230, was "an aliqui laici sint pertinaces ut stent in cancello cum clericis," Wilkins, i, 628: and Bishop Simon Langham of Ely, 1364 A.D., ordered "ne laici stent vel sedeant inter clericos in cancello dum divina ibidem celebrantur, nisi forte ob reverentiam vel aliam rationabilem et manifestam causam, sed hoc solis patronis permittatur," Wilkins, iii, 61. The ordinance was for the sake of decency and avoiding crowding and confusion. When there was any good reason for laymen being there, Bishop Grandisson did not object if they wore the choir habit with the rest. He made arrangements for distinguished visitors who he hoped, after being entertained by the College at the Manor-house, would benefit the place, both in Stat. xxvj, and also as narrated on p. 107. His hopes were not disappointed; the College had King Henry VI and King Henry VII for their guests (p. 77), and the former made Ipplepen sure to them. (A.D. 1437.)

39^m ca^mxxxviiij. *De custodia chori et ecclesie diligenti.*

ITEM, statuimus quod Clerici ecclesie semper post Completorium claudant vndeque chorum usque ad Matutinas; et similiter post Matutinas usque ad Primam, ne aliquis intret nisi per eos; et similiter eciam¹ fiat, dicta Nona diei usque ad Uesperas; et semper aliqui eorum comedant in ecclesia, propter fures et latrones, ne unquam ecclesia sit sine aliquo eorum; si² quando aliqui exeunt alij interim intus sint; et e conuerso.

¹ Winton omits "eciam."² W. "set" for "si."

xxxviiij. The two "church-clerks" (Ordinacio v and x) would be in lesser orders, at least that of "door-keeper" (ostiarus), and trustworthy people, under the direct supervision of the Canon-Sacrist or Treasurer who had charge of all furniture, vessels, and books in the church. The latter they had to put away and lock up after service, and set out such as were required before service, Stat. xxx. The two holy-water-clerks were with the parish priest responsible to the Canon-Minister, the next in rank to the Warden in the Chapter (Ordinacio v and x). They, too, would be in lesser orders, at least that of "benet" (exorcista), so called because they carried the holy water not only in procession in the church, but to any parishioners who might wish to have it each week at their homes. They were associated with the "church-clerks" in their duties under the Canon-Sacrist, chiming the bells, and kindling the lights before Mattins and Evensong during the last peal (Stat. lxxvij, 3), folding up the vestments, cleaning the church, attending to the priests at their private masses (Stat. xlvij). They also took turns with the church-clerks in weekly rotation in setting the altars ready for Mass with the bread, cruets, censers with kindled charcoal, light for the holy table, and other necessities (Stat. xxxix). Either a "church-clerk" or a "holy-water-clerk," if qualified by education and well behaved, might go on to holy orders in course of time, Stat. lvij. In fact the "beneficium aque portande," a small fee paid by the parishioners to the benets for carrying round the water, was expressly intended as a help to poor scholars to enable those on the lowest rung of the ecclesiastical ladder to rise to higher promotion. Bishop Stavenby of Coventry ordained (1237 A.D.), "Quia plerique scholares carent necessariis, quorum scientia multi per gratiam dei potuerunt aedificari, volumus ut scholares ferant aquam benedictam per villas rurales, si sint qui postulent et indigeant!" Wilkins, I, 641; and Canon xxix of the synod held at Exeter under Bishop Quivil, 16 April, 1287 A.D., enacts "a nostris majoribus saepe audivimus recitari, beneficia aquae benedictae, intuitu caritatis, fuisse ab initio instituta, ut ex eorum proventibus pauperes clerici exhiberentur in scholis et ibidem taliter proficerent, ut aptiores et magis idonei fierent ad maiora. Ne igitur, quod tam salubriter extitit institutum, per temporis lapsum redeat in abusum, statuimus quod aquae benedictae beneficia solis scholaribus assignentur," Wilkins, II, 147. One case of a colet at Ottery thus rising was Roger Slake, p. 117. It was of course the duty of all four of the church-clerks and holy-water-clerks to attend the daily services in choir habit.

The choir was to be closed (directly after early Morning Prayer, the celebration of Holy Communion, and Evensong were over), "undeque," that is by its three gates, one of which was under the Rood-screen on the west, and two of which, one on the north side and the other on the south, led into the choir aisles (p. 56). Of these the church-clerks were the keybearers, and no one was to be admitted after service to the choir, except "per eos," and on their responsibility. They occupied therefore a position of some trust and much importance in the daily life of the place.

The time of Mattins was midnight in winter, and sunrise in summer (Stat. vj). There came a long pause after Mattins till the choir was required again (Stat. xvj), and then it was to be locked; for during that time there would be many persons walking about in the church, the morn-priest would be singing the morrow-mass at our Lady's altar "exterius" (Stat. lxxvij, 27) in the Transept in front of the Rood-screen (pp. 48, 54), and after that, the private masses said by other priests at the side altars (Stat. xxvj) would draw others into church; and to these would follow our Lady's Mass in her chapel (Stat. xv). All these services would be over before the College met in the choir again for Prime, preliminary to Chapter and *Preciosa*, to which nearly every one would go in the Chapter House; and if there were any parish services required they would then take place in the nave (Stat. xlj). On this followed the High Mass, the great service of the day in choir (p. 129). Nones were said immediately after High Mass, and "all the afternoon" the choir would not be used till Evensong, and so would again be locked up. But not the church itself; the nave and transepts at least would always be open for private prayer till after Compline. Hence, for

this reason, one of the "church-clerks" or "holy-water-clerks" had always to be in attendance as against ill-conditioned visitors, and this would necessitate their having their nunchions and bever brought to them there, he who fetched would eat (comedat) with his mate (pp. 49 and 54), and probably another pair would "e converso" be on duty at the supper hour. After Compline the choir doors were locked till second chime for Mattins next day (Stat. lxxvij, 2). After curfew the gates of the close were bolted, it was time for all to go to bed (Stat. xxj n.) and the keys were taken to the morn-priest who would open them next dawn (Stat. xlix). Meanwhile the "church-clerks" and "benets" after going their rounds locked themselves in the church (Stat. lxxvij, 2 and 27) for the night. To assist them in the bell-ringing came sometimes the private servants of the warden and canons, and took their turn with them at their vigils (Stat. lxxvij, 3).

The "church-clerks" at Ottery thus filled the same office as the Custores ecclesie did at Exeter. There Bishop Bronescombe had ordained 15 November, 1275, "quod duo sufficientes clerici principales ordinentur custores, habentes sub eis duos inferiores, officium suum diligenter exequentes et pacem et silentium in ecclesia procurantes, sicut in consilio Lugdunensi continetur" (Canon xxv, Second Council of Lyons, A.D. 1274. Harduin, vii, 716). Bishop Quivil had further ordered, 17 April, 1281 A.D., "quod numerus custorum antiquitus observatus redintegretur omnino, qui in personis, habitibus et moribus sint honesti; quorum aliqui, secundum morem pristinum, processionem superpelliceis induti, virgas in manibus portantes precedant, et alii ad processionis ipsius custodiam subsequantur, non sustinentes populum stare in medio processionis ipsius, donec, cantato ad plenum in stacione ante Crucem Responsorio, tempus advenerit predicandi." And yet again, 6 August, A.D. 1283, "provideat thesaurarius quod custores, circa pulsacionem et alia ministeria sibi incumbencia, officium suum, secundum antiquam et laudabilem ecclesie consuetudinem, melius solito exequantur, eos qui nunc sunt taliter correcturus, vel alios eorum loco prepositurus." Bishop Veysey, 31 November, 1544, when embodying older statutes, states "quatuor custodem duo debent in ecclesia pernoctare," "officium janitoris est janua et fores Clausi statutis temporibus claudere et aperire, viz. a festo Pasche usque festum Michaelis ad horam nonam, et a festo Michaelis archangeli usque festum Pasche ad horam octavam, et non ante Missam matutinalem vocatam 'Brattones Masse' aperire," cf. pp. 76 and 78.

xxxix. *De disciplina puerorum.*

40^m ca^m

ITEM, statuimus, ne pueri choriste materiam habeant discurrendi extra chorum, et ludis in uestibulo uel alibi intendant, quod duo ecclesie clerici et aquebaiuli, quilibet per suam ebdomadam, panem, uinum et aquam, carbones, ignem et lumen, et cetera necessaria preparare teneantur.

xxxix. How careful Bishop Grandisson was in arranging for the keeping of the accessories of each altar is still witnessed by the aumbries and piscinas described pp. 67 and 71. The fireplace for kindling the charcoal for the incense and stamping the wafer-breads still exists in the South Vestry, p. 66. This would be a tempting place for idle boys to loiter in for play; they were expected to be in school at this hour. Stat. xxvij n., p. 155.

xl. *De residencia quatuor officiorum.*

ITEM, statuendo¹ inhibemus, ne Custos, uel Minister, Cantor, aut Sacrista, in duplicibus^{28^m fo.} festis pro quibuscumque secularibus causis uel negocijs, ab officijs diuinis se absentent, ^{p. 189.} nisi forte propter talia negocia, que non possent alias expediri, et summam concernunt ^{41^m ca^m} ecclesie utilitatem; nec eciam in aduentu, ex quo incipitur "*O sapientia*," usque post Epiphaniam, nec in quadragesima potissime a dominica in Passione usque post "*quasi modo geniti*," nec a dominica ante Ascensionem usque post festum Corporis Christi, nec infra octabas Assumptionis, et Natiuitatis beate Marie, nisi secundum quod premittitur, quomolibet se absentent extra uillam.

¹ Winton omits "statuendo."

xl. From the lowest rank among the "quadragesima personarum" of the College treated of in the preceding statute the Bishop now proceeds to the four highest, the Warden and three Senior Canons: all four of whom "continuum et personalem corporaliter se jurent facturos in eadem ecclesia residentiam,"

Ord. iv. Of these either the Warden or the Minister was to celebrate High Mass on the greater double feasts (as at Exeter the Dean had to do when the Bishop was absent) and either the Chanter or Sacristan on the lesser doubles. Stat. xxv. Whatever else they might be doing none of the four were to be ever out of town at Christmas, Easter, or Pentecost, that is from 16 December to 7 January, and from the fifth Sunday in Lent to the week after Low Sunday, and from Rogation Sunday until the Thursday after Trinity Sunday. There were nine Advent Antiphons for the *Magnificat* at Evensong, one to be used on each of the eight days preceding Christmas, and each beginning with O. Stat. lxxvij, 20. "Septimo decimo Kalendas Januarii (16 December) semper incipietur Antiphona *O sapientia, que ex ore Altissimi prodiisti, attingens a fine usque ad finem, fortiter; suaviter disponensque omnia: veni ad docendum nos viam prudentie. Et hoc sequens Responsorium—Festina, ne tardaveris, Domine: Et libera populum tuum. V. Veni, Domine, et noli tardare: relaxa facinora plebi tue: Et libera populum tuum. Gloria Patri. Festina ne tardaveris Domine, et libera populum tuum—semper dicitur ad Vesperas, nisi forte in Sabbato inchoetur: tunc enim dicatur Responsorium de historia Dominicali, viz. R. Qui venturus." Sar. Brev., i, cliv. The other eight similar antiphons were, 2. "O Adonay, et dux domus Israel, qui Moysi in igne flamme rubi apparuisti et in Syna legem dedisti; veni ad redimendum nos in brachio extento." 3. "O radix Jesse qui stas in signum populorum, super quem continebunt reges os suum, quem gentes deprecabuntur: veni ad liberandum nos, jam noli tardare." 4. "O Clavis David, et sceptrum domus Israel, qui aperis et nemo claudit, claudis et nemo aperit: veni et educ vinctum de domo carceris, sedentem in tenebris et umbra mortis." 5. "O Oriens splendor lucis eterne et sol justicie: veni et illumina sedentem in tenebris et umbra mortis." 6. "O Rex gentium et desideratus earum: lapisque angularis qui facis utraque unum: veni, salva hominem quem de limo formasti." 7. "O Emmanuel, Rex et Legifer noster, expectatio gentium et salvator earum: veni ad salvandum nos, Domine Deus noster." These were the original seven. The two next were of later adoption. 8. "O virgo virginum, quomodo fiet istud: quia nec primam similem visa es; nec habere sequentem. Filie Jerusalem, quid me admiramini? divinum est mysterium hoc quod cernitis." No. 8 would be used for the first Evensong on a Saturday in commemoration of our Lady. 9. "O Thoma Didime, per Christum quem meruisti tangere, te precibus rogamus altisonis: succurre nobis miseris, ne damnemur cum impiis in adventu Judicis." No. 9 for the 21 December, if it was not the fourth Sunday in Advent which had its own Antiphon, and then St Thomas would be transferred to Monday.*

"Quasi modo geniti infantes, alleluia; rationabiles sine dolo lac concupiscite, alleluia, alleluia, alleluia." 1 S. Pet. ii. 2 was the Introit or Officium at the Mass for the Monday, and each day of the week, succeeding Low Sunday. *Sarum Missale*, 385.

The feast of the Assumption, 15 August, with its octaves, was the great day of all the year at Ottery, Stat. lj. Then, and on Our Lady's Nativity, 8 September, and its octaves, there might be expected a special concourse of visitors to the Church and College, drawn thither by devotion and the indulgences obtained by the Bishop from the Holy See, pp. 119, 120, *Reg.*, part ii, 1189.

42^m ca^m

xlj. *De parochianorum cura; et eorum ministracione.*

28^m fo.^v

ITEM, statuimus, ne forsitan imposterum parochiani diebus festiuis alias matutinas quam illas collegij uendicent, quod qui matutinis chori interesse nolunt, loco matutinarum missa beate Marie sint contenti. ¶ Quodque sacerdos parochialis, aut alius loco ipsius, dicat eis missam priuatam in altari, sibi ad hoc assignato, aquam benedictam cum pane benedicto, ut moris est diebus dominicis, ministrando. In quo eciam altari fiant sponsalia, et purificationes, et misse communes pro defunctis, statim post Primam, ante incepcionem aliarum horarum, ita quod sequens officium chori nullatenus impediatur: necessaria autem ad altare predictum parochiani exhibebunt.

xlj. The "claim" for a special service would probably be, as by old local custom dating back to days before the foundation of the College, on the festivities connected with their parish or craft-gilds. Of these there must have been several at Ottery, bakers, fullers, wool merchants, and others. Every stone mason with his journeymen formed a fraternity. There was scarcely a village in England in the fourteenth century that had not one or more of them. *English Gilds*, 1389 A.D., L. T. Smith, E. E. T. S., 1870. The meetings of a Gild often took place three or four times a year, and began with a Mornspeche (sometimes held in church)

"on the festial day" for settling their business, and after that "every brother and suster of the fraternite schal come to the chirche be viii. of the clok, that is to seye be oure ladies belle, there for to here a messe of Requiem preying for the soules of alle the bretheren and susteren, and for alle christene," and another for the good estate of the living. Rock, *Church of our Fathers*, II, 395-453. Often too a gild had special collects, psalms, and hymns of their own. After worshipping together and giving their alms together, they then met in good fellowship at the Gild-house or hall, or else at the house of one of the brethren, for a common meal for the "nourishing of brotherly love." These gilds were lay bodies for lay purposes. Though the tone of the first draft of this Statute as given p. 129 is considerably softened and the Bishop no longer attributes "ill-will and contrariousness" to those who stood upon the old ways, yet still he objects to anything that would interfere at all with the very full and elaborate routine of services he had planned for his collegiate church, though in an ordinary parish church "in ecclesia rurali" such special services might be tolerated. He was afraid moreover lest such club feasts should degenerate into church-ales and wakes, just as the Christmas festivities at Ottery had done under the Lord of Misrule as described in his monition, 9 December, 1339, addressed to the College, and printed after Statute lxxvj. Others again of the parishioners would have their family "festial days," either year's mind, or month's mind, anniversaries of births, marriages, or deaths, when friends and kin would come to the church together to commemorate the same. Such gatherings whether of gilds or families might be gladsome or sorrowful. If the former, the Bishop thought that one of our Lady's masses, either that sung solemnly with full musical accompaniment in her chapel, or else the low mass by the Morn-priest earlier in the morning at her altar "exterius" under the Rood, were appropriate services for their devotion to manifest itself at. If the latter, then he held that the Mass of requiem sung daily "for all Christen sowles" after Prime as the missa capitularis would answer their requirements. (Page 129, note.)

Nevertheless, if they yet wished anything more definitely specific, he offers them, whether gilds or families, the alternative of having a private mass to themselves with their own lights and torches as usual in former days sung by the parish curate (Ord. xiv) or "alius loco ipsius," such as the gild-chaplain, or a priest of their own kith and kin. There were several popular votive masses for them to choose from, according to the patronage their gild might be under, or the name-saint and avour of their family head, e.g. de Sancto Spiritu, de Cruce, de Trinitate, or of St Anthony, St Sebastian, St Christopher, or St Barbara, St Genofeva, and St Katharine. On the other hand the mass selected might be de Requiem for "the bretheren and susteren and the good doers to the gild departed hence." After the mass was over, the holy water and the holy bread would be administered to them as on Sundays; the first to hallow them in thought and deed, and the latter very appropriately to eat together there and then, or if they pleased at their common meal about to follow at their hall or at their homes. One of the venial sins enumerated in Myrc's *Instructions for Parish Priests*, E. E. T. S. 1868, p. 45, is "Hast thou eten any Sondag with-owte haly-bred? say ye or nay." Bishop Bridport of Salisbury A.D. 1256 ordered "quod parochiani debent providere...crucifixum, cruces et imagines et calicem argenteum, missale, et casulam de serico, libros sufficientes et omnimoda vestimenta ad altare spectantia, et lumen ad missam; et debent invenire panem benedictum cum candelis qualibet dominica per annum in omni ecclesia de mundo Christiana." Wilkins, I, 714. These were the "necessaria" of the present statute which the parishioners had to produce for this private mass. The complete list of what they had to maintain had been laid down by Bishop Quivil in the Exeter Synod A.D. 1287, canon xii (Wilkins, II, 139), "Sit in qualibet ecclesia saltem unus calix argenteus purus vel deauratus: ciphus argenteus vel stanneus pro infirmis, ut postquam eucharistiam assumpserint loturam digitorum suorum sacerdos sibi praebeat in eodem. Sint duo corporalia munda et integra cum repositoriis: duo paria vestimentorum, quorum unum festivale aliud feriale: quatuor tuelliae ad maius altare, quarum saltem duae sint benedictae, et una illarum cum parura: item ad quodlibet altare, cum contigerit missam inibi celebrari. Sint superpellicea duo et unum rochetum: velum quadragesimale, velum nuptiale, palla mortuorum: frontellum ad quodlibet altare: missale bonum (and the books specified in note p. 157). Cista ad libros et vestimenta imponenda: sit pyxis argentea vel saltem eburnea pro eucharistia, cum serura: chrismatorium stanneum cum serura: asser ad pacem (i.e. a "pax-brede" or osculatorium): pyxis ad oblatas: tres phialae: sacramentarium lapideum et immobile: thuribulum, vas ad incensum, vas ad aquam benedictam: hercia ad tenebras, candelabrum paschale: duae cruces, una fixa et alia portabilis: imago beatae Mariae virginis, et sancti loci eiusdem: cereus paschalis, duo cerei processionales: caelatura super altare: campanella deferenda ad infirmos, et ad elevationem Corporis Christi: lucerna, boetta: campanellae ad mortuos, feretrum mortuorum: baptisterium lapideum bene seratum: fenestrae vitreae sufficientes in

cancello et navi ecclesiae. Qualiter hec sunt necessaria in ecclesia dei ad explendum cultum divinum, usus nos instituit quotidianus. Quaedam istorum, prout utilitas exposcit, in majoribus ecclesiis, quae sufficiunt, duplicentur vel triplicentur, in quibus sint hec amplius quam aliis; diaconus et subdiaconus, capa chori, tunica et dalmatica, duo philatoria ad cornu altaris, et unum ad patenam. Onera omnium ornamentorum predictorum parochiani sicut hactenus, ita de cetero supportabunt; libris matutinalibus, unico psalterio, fenestris vitreis in cancello et caelatura super maius altare duntaxat exceptis, quae rectores vel vicarii supportabunt, prout in nostra diocesi hucusque fieri consuevit." Archbishop Winchelsey, A.D. 1305, issued the same list as holding good for all churches in the province of Canterbury. Wilkins, II, 280; Lyndwood, lib. III, tit. 27, p. 251; Johnson's *English Canons*, Oxford, 1851, II, 317.

The form used every Sunday "ad gradum chori post Primam et capitulum" for blessing the water and the bread is printed *Brev. Sar.* ed. 1879, II, 352-355, and in *Manuale Sarum*, ed. 1875, pp. 5*, 6*. Rock, I, 135. Similarly of the Antidoron of the Eastern Church, the remains of the Eucharistic loaf offered by the people, from which has been cut the portion of one third marked by the seal for the blessed sacrament, the remaining two thirds are blessed, and one third is distributed after the celebration among those who have not communicated and the other third is reserved for insertion in the loaf to be used at the next celebration. The *pain béni* was once common throughout the churches of the West, and was used in the manner of the ancient love-feasts as a type of the Christian fellowship that should exist among those who were of the household of faith. One of the demands of the ten thousand men of Devon, who in 1549 rose in arms to fight for the restoration of the religion of their youth, was that they might "have holy-bread and holy-water made every Sunday," and some of each of these, amongst other things, they bore before them as they marched to Exeter (Peacock's *Church Furniture*, p. 86; Maskell's *Mon. Rit.*, ed. 1882, I, cccxvi-cccxxi), there to be massacred by Somerset's Spanish and Italian mercenaries. "And it is a thing to be held in eternal memory that the English reformation, at this great crisis, was carried by the aid of foreign cut-throats, who on their return to their own countries sought absolution for the sin of fighting for heresy." "Never before had it been to be told in English story that English rulers had bought from foreigners the blood of their own countrymen." Dixon, *Hist. of the Ch. of England*, 1893, vol. III, ch. xv, 45-80. The endowments of Ottery were but as a grain of sand in the vast heap of church property taken by the same Protector Somerset for his individual pelf in the West country.

But whatever the private mass which Bishop Grandisson allowed at Ottery might be, it like all the other parish services, weddings, churchings, or funerals must take place directly after Prime, while the College would be away in the Chapter House at *Preciosa*, and it must be over before they returned "ita quod sequens officium chori nullatenus impediatur," "ne officium chori quoquomodo impediatur," Stat. xxvi, "ita quod officium chori nullatenus impediatur," Ord. xiv. This was the one rule paramount over all others in the Bishop's mind. It was therefore a great convenience both to the parish and the College alike when the Dorset aisle was built for the better accommodation of the former, p. 33, and from the heraldic marks on the exterior of that building, p. 29, we may conclude that some at any rate of the Gild-members contributed towards its decorations. It would also appear very probable that some of the gilds and crafts, not being entirely satisfied with the arrangements available at the parish church for their Services under the present Statute, were in the habit of having a procession on their "festial days," "with trumpets and clareners in as joyful honourable and solempne wise as can be devised," to St Saviour's Chapel on the Bridge, where they would have more liberty of time and convenience for their gild services. Against any possible abuse of such Bishop Grandisson cautions the College in the monition of 1 June, 1355 (*Reg.*, II, 1158), printed at the end of these Statutes. He does not prohibit them, but they must be always on a work-day, for fear they might draw people from the honour due to the mother church.

ITEM, statuimus quod, cum ecclesia perfecta fuerit, vnum quodque altare assignetur alicui canonico, uel uicario custodiendum; et habeat quodlibet altare per se vnum missale, calicem, corporalia, phialas, uestimenta et linthiamina, et vnum ad minus cereum. Que omnia diligenter per illum, cui altare committitur, conseruentur, qui eciam non permittat¹

uarias ymagines, nec cereos apponi¹ nec affigi circa altaria incomposite, ut fit in ecclesijs ruralibus, set tantum ymagines sanctorum, in quorum honore dedicantur, cum cruce in medio et duobus cereis hinc inde, qui equaliter comburantur¹.

¹ Winton reads "permittet, poni, comburentur," and omits "statuimus."

xlij. "Cum ecclesia perfecta fuerit" is explained, pp. 12-14. The first draft of this Statute, p. 128, had the words "si tot sint altaria in ecclesia, alioquin duobus unum," and the reason why each altar was to have its own separate furniture is there stated, "ne unus celebrans alium impediatur per concursum." The number of altars in the church and the number of priests free to serve them daily appear to have been about the same, p. 149, "when the church had been completed." But the proviso that possibly two priests would have one altar between them seems to show that in 1338 there were only four spare altars for the eight priests free of a day to serve them; and hence that the two additional altars in the little chapels at the end of the choir-aisles, pp. 67 and 70, and the two in the recesses on the eastern sides of the Towers, pp. 17 and 48, were completed subsequently to 1339, though they may actually have been under construction when the Bishop wrote this present statute.

Archbishop Richard of Canterbury, in the Westminster Council, 1175 A.D., ordained "precipimus ne consecratur eucharistia nisi in calice aureo vel argenteo; et ne stanneum calicem aliquis episcopus amodo benedicat, interdicimus." Wilkins, i, 478. The paten was the cover of the cup, and was always reckoned part and parcel of it, and so is rarely mentioned alone, but it was in use at nearly every one of the altars of this date as shown in the plates of the *Alcuin Club Collections*, i and ii, 1898, 1899, as are also the cross on the altar, the book-rest for the mass-book, and generally one candle, one corporas under the chalice, and sometimes another over it. The book-rest and the candles were always removed when mass was over, but sometimes the cross was left standing on the linen cloth. The altars were then simply draped and left destitute of every ornament. Several of the altars are drawn with hanging lamps over or beside them. The chalice would be from five to seven inches in height, and the phialae or cruets for wine and water about the same size. The receptacles for standing the latter in before the priest approached the altar still exist in the Hastings and Oxenbridge chantry chapels at St George's, Windsor: that in the former in the north choir aisle in honour of St Stephen, measures six inches by six, that in the latter in the south choir aisle in honour of St John the Baptist, eight inches by seven.

"Linteamina, corporalia, pallae, tuellae, manutergia, et alia altaris ornamenta integra sint et munda et saepe abluantur per personas a canonibus deputatas (sc. per diaconos et alios ecclesiae humiles ministros), ad reverentiam Salvatoris nostri et totius caelestis curiae, quam huic sacramento conficiendo, et confecto, non dubium est interesse." Cp. quotation from St Chrysostom in Durandus, lib. i, p. 37, English translation. (Accordingly, for a perpetual reminder of this, and as if descending and entering with the light, the angel choir is sculptured singing and holding a continuous scroll of music beneath each of the clerestory windows all round St George's Chapel, as well as up either side of the great East window above the high altar. They are sculptured also above each of the altars in every one of the six side chapels there. "Quis enim fidelium habere dubium possit in ipsa immolationis hora ad sacerdotis vocem celos aperiri? in illo Jesu Christi mysterio angelorum choro adesse? summa et ima sociari?" St Gregory, *Hom. xxii, Evang.* quoted *de Consecratione*, Dist. ii, c. 73. *Corpus juris canonici*, i, 1343)—"Item, verba canonis, praesertim in his, quae ad substantialia sacramenti pertinent, plene, integre et cum summa animi devotione proferantur. Non tamen ita sit morosus sacerdos in praemissis quod fastidium ingerat auditoribus et officium suum privet devotionis pinguetudine, quia 'muscae morientes' (i.e. impurae cogitationes), 'perdunt suavitatem unguenti' (i.e. pinguetudinem devotionis), *Ecclesiastes*, x. 1." "Nullus sacerdos parochialis praesumat missam celebrare, antequam Matutinale persolvat officium, et Primam ac Tertiam de die. Item, nullus clericus permittatur ministrare in officio altaris, nisi indutus sit superpelliceo; et tempore, quo missarum solennia peraguntur, accendantur duae candelae, vel ad minus una." Constitutions of Archbishop W. Raynold of Canterbury, A.D. 1322. Wilkins, ii, 513. Lyndwood comments on these, lib. iii, tit. 23, p. 235. "*Linteamina*, i.e. velamina de lino facta, quibus altare co-operitur. *Corporalia*, quae non debent fieri ex serico, sed solum ex panno lino puro terreno ab episcopo consecrato. *Decreti tertia pars de Consecr.* Dist. i, c. 46. 'Consulto omnium constituimus ut sacrificium altaris non in serico panno aut intincto quisquam celebrare missam presumat, sed in puro lino ab episcopo consecrato, terreno scilicet lino procreato atque contexto; sicut corpus domini nostri Jesu Christi in sindone linea munda sepultum fuit.' (*Corpus juris canonici*, ed. Friedberg, vol. i, 1306.) Nec debet confici neque benedici *corporale* de panno misso in

confectionem farinae (i.e. starch) vel alterius rei ad hoc, quod stet rigidum super calicem; sed erit de lino puro absque mixtione alterius rei, sive pretiosioris, sive vilioris. Et erit candidum atque mundum quia significat sindonem in qua Corpus Christi fuit involutum. *Pallae*, i.e. vestimenta altaris, scilicet sindones et corporalia, mappae quae ponuntur super altare sub corporali." "Frontale, alias dicitur palla" (p. 252). They are equivalent to the toballiae of the next statute. The Synod of Exeter under Bishop Quivil, 1287 A.D., had required "quatuor tuellae ad maius altare quarum saltem duae sint benedictae et una illarum cum parura" to be provided in every church in the diocese, Wilkins, II, 139. In Archbishop Winchelsey's Constitutions of 1305 A.D. they are defined as "frontale ad magnum altare cum tribus tuellis," *ibid.*, p. 280. "Upon the slab of the altar were laid three linen cloths (tualliae) and the corporas cloth over all, as the fourth required by Canon Law at the time of offering the Holy Oblation." "To one of the cloths was attached an apparel which hung down in front to conceal the attachment of the coloured pall or frontal." C. Atchley, *Trans. of St Paul's Ecclesiological Soc.*, IV, 147-160.

The votive tapers were to be arranged in order, not to be set anyhow, "ut fit in ecclesiis ruralibus," around the altar of the saint in whose honour they had been vowed by the guild or individual. The church was dedicated in honour of Our Lady, St Edward the Confessor, and All Saints. The altar in the Dorset aisle seems to have been St Edward's, p. 37. Possibly the parish altar, No. 11 on plan, was in honour of All Saints. The parishioners and guilds had been wont apparently to use too freely the opportunity thus afforded them for vowing and setting up near it images of various tutelary or favourite saints, and this offended the Bishop's taste and sense of propriety. The two wax lights "hinc inde" of the altar "qui equaliter comburentur" were suspended in basons from the roof, and are quite distinct from the "unum ad minus cereum" on the altar (Stat. lxxvij, 7). The holes from which these lights were suspended are still visible in the two side choir aisle chapels, in the south vestry, on either side the parish altar in the nave, and similarly of the altar in the Dorset aisle. "Hinc inde" is used no less than nine times in Stat. lxxvij of lights not on the altar, but suspended or fixed on high on either side of it.

44^m ca^m

xliij. *De necessarijs annuatim per Sacristam renouandis et sibi committendis.*

29^m fo.
p. 191.

ITEM, statuimus quod omni anno in festo sancti Michaelis Sacrista faciat fieri ad minus duas albas cum amictibus pro sacerdote et diacono uel subdiacono, et alias duas pro pueris thuribularijs, necnon et tres toballas, pro altaribus magis indigentibus, de honesto albo panno, et tria manutergia noua. Ita, quod nunquam defectus in magno altari, uel alijs per ecclesiam, sicut alibi communiter uidimus, reperiantur. ¶ Similiter eciam provideat de paruis manutergijs ad tenendum in manibus ministrorum quotidie ad magnam missam, ne uestimenta ut supradiximus sordidentur.

45^m ca^m

De diligencia Sacriste circa sibi commissa.

De recepcione
bonorum per
nouum
sacristam.

ITEM, statuimus quod quociens Sacrista nouus uenit, omnia sub indentura collegij recipiat; et his in anno residentibus ostendat.

xliij. "Duas albas cum amictibus," apparently "white albes plain," that is of linen without apparels. These last were pieces of embroidery that were temporarily fastened on to those portions of the albe which were visible from underneath the other vestments worn over it, that is on the collar, the cuffs, and the lower hem just above the feet both behind and in front. (Of the sixty-four albes with their amices noted at Canterbury in 1321 A.D., only six were without apparels. *Inventories of Christ Church*, 1903, pp. 19, 61.) These apparels were of all colours, but the albes themselves were always white, of linen or silk reaching to the feet, and with close-fitting sleeves. The amice was a square of white linen (or silk sometimes), about 3 feet by 2 feet, with strings at each end to cross the breast and encircle the body. Originally it was a hood or kerchief (couvre-chef) (Rock, I, 478-488), put on the first of all the vestments and kept on the head till they were on, when it was pulled back round the neck, and worn so as just to show above their topmost hem, and thus covered the collar of the cleric's ordinary dress or pellice. (The present all round white starched collar of the English clergy only became common 30 years ago. Its origin is from Italy where it

became clerical in character during the sixteenth century. It is not worn as a rule by the clergy in France or Germany.) The amice came in time like other linen to be "garnished" with orphreys: when this was so, it was essential that those on the albe and the amice worn at the same time should correspond in colour and character. The smaller albes and amices were for the four boys who at Mattins and Evensong "post tercium psalmum egrediantur in vestiario ut se induant albis cum amictibus, duo ad deferendos cereos et alii duo ad thuribulos portandos." *Sarum Customs*, p. 112. The boys would also wear them in the procession before Mass. The tribulers were to have the new ones every year, as the most prominent of the boys, after which time they would be passed on to the other six till worn out. Four years is about the average time that a choir-boy's surplice when in daily use will continue respectable. "Tres toballas de honesto albo panno et tria manutergia nova" would be a complete set of linen altar-furniture, consisting of three coverings of fair white cloth, and three hand-napkins. "Se the clothes that they be clene, And also halowet alle by-dene, Wyth thre towayles and no lasse Hule thyn auter at thy masse." Myrc, *Instructions for Parish Priests*, 58. All three were to be of linen: the two undercloths exactly the size of the top of the altar: to one of these was fastened the frontlet of coloured needlework: the third and upper cloth, the exact width of the altar, would be long enough to reach down to within a few inches of the ground at each end. Bishop Grandisson sets his face thus against the slovenliness noted by Lyndwood in his time (p. 252), when two linen cloths only were placed on the altar under the corporal, and the third was taken "ad usum lavatorii pro manibus tergendis. Sed Canon, ut videtur, requirit quatuor tuallias in altari. (*Decreti tertia pars de Consecr.*, Dist. II, c. 27; *Corpus juris canonici*, I, 1323.) Et ideo secundum communem usum super duas tuellias duplicatur corporale, ut sic sint quatuor lintei." But though one complete set at least was to be supplied to the church every year, it did not follow of necessity that all of it should go to one altar: it was to be applied "pro altaribus magis indigentibus." Some cloths would be worn out more quickly than others. There were four larger altars and six smaller ones, and the former would require their gear renewed oftener than the latter. The three hand-towels or napkins were for the uses specified on p. 163. The extra handkerchiefs the Bishop had ordered, Stat. xxxiiij.

The Canon-Sacrist was the fourth officer in the College, ranking next after the Warden, Minister, and Chanter, Ord. iij. The need of his keeping a careful Inventory to be shown at Easter and Michaelmas is thrice reiterated. Cp. Stat. lxxix and lxx.

xliv. *De sollicitacione Sacriste; quoad aquebaiulos.*

46m cam

ITEM eciam¹, Sacrista idem, in periculo anime sue, et in uirtute sacramenti prestiti, sepius De moneat et inducat aquebaiulos, et alios duos clericos ecclesie nuncupatos, quod diligentes pertinentibus sint solliciti et deuoti, circa campanas pulsandas, luminaria accendenda, uestimenta plicanda, altaria ornanda, ignem et carbonem preparandos, et¹ querendos, ecclesiam mundandam, sconsas et boettas illuminandas; et in priuatis missis sacerdotibus ministrandis. ad officium sacriste.

¹ Winton omits "Item eciam" and begins "Idem sacrista"; and omits "preparandos et."

xliv. The Canon-Sacrist's oath was taken on his appointment. Ord. iv and Stat. ij. The present Statute and the next four are concerned with his duties, as are also Stats. lxxix, lxxvij, 1, 26. The office was equivalent to that of Treasurer at Exeter, who was bound "omnes libros ecclesiasticos in choro quam alios in libraria communi, ac vestimenta omnia resque ceteras in ecclesia constitutas, diligenter facere conservari. Tenetur eciam medietatem vini pro missis in ecclesia celebrandis, medietatemque thuris, mattarum et juncorum, atque carbonum, cordarumque pro campanis, ac refeccionis librorum et vestimentorum, totumque oleum pro antiquis lampadibus ministrare. Item, quatuor custodes ad ecclesie custodiam suo periculo ponere." *Ordinale*, p. 4. In the *Sarum Customs*, pp. 4, 7, the Treasurer's duties there are defined as "ornamenta et thesauros ecclesie conservare, luminaria administrare; sacristas quoque suis expensis tenetur thesaurarius exhibere; campanas ecclesie congrue suspensas in statu congruo observare, et earum usibus necessaria providere: ornamenta ecclesie suis expensis reficere: panem, vinum, aquam et candelas singulis altaribus ecclesie administrare, excepto parochiali; incensum, carbonem, juncum, mattas et stramen providere, i.e. fresh rushes on Ascension-Day, Whitsun-Day, Midsummer Day, 15 August and 8 September, but straw on All Saints' Day, Christmas and Easter." At Ottery, though the Canon-Sacrist was to see after all these things, they were to be provided at the expense of the College. Stat. lxxvij, 1, 25, 26. At Exeter and at

Sarum there were special endowments attached to the office of Treasurer. How these duties are to be performed is carefully defined in J. W. Clark's *Customs of Augustinian Canons*, pp. 69-77. The two church-clerks were appointed by the Canon-Sacrist, and he was responsible for them, but the two holy-water-clerks were under the Canon-Minister, Ord. v, and along with him were subject to the Archdeacon of Exeter, Ord. xiv, but by Stat. xxxix definite duties had been assigned to them, which it is now laid down were to be performed under the Sacrist's supervision. How the bells were to be rung is specified, Stat. xv, lxxiv, lxxvij, 3, 10. How the lights were to be arranged, Stat. lxxvij. The "luminaria" would be the open lights, the cressets, torches, wax tapers, and tallow candles set on prickets upon the iron herse about the high altar, or hung in basons throughout the church. The "sconsae et boettae" were those enclosed in lanterns either of horn or glass to prevent the draught from extinguishing the light when carried about, e.g. Stat. lxxvij, 2, or set down. "Sconce = *lanterne à mayn*, a hidden light." Skeat, *Dict.* It seems doubtful when the modern use of sconce, meaning simply a bracket with reflector suspended on the wall, arose; as late as 1752 in *Canterbury Inventories*, p. 309, appear "fifteen glass lamps or sconces" in the body of the church. Under Bowett in *Promptorium parvulorum*, p. 46, Way quotes "among the appliances for sacred use 'absconsa, sconsse, ventifuga bowyt, crucibulum cressett.' The word was no doubt taken from the French *boîte*, in Latin, *boieta, capsula*." O.F. *boiste, botte*, Latin *buxus*, Greek *πυξίς*, pyxis, originally a receptacle made of box-wood, then of aught else. Cp. quotations under Boist and Bowet in *N. E. D.*, I, 970, 1033, and in *Dialect Dict.*, I, 364. In an inventory of church goods at Culmstock, Devon, 15 July, 1301, was "unum buetum ligneum." *Reg.* Bishop Stapledon, edit. Hingeston Randolph, p. 130. The constitutions of Bishop William de Blois of Worcester issued in 1229 A.D. required amongst the furniture of every parish church "una lanterna vel bocca," Wilkins, I, 623. This is the same as Bishop Quivil ordered in the Exeter Synod 1287 A.D., "Campanella deferenda ad infirmos et ad elevationem corporis Christi, lucerna boeta." Wilkins, II, 139, "ubi lucerna boeta ea est ni fallor quae in majori pyxide, forte vitrea, quam boetam nostri dicunt, accensa includitur, ne, dum in plateis effertur, extingatur." Ducange under "lucerna boeta": "Abscondet ignem in boeta in secreto; 'absconsa' caeca laterna qua monachi ut plurimum utuntur in obeundis dormitoriis." At St Augustine's, Canterbury, the abbot read the Gospel at Mass on high days, "ferente subsacrista lumen in absconsa, et capellano ministrante abbati de eodem," *Customary*, H.B.S., I, 47. Similarly at Ottery the two holy-water-clerks and the two church-clerks would use these lanterns for carrying to the side altars light for the tapers there required by any priest at his private Mass after Prime, Stats. xvi, xxxix; the two on duty for the week would also sometimes have to stand by for the half hour he was saying Mass, if no other persons were there, for no Mass could be said unless two persons at least besides the priest were present. "'Quaeritur utrum sacerdos minus quam duobus presentibus debet celebrare missam? et videtur quod non.' Durandus, lib. iv, I, 37. Statuit namque Sother papa (A.D. 168-176) 'ut nullus presbiterorum missarum solempnia celebrare presumat, nisi duobus presentibus sibi que respondentibus ipse tercius habeatur, quia, cum pluraliter dicitur ab eo Dominus vobiscum et illud in secretis Orate pro me, aptissime convenit, ut ipsius respondeatur salutationi.'" *Decreti tertia pars de Consecr.*, Dist. I, c. 61; *Corpus juris canonici*, I, 1311.

29^m fo.^vxlv. *De altarium uisitacione omni septimana per Sacristam.*47^m ca.^m

ITEM, statuimus et mandamus, quod Sacrista omni septimana uisitet semel altaria ecclesie atque uestibulum, et superuideat, quod uestimenta et ornamenta ecclesie bene plicentur, et tute conseruentur, et in locis debitis reponantur; et quod corporalia, lintheamina, manutergia, albas, amictus, altarium pallias, et alia ecclesiastica indumenta, tam serica quam alia, libros quoque, et cetera collegij ornamenta integre et munde conseruet; uel faciat suo periculo conseruari; et si opus fuerit, bis adminus in anno sumptibus collegij, que confracta uel sordida fuerint, faciat reparari, refici, resui et lauari. ¶ Exhibeat eciam idem Sacrista cordas pro campanis collegij; quociens fuerit oportunum. ¶ Item¹ eciam in propria persona, si sanus sit et potens, aliquociens ascendat ad campanas, et super plumbum alarum, et alibi ubi commode poterit, ad superuidendum defectus, et celeriter corrigendum; ne "mora trahat periculum" prout solet.

De
exhibicione
cordarum pro
campanis.¹ Winton, "Ipse" for "Item."

xliv. The furniture of the altars is similarly enumerated under Stat. xlii. Most of the altars at Ottery had each their own locker and aumbry, which was "the proper place" for keeping not only the chalice and paten with cruets, but other ornaments there used, pp. 67, 71. There were two vestries, one in the north choir aisle, and the other in the south, over the latter was another chamber also used for the same purpose, p. 66. The vestments for the Lady Chapel were kept in three coffer there, where also there was an iron for hanging cloths; in the Chapter House, too, were very many, Inventory, 1545. The Exeter *Ordinale*, p. 15, ordered "bene et munde custodianur omnia vestimenta; ita quod quater in anno, in fine cuiuslibet termini, supervideantur per thesaurarium vel subthesaurarium, et que disuta et lacerata fuerint reconsuantur, et que linea sunt et sordida laventur." The washing of the smaller altar-linen would be done at Ottery more frequently than once every six months, as that belonging to each altar might require. Stat. xlii. "Manutergia et tersoria frequenter debent abluui, et cum veterascere ceperint et discindi, statim nova et integra supponantur. Corporalia vero, et tersoria quibus calices terguntur et involvuntur, et mappulas quibus digiti sacerdotis post communionem terguntur, sacrista vel socius eius, si sacerdos sit vel diaconus, hoc modo lavare debent, videlicet in vase mundo ad hoc officium deputato separatim lavare, et singulas lavaturas in sacrarium versare, et sic demum cum ceteris lintheis seu vestimentis ecclesiae ad lavandum mittere. Quibus lotis et diligenter exsiccatis, indutus alba cum petra vitrea, que vulgo lische vocatur (i.e. Fr. lisseur, polisher, so Ducange), in loco mundo corporalia poliat, et replicata honeste in capsulis honestis recondat. Quocienscumque altaris ornamenta fuerint maculata, sive tactu digitorum vel manuum, vel per guttam vini, cere aut sanguinis, vel alioquomodo modo, lavari debent, quia indecens est ministrare regi eterno deo in rebus sordidis que dedecorent in usibus prophanis." J. W. Clark's *Customs of Augustinian Canons*, p. 71; cp. Durandus, lib. i, 3, 50, who quotes *Decreti tertia pars de Consecr.*, Dist. iv, c. 106, and Dist. i, c. 39. "Altaris palla, cathedra, candelabrum et velum, si fuerint vetustate consumpta, incendio dentur, quoniam non licet ea, que in sacratio fuerint, male tractari, sed incendio universa tradantur. Cineres quoque eorum in baptisterio inferantur, ubi nullus transitum habeat, aut in pariete, aut in fossis pavimentorum jactentur, ne introeuntium pedibus coinquinentur." (*Corpus juris canonici*, i, 1303.) The aperture in the pavement of the north transept described in note p. 49 may very well have been used for such purpose. The five heavier bells were hung in the South Tower, belonging to the College, p. 51. There is a stone spiral staircase for ascent to them in the south-west corner of the Tower: and another in the north-west corner of the North Tower for ascent to the four lighter bells which belonged to the parishioners, and were hung in that Tower. (For the upkeep of these, they for their part were responsible. Wilkins, i, 714.) The stone staircase for ascent on to the lead of the roof is at the west end of the nave; from the south side of the nave roof the lead on the south aisle could be inspected from the alure, the walk or passage behind the parapets round the roof of the church. There are four other staircases for approaching the lead of the side roofs, one from the Dorset aisle, p. 28, one from the Lady Chapel, p. 70, and one from each of the vestries on to the choir aisles. The Canon-Sacrist was often to use these, and as "delays are dangerous," not wait for the yearly visit of the Stewards. Ord. xxij. He and the warden every month at least, Stat. lxiiij, were to inspect the fabric in detail, and a skilful journeyman from Exeter was periodically to call in, who too would feel a pride in the proper keeping of the place wind and weather proof.

xlvi. *De pannis crismalibus conuertendis.*

48^m ca^m

ITEM, statuimus quod omnes panni crismales pertineant ad Sacristam, ad reponendum calices, et tegendum libros, et ymagines in quadragesima abscondendas.

xlvi. The chrysom was the white garment required by the first Prayer Book for baptism. Except for this Statute such linen would naturally have belonged to the Canon-Minister, and the Parish-Priest. At the christening the child was touched by the Priest with oil on the breast and between the shoulders before being baptized with water. This anointing was regarded as that of an athlete about to enter the arena of strife, just as in the present Prayer Book the child is regarded as a soldier enlisted under Christ's banner to fight manfully against sin, the world, and the Devil, and to continue His faithful soldier and servant unto his life's end. As he came up from the water he was further marked on the crown of the head with a cross traced in chrism. "Postea induatur infans veste crismali," and the priest addressing it by name said, "accipe vestem candidam sacram et immaculatam, quam perferas ("see thou bringe it safe") ante tribunal domini nostri Jesu Christi, ut habeas vitam eternam et vivas in secula seculorum. Amen." "Licitum est

pannum crismalem secundo linire chrismate et super alium baptizatum immittere (*Decreti tertia pars de Consecr.*, Dist. iv, c. 121), tamen ad communes usus non debet pannus ille assumi sed ad ecclesiam reputari et in usus ecclesie reservari. Si episcopus adest, statim eum confirmari oportet, et postea communicari, si aetas eius deponat." *Sarum Manuale*, ed. 1875, p. 15*. "Godfaders and godmodys of this chylde, we charge you that ye charge the fader and the moder to kepe it from fyer and water and other perels to the age of vii. yere: and that ye lerne, or se it be lerned, the Paternoster, Ave, and Crede, after the lawe of all holy church, and in all goodly haste to be confermed of my lord of the dyocyse or of his depute (quam cito episcopus advenit circum partes per septem milliaria), and that the moder bringe agen the crysom at hir purificacyon," *ibid.*, p. 11*. But in the event of the child's death within a month from baptism it was used as a shroud. "Viri et mulieres qui suscipiunt pueros de baptismo constituuntur eorum fidejussores apud Deum, et ideo frequenter debent eos admonere, cum adulti fuerint, seu disciplinae capaces, ut castitatem custodiant, justitiam diligant, caritatem teneant, et ante omnia orationem dominicalem et salutationem angelicam, symbolum fidei, et signaculo scilicet crucis se signare, eos docere teneantur." *York Manuale*, p. 21; Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* i, 35.

St Edmund Rich in his Constitutions A.D. 1236, enacted, "Panni crismales non nisi in usus ornamentorum ecclesiae convertantur: similiter alia ornamenta ecclesiae quae pontificalem accipiunt benedictionem nullo modo in usus profanos deputentur; et archidiaconus in suis visitationibus, an hoc observetur, diligenter inquirat." Wilkins, i, 636; Durandus, lib. iii, c. 1, 12. "Fiunt superpellicia, in quibusdam locis de chrisimalibus lineis quae ponuntur super infantulos baptizatos, exemplo Mosi, qui de purpura et bysso, et aliis a populo, in tabernaculo oblati, fecit vestes, quibus Aaron et filii eius induerentur, quando ministrabant in sanctuario. Exod. xxxix. 1." Bishop Quivil in his Exeter Synod, A.D. 1287, ordered "Panni crismales quorum candor innocentiam vitae et puritatem christianam designat (so too at full length *Decreti tertia pars de Consecr.*, Dist. iv, 87 to 92) nusquam in usus profanos, sed ecclesiae convertantur." And then, Cap. iii, *de confirmatione*, continues, "Quoniam in baptismo regeneramur ad vitam, post baptismum confirmamur ad pugnam; eo quod nobis est magna et gravis collectatio adversus principem tenebrarum; quapropter sacerdotibus parochialibus districte precipimus, ut parochianos suos sepius moneant, quatenus parvulos suos, quos prius baptizatos esse constiterit, procurent, quam citius poterunt, confirmari."—(Bishop Walter de Cantilupe of Worcester, A.D. 1240, "sciant patres et matres eorum, se post annum a nativitate pueri computandum, ab ingressu ecclesiae suspendendos, si infra annum, dum tamen episcopi copiam habuerint, vel transitus episcopi per loca in quibus habitant fuerit manifestus, eos ei non presentaverint confirmandos," *ibid.* i, 667. Bishop Richard de la Wich of Chichester, A.D. 1246, "injungatur parentibus, ut infra annum pueros suos episcopo presentent confirmandos, cum mundis et honestis ligaturis; quod nisi fecerint, post annum puniantur," p. 688.) "Et, ne ob parentum negligentiam ipsos contingat absque confirmatione diutius remanere, statuimus, ut parvuli infra triennium a tempore ortus sui confirmationis recipiant sacramentum, dum tamen proprii vel alieni episcopi copia habeatur: alioquin parentes extunc qualibet sexta feria in pane et aqua jejurent, donec pueri confirmentur. Confirmandi secum deferant ligaturas mundas latitudinis et longitudinis competentis, quas post confirmationem per triduum portare, deinde igne comburi precipimus, et confirmatos ultra baptisterium per manus sacerdotis, vel saltem diaconi ablui." (Wilkins, ii, 132.) The linen bands tied across the foreheads of the newly confirmed where the bishop had signed them with the chrism were called *Chrisimalia*, "tertia die vadant cum pueris ad ecclesiam ad *Chrisimalia* deponenda," "et frontes eorum per manus sacerdotis propter chrisomatis reverentiam in baptisterio abluantur et ligaturae eorum tunc igne comburentur," *Pontif. Sar.* in Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* i, 35, 41. Archbishop Chichele's *Pontif.* in *York Pontifical*, p. 292. The god-parents at the christening and those at the bishoping, "the whiche some men calle cresmyng," were not to be the same persons. "Qui levaverit aliquem de sacro fonte non debet eum tenere coram episcopo in confirmatione nisi necessitate cogente." *Manuale Sar.* p. 16*. Baptism, as well as confirmation, had originally been an episcopal function. But "when the local churches became more numerous, and dependent parishes had been thus created outside the episcopal city, it was necessary to cede to the priests of these parishes the right of conferring holy baptism. But this privilege was nowhere extended to them in its entirety. The blessing of the Chrism, and of the oils employed in baptismal unction in general, was in all places interdicted to priests, and they were therefore obliged to have recourse to the Bishop to obtain these elements ready consecrated. So third council of Carthage (A.D. 397), c. 36; first council of Toledo (A.D. 400), c. 20; first council of Vaison (A.D. 442), c. 2." L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 1903, S.P.C.K., p. 337. (The charges apparently incurred by the Ottery chapter in fetching the oils and crisma are described in Bishop Grandisson's *Register*, p. 504, note.) "Non debet sacerdos parochialis esse sine chrismate; sed

quilibet sacerdos parochialis debet a suo episcopo, non ab alio, in propria persona sua, vel per alium sacerdotem, diaconum, vel subdiaconum chrisma petere singulis annis. Sacerdos qui de vetere chrismate ungit baptizatum, nisi in articulo necessitatis, deponendus est; et ideo debet omni anno in die Cenae Domini novum chrisma ab episcopo confici et vetus removeri et concremari. Item, tam sacrum oleum quam chrisma sub fideli custodia, clavi adhibita, debent observari, ne ad illa possit manus temeraria extendi ad aliqua nefaria exercenda." *York Manuale*, p. 22. What remained unused of the oils and chrisma at the end of the year, as well as the burnt crismalia, were at Ottery probably disposed of in the arrangement described, p. 49 n., in the pavement of the south-west corner of the north, or parish tower. The two oils, both of purest beaten olive (one for unction of the sick alone, and the other for use in holy baptism and for placing on the priest's hands at ordination), together with the chrism (which was oil with sweet-smelling balsam added, and was used for placing in the font water, on the head of the child at baptism and at confirmation, on the head and hands of bishops at their consecration, and on those of the king at his coronation, and for the benediction of altars, chalices, patens, the walls of new churches, fonts, and bells), were all three separately, and one after the other, hallowed by the Bishop at Mass on Maundy Thursday. *Stat. lxxvij*, 12 n. Bishop Lacy's *Pontifical*, pp. 64-75. *Sarum Customs*, pp. 201-205. The covering of the images in Lent is described, *ibid.*, pp. 138-141. "Ante matutinas ferie secunde (Monday after first Sunday in Lent) omnes cruces et ymagine et reliquie et vas eciam continens eucharistiam cooperiantur usque post completorium in vigilia pasche. Ita tamen quod in festo sancti Petri in cathedra (22 February) et in festo Annunciationis beate Marie sint omnes ymagine circa maius altare discooperte a primis vesperis usque post secundum completorium. In dominica eciam palmarum ad processionem sint omnes cruces per ecclesiam discooperte usque post completorium. A sabbato vero proximo precedente usque ad quartam feriam proximam ante Pascha velum quoddam deinde inter chorum et altare in presbiterio, quod per totam quadragesimam in feriis quando de feria agitur (i.e. on ordinary weekdays, but not on Sundays or greater festivals) debet esse demissum, nisi dum evangelium legitur ad missam, tunc interim extollitur et elevatum dependet quo usque a sacerdote dicatur *Orate fratres*. Et si in crastino sequantur novem lectiones, de cetero eo die non demissum erit, nec ab hinc usque ad proximas feriales matutinas. Ita tamen quod semper ad elevationem corporis Christi extollatur, ad missam vero de jejuniis in die festi dimittetur velum usque ad inceptum evangelii, et non ulterius." *Ordinale Exon*, 115, 116.

xlviij. *De mundandis ter per annum in ecclesia.*

ITEM, precipimus quod Sacrista ter in anno viz. ante Natale domini, et ante Pascha, et assumptionem beate Marie faciat omnes cruces et ymagine per ecclesiam tergi; et fenestras et parietes a pulvere et telis aranearum mundari faciat, tam super quam subter, cum lancea longa, et alis aucarum, ita quod non nocent picturis.

xlviij. General cleanings of the larger churches seem to have usually taken place at Christmas and Easter; Bishop Grandisson adds a third, before 15 August, the great day of the year at Ottery. The images and paintings in the church were very numerous. Besides one at least for each of the seven minor altars, there would be probably thirty-one small figures on the screen behind the High Altar, as well as groups of sculpture in the three, probably six, larger spaces there, pp. 57, 58. There would be others on the west side of the Rood-screen, p. 53, similar to the four on the screen at the west end of the Lady Chapel, p. 69. The ten in the choir, one over each arch, p. 34, and the ten, one over each arch, in the Nave, p. 35, as well as the three on the west wall of the Lady Chapel, looking over the altar screen into the choir, p. 71, could only be reached for dusting with the long poles described in the Statute; and the same would hold good of the paintings, traces of which still remain, in the twenty spaces at the back of the altar screen, facing the Lady Chapel, pp. 69, 70. There were also paintings in the vaultings and on the bosses of the roof throughout, which would require dusting, over and under, upward and downward, with the feather brushes. The stained glass also in the greater number of the windows in the church could be best kept clean by the same careful means, considering the height all the windows were above the floor. However bald and destitute of any decoration, with the exception of the Eastern and Western ends, was the exterior of Bishop Grandisson's church, yet on the interior and the Services therein conducted he expended his greatest care and attention.

30^m fo.
p. 193.
49^m ca^m

50^m ca^mxlviij. *De ymaginibus custodiendis.*

ITEM, uolumus quod duo angeli stantes super collumpnas ante altare magnum, in principio quadragesime portentur ad uestibulum, et honeste seruentur usque ad resurrectionem, et tunc ad loca sua reportentur. Tunc eciam primo discooperiantur cetere ymagine per ecclesiam, excepto quod magna crux, et illa super magnum altare in dominica palmarum a processione usque post¹ uesperas denudentur.

¹ Winton omits "post."

xlviij. These angels are described at length in Stat. lxxvij, 4, and also on pp. 62, 63. In the *Coronation Book of Charles V of France*, H. B. S. 1899, which was drawn up in A.D. 1365, plate 9 shows four angels each standing on the summit of one of the columns that carry the riddels at the sides of an altar and in twenty-two other plates of the same book serges are shown in similar positions. "These pictures must be regarded as diagrams to explain the coronation ritual in general." "The fact that the altar and its adjuncts are frequently changed suffices to show that we must not expect an accurate picture of the fittings of the Cathedral Church of Notre Dame at Rheims," pp. xiii, xiv. Nevertheless as these and the plate in the *Caerimoniale Parisiense* alike depict this rare arrangement of the Angels on the riddel posts, it may be concluded that it was a French model that suggested to Bishop Grandisson the Ottery Columns. The same principle of selecting for use from such sources what most appealed to his sense of fitness is enunciated in what has been considered his Pontifical (Brit. Mus. MS. Lansdowne 451), one of the two he compiled for himself and mentioned in his will, *Reg.* 1552. "Prout melius colligere ex diversis et variis libris pontificalibus Gallicanis et Anglicanis partimque Romano potuimus." *Alcuin Club Collections*, 1902, III, pp. 90, 91, W. H. Frere. The more than usual delicacy of the illuminations in which the Bishop is represented in various pontifical acts would accord precisely with Bishop Grandisson's known taste: and the Bishop of London for whom the book was subsequently adapted would probably be Bishop Robert de Braybroke (1381-1405), a connexion of Bishop Grandisson's, *Reg.* 1556, and one of his executors, p. 277. On fo. 249^b is the note "Decima regia tocius episcopatus Exonie tam Devonie quam Cornubie tendit ad summam ccccxlviii l. xvi s. iii ob. q." He was archdeacon of Cornwall 1377-1381 and was consecrated Bishop of London 5 January, 1382, by Bishop Brantingham of Exeter—to whom the Pontifical had been left by will of Grandisson and who now may have passed it on to Braybrook—and by the Bishops of Rochester and Bangor, the latter of whom may possibly have received Bishop Grandisson's other copy of the Pontifical now at C. C. C. Cambridge, Parker MS. 79, which came subsequently to Bishop Mona of St David's. The angel pillars at Ottery would be stored away during Lent most conveniently in the Treasury over the northern vestry, p. 66. On Maundy Thursday after Evensong, "statim omnia altaria per ecclesiam spolientur et nuda remaneant usque ad mane sabbati subsequentis."—*Ordinale*, 135. On Easter Eve "Hac die mane ornetur ecclesia per omnia, excepto quod ymagine et cruces non discooperiuntur usque post Completorium. Postea post abscessum omnium denudentur cruces et cetere ymagine ante processionem que fiet ad resurrectionem ante matutinas in aurora. In die Pasche in aurora diei, ante pulsacionem campanarum et ante etiam matutinas, conveniant clerici omnes et laici ad ecclesiam, et accendantur omnia luminaria per ecclesiam. Episcopus et Decanus, vel alie duo digniores persone presentes, in superpelliceis cum ceroferariis et thuribulariis albis indutis, ad sepulchrum una cum toto choro circumstante accedant, et facta devota genuflexione incensatoque prius sepulchro, cum magna veneracione corpus dominicum accipientes privatim super altare deponant. Item, accipientes cum genuflexione crucem de sepulchro inchoent Episcopus et Decanus, si adsint, sin autem, Decanus cum alia excellentiore persona, alta voce hanc antiphonam *Christus resurgens*; cum qua antiphona eat processio, choro canente totam Antiphonam cum versu; et tunc pulsentur omnes campanae in classicum. Et sic cum magna veneracione deportetur crux solempniter inter eos super brachia, et thuribulariis et ceroferariis precedentibus per ostium australe presbiterii incedentes et circum eundo, per medium chori regredientes, choro sequente, habitu non mutato, scilicet in capis nigris, ad locum ubi provisum fuerit, excellentioribus personis precedentibus. Finita antiphona cum suo versu a toto choro, dicat excellentior persona in ipsa stacione ante altare, ad clerum conversus, hunc versum *Surrexit dominus de sepulchro. R. Qui pro nobis pendit in ligno. Alleluia.* cum oracione *Deus qui pro nobis.* Nec precedat nec subsequatur *Dominus vobiscum* set finiat per *Christum dominum nostrum.* Finita oracione omnes cum gaudio genuflectant ibidem et ipsam crucem adorent, imprimis a dignioribus personis. Interim pulsetur ad

matutinas. Hiis itaque peractis eant clerici in chorum et orando secrete expectent quousque inchoentur matutinae post debitam campanarum pulsacionem." *Ordinale*, 138, 139. *The Sarum Customs*, pp. 144-154, and *Sar. Brev.*, I, decevii-ix, describe the same ceremonial with slight differences from the Exeter.

At Exeter on Palm Sunday not only the Rood and the Cross at the high altar were uncovered for the Procession but all the crosses throughout the church. *Ordinale*, 116. But at Sarum it was only the Rood and the Cross on the high altar that were unveiled on Palm Sunday, and remained so for the whole day as Bishop Grandisson ordered them to be at Ottery. *Sarum Customs*, 61, 139; cp. Stat. lxxv, *infra*.

xlix. *De lectorum introitu; et incendiij cautelis. De pernottacione et clausura.*

51^m ca^m

ITEM, statuimus quod canonici, uicarij, secundarij, et choriste, statim pulsacione ignitegij finita, sint in hospicijs, uel in cameris suis; et continuo sine strepitu, et garrulacione, ne dormire uolentes impedian, ad lectos¹ suos pariter uadant suauiter et modeste. Et propter 30^m fo.^v pericula incendiij et ignis, que frequenter contingunt, precipimus quod omnes ad lectos simul uadant et lumen simul extinguant, ne forsitan aliquis soporatus, quod absit, socios combureret et seipsum. Quicumque uero per totam noctem absentes uel eciam post dictam De pena pro
pulsacionem uagantes inueniantur, tota porcione pro septimana sibi debita priuentur; nisi absentibus
forte ex causa rationabili et manifesta poterunt excusari, et hoc non ex consuetudine set per totam
raro; ne suspecti habeantur. Finita uero pulsacione ignitegij, porta² clausi claudatur et noctem.
seretur, et clauis penes presbiterum matutinalem remaneat; et per eundem de mane semper
aperiantur.

¹ Winton reads "locos," as Exon. in table of statutes reads "locorum": and *vice versa*. In both MSS. "cautelis" is spelt "caudelis," with *d* for *t*—a frequent interchange: see Ducange *sub voce*.

² Winton reads "porte claudantur, serentur, aperiantur: clauis remaneant."

xlix. Ignitegium. Ducange quotes Lichfield Cathedral Statutes: "Est autem ignitegium qualibet nocte per annum pulsandum hora septima post meridiem, exceptis illis festis quibus Matutinae dicuntur post Completorium, in quibus ignitegium ex consuetudine non pulsatur." "Sed ante Matutinas in estate in festis ix. lectionum: et pulsus ignitegij debet durare fere tantum ad estimacionem itineris unius milliarii, vel non omnino," cp. p. 142. At Lincoln "pulsabunt ad minus ad spatium dimidie leuce"; "et pulsatur in estate in solis occasu et in hyeme tardius." *Lincoln Statutes*, I, 370, 385. "Hoc anno (1311 A.D.), quarto nonas Septembris parum ante horam nonam ignitegij visum est fulgur horribile." Walsingham, *Rolls Series*, I, 126. At Ottery the curfew is now rung from Michaelmas to Lady day (with the exception of Sundays and from Christmas Eve to Epiphany), that is during the winter half-year at 8 p.m. for ten minutes after the clock has struck the hour. On Michaelmas day and on Lady day it is rung on the tenor bell and the number of the day of the month is sounded afterwards on the seventh bell at the end of the curfew: on ordinary days the curfew is rung on the seventh bell and the day of the month on the sixth, p. 76. No curfew is now rung during the summer half of the year. A similar arrangement was observed at Axminster till 1849, when the curfew ceased there altogether. The Mattins bell at Ottery is rung at 8 a.m. but only on Sunday mornings. "Instituit Johannes xxij P.P. (1316-1334), ut ad pulsacionem ignitegij ter Ave Maria diceretur." So in the Wells Statutes, p. 75, it was ordered "parum ante ignitegium de magna campana tres fieri percussiones per tres vices quasi continuas, ut omnes catholici ipsas audientes flexis genibus ad terram salutacionem beate virginis, scilicet Ave Maria, devote dicant per tres vices." Thus it was called the Gabriel or Angelus bell, the Angelus being "salutacio angelica que matutina luce, meridiana et serotina ad campane pulsum recitatur." This was first ordered by the council of Paris 1346 A.D. (Rock, III, 325, 337) to be said at the curfew hour, in 1399 extended to the sunrise bell by Archbishop Arundel for all in the province of Canterbury (Wilkins, III, 247), and subsequently at the request of Queen Elizabeth, wife of Edward IV, in 1472 to the midday bell also. The words then recited at 6 a.m., noon and 4 p.m. were simply those of Gabriel and of Elizabeth: St Luke i. 28, 42. The last clause of the modern form was not added authoritatively till 1568 A.D. The first introduction of the "Hail Mary" into England appears to have been by Bishop Stavenby 1237 A.D. He ordered "quod quilibet Christianus et quaelibet Christiana dicat omni die septies suum 'Paternoster,' quia septies in die debet laudare Dominum, juxta prophetam 'septies in die

laudem dixi tibi.' Similiter septem 'Ave Maria,' et bis suum 'Credo': et ad hoc faciendum moneatur frequenter, et ad sciendum cogatur." Wilkins, I, 642. The Salutation of Gabriel was used as an anthem for the fourth Sunday in Advent in 590 A.D. "At the end of the twelfth century it began to be used in association with the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, but there is no evidence that it was so used at any earlier date. In the year 1261 Pope Urban IV ordered the words of Elizabeth to be added to those of the angel." *Myroure of oure Ladye*, p. 346; and Rock, II, 318, *supra*, p. 146 note.

The two Hospicia, one for the accommodation of the Vicars and the other for the Secondaries and Clerks, were parallel to each other, and each about eighty feet long, p. 75. The Canons had camerae of their own also within the close, but at the west end of the churchyard. The Dormitory, or Dorter, of the Vicars would be occupied by twelve priests, who were the eight (afterwards ten) priest-vicars, the parish priest, and our Lady's Chaplain, Ord. v. The morn priest was lodged at the Gatehouse. The Secondaries' Dormitory would also contain accommodation for twelve persons, that is, the eight Secondaries, the two Church Clerks, and the two Holy-water Clerks; though two out of the last-named four would take their turn for sleeping in the Church. The Choristers and their schoolmaster had their own Dorter further to the east and nearer the Gatehouse, but again parallel to the other two, p. 75. The Dorters of the Vicars and of the Secondaries were alike divided into cellae: these would resemble the stalls in Long Chamber at Eton, or the cubicles at Charterhouse, and some other schools. As each man would sometimes have a candle in his cubicle, Bishop Grandisson here cautions the occupants against the careless or slovenly use of such. In the case of Canons-regular or in monasteries, the Dorter was not thus generally partitioned. There, all from the highest to the lowest slept in one dormitory, open from end to end. "In dormitorio debent prelatus et omnes fratres dormire, exceptis hiis quos infirmitas abesse compellit, et custodibus ecclesie. In hac domo pre ceteris locis quociens, modestius et religiosius se debent fratres continere. Post Completorium usque mane post sonitum (i.e. of the bell that called them) nullus debet vestes excutere, vel cofras aperire. Dum fratres dormiunt, si aliquis necesse habet surgere, ita suauius surgat, et ita suauius redeat, et hostium necessarium (i.e. Rere-dorter) ita suauius aperiat et claudat, ut neminem excitat. Similiter qui intrant vel descendunt de dormitorio, dum fratres ibi sunt, suauius incedant. Ad lampadem que est in dormitorio nullus sedeat, nullus cantet, vel legat. Item, nullus ad lectum suum cum candela legere debet....In estate hora meridiana (the mid-day rest) qui dormire non possunt, in dormitorio secrecius legere possunt, sed cauere debent ne in reuersione foliorum uel alio modo strepitum faciant. Sciendum est quod ex quo dies in noctem vergit donec in crastino mane clarescat, dormitorio sine lumine nunquam esse debet." J. W. Clark, *Customs of Augustinian Canons*, pp. 164-169. "In dormitorio die noctuque summum silentium iugiter esse debet; nec sono nec murmuracioni aut vocatui alicuius, si forte quod absit indiscrete agitur, nullo modo est intendendum. Debent omnes ad cicius quam possunt ordinate cubare. Sed in lectis suis sedendo et ordinate jacendo orare, cum voluerint, licite possunt et debent. Nullus ibi strepitus aut sonitus signo aut lapide seu aliunde fiat, quo possint dormientes inquietari, proviso quod, si qui dormiendo sonarent aut vociferent (i.e. snore or talk in their sleep) in loco per se jaceant talibus deputato. Hora autem matutinali, statim ut inchoatur sonitus (the first peal for mattins) omnes pariter surgere debent, signantes se in faciem signaculo sancte crucis, ac postea immediate dicet unusquisque symbolum apostolorum intra se. Surgere autem debent cum decenti maturitate ita celeriter omnes et singuli, ut pedes suos extra lectos habeant ordinate, prius quam cessat sonitus. Et ideo morose fieri debet sonitus ille, ad minus scilicet per moram illius psalmi 'Miserere mei Deus' (i.e. two or three minutes). Deinde descendant de dormitorio ad lavatorium, et, lotis manibus, et pectinatis capitibus, procedant inde ad ecclesiam, aquam benedictam sumentes, dehinc in chorum intrantes." *Customary of St Augustine's, Canterbury*, I, pp. 185-190. In the Dorter at Durham, "every Mouncke had a litle chamber of wainscott, verie close, severall, by themselves, and ther wyndowes towardes the Cloyster, every wyndowe serving for one Chambre, by reasoune the particion betwixt every chamber was close wainscotted one from another, and in every of there wyndowes a deske to supporte there bookes for there studdie (cp. Stat. lxij). In either end of the said Dorter was a four-square stone, wherein was a dozen cressets wrought in either stone, being ever filled and supplied with the cooke as they needed, to give light to the Monks and Novices when they rose to there mattins at midnight, and for their other necessarye uses. Also in the Dortre was every nyght a privy serche, by the supprior, who did caule at every Mounckes chambre by ther names, to se good order kept, that none should be wanting or stolen forth, to goe about any kynde of vice or nowghtynes, as also that ther were noe disorders amongst them. All the dures both of the Seller (i.e. *Solarium*, the upper sleeping room, or if *Celer*, a lower sleeping room, Higden's *Polychronicon*, Rolls Series, vol. IX, Glossary) the Fratre, the Dorter, and the Cloisters were locked evin at

vj of the clocke, and the keys delyvered to the supprior, until vij of the clock next morninge." *Rites of Durham*, 85, 86. On the Morn-priest's duties at Ottery, cp. pp. 48, 143, 153. He would open the gates of the close for those coming to the morrow mass. Similarly at Glasney, the extra priest-vicar appointed by Sir Otho de Bodrigan, 20 April, 1369, was every day "in aurora, in altari quod nuncupatur altare de Bodrigan," where the Knight's mother was buried, to celebrate "Missam matutinalem ad devocionem itinerare volencium vel aliis horis Missas audire non valencium." Bishop Grandisson's *Register*, 501-503. So too at Coventry, the gild of the Holy Trinity (1364 A.D.) had a chaplain "bound to say mass every day in the Cathedral Church of our Lady, before the Holy Cross, in the morning before sunrise; so that all people, rich and poor, may hear it, and then go their way to the day's work." *English Gilds*, p. 234, and many other gilds throughout England had similar morn-priests. *English Schools at the Reformation*, A. F. Leach, I, 14; II, 61, 96, 173, 176, 198, 204.

1. *De puerorum gestis et modestia.*

52^m ca^m

ITEM, statuimus quod nullus canonicus, uicarius, uel secundarius, pueros choristas secum pernoctare, aut in lecto cum ipsis dormire faciant, seu permittant; nec ipsos in festo sanctorum Innocencium uel in ebdomada sequente, extra parochiam de Otery trahant; aut eis licenciam uagandi concedant.

1. The choristers ought to be in their own quarters with the schoolmaster by the gate, not in Canons' chambers, or in either of the Dorters belonging to the Vicars or Secondaries. On the 22 January, 1338, Bishop Grandisson had issued his *Ordinacio Primaria*, and on the 9 December in the same year he addressed the following Monition to the Warden and Canons. It occupies therefore, like the *Fragmenta de Registro*, pp. 130-134, a position midway between the *Ordinacio* and the *Statuta*. The present Statute was issued ten months later, 30 October, 1339, and embodies more succinctly its provisions regarding the bad conduct of the boys. Similarly, the provision for the election of one of the Canons to be over the Vicars, and one of the Vicars over the Clerks, and one of the Clerks over the Choristers was superseded by what the Bishop subsequently ordained in *Statutes lxj* and *lxij*. The Monition wants the date of the year in the original manuscript, *Reg.*, 120, 121. "Cum, sicut displicenter audivimus, pueri Choriste dicte ecclesie in domo quam ad hoc fieri fecimus, sprete Ordinatione nostra inde facta, insimul non quiescant, quodque cum quibusdam maioribus chori sequendo et obsequendo eisdem discurrant, eciam tempore diuini officii, vobis mandamus quatinus eosdem moneatis attente quatinus omnes et singuli in dicta domo pro eis ordinata, infra instans festum sancti Thome apostoli (21 December) dormiant nocte qualibet et quiescant, et chorum frequentent; et, extunc, de porcione cuiuslibet id facere contempnentis per septimanam duos denarios subtrahatis (*Ord. x*). (The boy bishop was elected by the choristers on the vigil of St Thomas the Apostle, 20 December, his duties began on the evening of the 27th and ended evening of 28th. Oliver, *Lives of Bishops of Exeter*, 228.) Magister eciam scolarum, vel locum eius tenens, jaceat in camera puerorum. Et quia pena verberacionis puerorum pro eorum defectibus in choro, vel se absentando vel alias delinquendo statuta in Ordinatione nostra primaria (where chastisement is referred to in the words "alias puniantur") non eos cohibet a vitis sufficienter, volumus et ordinamus quod quicunque se absentaverint ab officio, nisi causa scolarum, pro die integro tres quadrantes, pro solempni hora unum quadrantem, et pro alio enormi defectu denarium perdant, et eciam verberentur (as at Crediton the Bishop ordered 9 March, 1361, "si puer absens fuerit, nisi scholis tunc vacaverit, disciplinam septem vel decem ictuum recipiat super nudum," *Reg.* 1222). Moneatis preterea clericos secundarios ecclesie prelibate inter quos dissensionis et contrarietatis materia dicitur pullulare, quatinus infra idem festum, zabulum et materias alias luteas officientes ingressui in domum quam pro eis ordinavimus penitus amoveant, seu faciant amoveri; alioquin de porcione cuiuslibet, quousque id fecerint, per ebdomadam tres denarios subtrahatis (out of the eight allowed them, *Ord. x*). Ad hec quia intelleximus quod choriste predicti in festo Innocencium proximo preterito (1338) suis dissolucionibus et insolenciis infra parochiam dicte ecclesie non contenti, ad loca varia extra eandem parochiam, pluribus diebus idem festum sequentibus vagabantur, dictam ecclesiam quantum ad eos inofficiatam interim dimittentes, vobis mandamus quatinus eos districeius interdicatis ne de cetero sub pena amocionis eorum, extra dictam parochiam quomodolibet se conferant dicto festo; quinimmo nocte idem festum sequenti ad divina officia in choro devote et humiliter se disponant." (The *Ordinale*, 75, 76, describes the service as conducted in the cathedral by the boy bishop and the choristers, on the Holy Innocent's day. But they were excused attendance in procession

to Saint Thomas of Canterbury's altar for the following day "propter absenciam puerorum tunc in dormitorio," probably tired out.) "Ut autem premissa et alia statum Vicariorum Clericorum et puerorum dicte ecclesie contingentia efficacius compleantur, volumus et jubemus quod vos et concanonici vestri, una cum Vicariis, omni anno unum Canonicum eligatis qui supervideat negocia Vicariorum, et eis quodammodo presit exterius; et unum de Vicariis, qui de clericis Secundariis et eorum factis et gestibus; necnon unum de Secundariis, qui de negociis et gestibus choristarum extra ecclesiam sedulam curam gerant; atque de eorum utensilibus et aliis bonis communibus, per eos per indenturam recipiendis, que conservare suo periculo teneantur, eorum quilibet calculet omni anno. Et, cum aliqua correccione vel reformatione digna repererint, vobis mox—vel nobis, si facti gravitas id exposcat—denuncient et exponant. Quid igitur feceritis in premissis et fecerint dicte persone, nobis infra instans Natale Domini, per vestras literas, habentes harum seriem, intimetis. Data apud Chuddeleghe, nono die Decembris" [1338]. "On St Nicholas day (6 December) and also on the Holy Innocents or Childermas it was customary in all the collegiate churches for one of the children of the choir, completely apparelled in the episcopal vestments with a mitre and crosier to bear the title and state of a bishop. He exacted a ceremonial obedience from his fellows who, dressed like priests, took possession of the church, and performed all the ceremonies and offices which have been celebrated by a bishop and his prebendaries." Hampson, *Medii aevi Kalendarium*, where many popular customs connected with these festivities are fully described, pp. 60–120, and Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes*, Book iv, chap. 3, pp. 272–3. The formalities in church on 28 December are given in Wordsworth, *Salisbury Ceremonies and Processions*, 1901, pp. 52–57. At their inception, these ceremonies, when the boys changed places with their seniors for the day, the latter in humility taking the boys' seats in choir with the boys sitting in the upper stalls and conducting the service, originated doubtless from a good intention, but at best and when most carefully conducted would verge perilously near the line that separates the sublime from the ridiculous, and like so many other pretty ideas, they proved practically impossible to keep from degeneration, especially since the lord of misrule was at the same season exercising his functions outside the church at the Christmas Saturnalia. Hence, Bishop Grandisson, 16 December, 1333, describes how the priest-vicars at Exeter and others "precipue in hoc festo celebri sanctorum Innocentium dissoluciones, risus, cachinnas ac alias insolencias irreverenter, larvati (with masks on) eciam, non formidant damnabiliter exercere, et per gesticulacionum suarum huiusmodi debacaciones obscenas in conspectu populi vilescere faciunt decus clericale." *Reg.* 723. And again, some twenty years after the date of this present Statute, he writes on 10 December, 1360, to the Warden and Canons of Ottery, "ad nostram, non sine gravi cordis displicencia et stupore, pervenit noticiam quod, annis preteritis et quibusdam precedentibus, in sanctissimis Dominice Nativitatis ac sanctorum Stephani, Johannis apostoli et evangeliste ac Innocentium sollempniis, quando omnes Christi fideles divinis laudibus et officiis ecclesiasticis devocius ac quociens insistere tenentur, aliqui prediete ecclesie nostre ministri cum pueris, nedum Matutinis et Vesperis ac aliis horis, set quod magis detestandum est, inter Missarum sollempnia ludos ineptos et noxios, honestatique clericali indecentes, quin verius cultus divini ludibria detestanda, infra ecclesiam ipsam immiscendo committere, divino timore postposito, pernicioso quarundam ecclesiarum exemplo, temere presumpserunt: vestimenta et alia ornamenta ecclesie, in non modicum eiusdem ecclesie nostre et nostrum dampnum et dedecus, vilium scilicet sterculiniorumque sparsione multipliciter deturpando. Ex quorum gestis, seu risibus et cachinnis derisoriiis, nedum populus, more Catholico illis potissime temporibus ad ecclesias conveniens, a debita devocione abstrahitur, set et in risum incompositum ac oblectamenta illicita dissolvitur; cultusque divinus irridetur et officium perperam impeditur; sicque quod ad excitandum et augendum fidelium devocionem fuerat primitus adinventum, ex talium insolenciis in Dei et sanctorum irreverenciam et contemptum, non sine reatu blasphemie, conversum vel potius est perversum. Nequeuntes igitur ulterius sana consciencia abusiones tam nephandas sub dissimulatione absque remedio pertransire, vobis injungimus et mandamus, sub pena suspensionis et excommunicacionis, quatinus ab huiusmodi insolenciis et irrisionibus de cetero totaliter desistatis, et nulla talia exnunc in eadem ecclesia fieri quomodolibet permittatis; set ad explendum divinum officium, prout ipsorum dierum exigit reverencia, devocius solito intendatis. Et, ne ex ignorancia quisquam exnunc unquam in hac parte se valeat excusare, vobis, custodi, precipimus quod presentes literas nostras ante instans festum Natalis Domini, in presencia omnium ministrorum, sollempniter publicetis, easdemque literas nostras, ne in oblivionem transeant in quatuor vel quinque libris ecclesie magis usualibus transcribi fideliter faciatis. Si qui vero contra presens mandatum nostrum venire presumpserint citetis, seu citari faciatis, peremptorie, quod compareant coram nobis tertio die Juridico post lapsum dictarum festivitatum, super tam temeraria presumptione responsuri, et condignam penitentiam recepturi. De die vero recepcionis presencium, et quid

in hac parte feceritis, nos citra festum Circumcisionis Domini certificetis per vestras patentes literas harum seriem continentes, sigillo vestro communi consignatas." The Wardens and Canons of Ottery reply, "Mandatum vestrum, die supradicto per nos reverenter admissum, coram ministris ecclesie omnibus et singulis publicavimus, et huiusmodi mandatum vestrum in quinque libris ecclesie magis usualibus ad perpetuam memoriam transcribi fecimus. Nosque omnes et singuli eidem mandato vestro reverenter paravimus. Et, quia nulli contra presens mandatum vestrum venire presumpserunt, ad citandum huiusmodi delinquentes minime processimus. Et sic mandatum vestrum reverendum in omnibus reverenter sumus executi. Datum apud Ottery Sancte Marie, penultimo die mensis Decembris anno Domini supradicto." At the same date the Bishop sent similar letters to the Dean and Chapter of Exeter, to the Precentor and Chapter of Crediton, and to the Provost and Chapter of Glasney. *Reg.* 1214. Cp. *Lincoln Statutes*, III, 247; Wilkins, II, 38; III, 61. Henry VI forbade it on Innocents day (Eton College Statutes; Rock, IV, 215-220), and being inconvenient to have it so near Christmas and All Fools day, it may have been antedated to St Nicholas' day, and on that day it was kept there. Dean Colet had a great liking for the Childermas function. In one of his statutes for St Paul's School, which he founded in honour of the Holy Child, he required that "all these children shal every Childermas day come to Paul's church and hear the child-bishop's sermon, and after be at High Mass, so each of them offer one penny to the child bishop." And so the thing went on for another 180 years, till on 22 July, 1541, Henry VIII issued his proclamation: "Whereas heretofore dyuers and many superstitious and chylidysch obseruances have been used, and yet to this day are obserued and kept, in many and sundry parts of this realm, as vpon Saint Nicholas, Saint Catherine, Saint Clement, the Holy Innocents, and such like, children be strangelie decked and apparayled, to counterfeit priestes, bishoppes and women, and so be ledde with songes and daunces from house to house, blessing the people and gatheryng of money; and boyes do sing masse and preach in the pulpitt, with svche other vnfittinge and inconuenient vsages, rather to the derysyon than any true glory of God or honor of his sayntes: the Kinge's maiestie, therefore, myndyng nothinge so moche as to aduance the true glorie of God without vaine superstition, wylleth and commandeth that from henceforth all svch superstitious obseruations be left and clerely extinguished throwout his realme and dominions, forasmvche as the same doth resemble rather the vnlawfull superstition of Gentilitie, than the pure and sincere religion of Christe." From Bishop Bonner's *Reg.* fo. 26. *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, vol. XVI, p. 487. Wilkins, III, 860. Dean Stanley revived the custom of holding a special service at Westminster Abbey for children on Childermas day with a stately procession and sermon afterwards for them. It was on this day that St Edward the Confessor laid the foundation-stone of that church.

lj. *De conuiuio communi in Assumpcione beate Marie.*

ITEM, statuimus quod omni anno die Assumpcionis gloriose¹ uirginis totum collegium in 53^m ca^m
 claustro si habeatur uel in aliqua domo magis competenti simul comedant, et in signum 31^m fo.
 "candide uirginitatis paradisi care colonis," superpellicijs in prandijs² utantur. Sine quibus, p. 195.
 nullus penitus, nisi religiosus, ibidem comedere permittatur. Ad quod quidem conuiuium
 senescalli scaccarij de bonis communibus necessaria ministrabunt. Qua die, in mensa
 legatur solempniter, ab aliquo clerico, de omelia uel in biblia de canticis canticorum; viz. uersus
 in principio dum potagium comedunt, et in fine dum mappe amouentur et manus Ablue terge
 lauantur; senioreque dicente *Tu autem lector dicat Domine miserere nostri*, et dicantur bibe surge
 gracie stando; et postea sedendo semel³ bibant et recedant. recede.

¹ Winton, "beate."

² Winton, "prandio."

³ Winton, "simul."

lj. "Candida uirginitas paradisi cara colonis" is the first of three Hexameter lines which were used as the Respond after the Chapter at the Second Evensong on the feast of the Assumption. *Ordinale*, 251. *Sar. Brev.* III, 700. Other similar Hexameters were used as the Anthems to the Psalms in the second and third nocturns on the feast of the Purification. *Sar. Brev.* III, 136. The Service for the Assumption in the *Exon. Ordinale*, 250, was the same as that at Sarum: but in the latter case the Octave were kept "more simplicis festi," at Exeter as "maius duplex festum ex ordinatione Johannis Episcopi qui ad hoc stipendia deputauit." At both Exeter and Sarum the ninth Respond at Mattins on the 22nd August was "Candida uirginitas

paradisi cara colonis." At Exeter moreover "Ad secundas vespervas omnia fiant sicut in prima die cum responsorio et hymno *Letabundus*. In crastino octavarum Assumpcionis fiat semper memoria vel obitus Johannis de Grandissono, Episcopi Exoniensis, cum distribucione sexaginta solidorum." *Ord.* p. 253.

It was not unusual for all the members of a religious foundation to dine together on one day in the year. At Durham for instance, "though the Principall Feast was the Assumption of our Lady," it was on St Cuthbert's day in Lent (20 March) that "the whole Convent did keepe open howse in the Frater, and did dine altogether on that day, and on no day else in the yeare." *Rites of Durham*, p. 4. "In the south allie of the Cloysters is a faire larg hall, called the Frater-house, wherein the Prior and the whole Convent of Monks held their greate feaste of Sancte Cuthbert's daie in Lent," *ibid.* 79, 81. On other days "the Monks dyd all dyne together at one table in the west end of the Fratree," "the ould Moncks did dyne and supp upstaires in a loft over it (perhaps the Seller or Solarium mentioned, p. 180), where the sub-prior was the cheife." The Prior dined in his lodgings by himself (like the Naval Captain in his cabin) with his guests, *ibid.* pp. 86, 87, 90. At Ottery usually the Warden and the Canons would dine each in their camerae with any guests they might invite (p. 109, note), the twelve Vicars in their own hall, and the twelve Secondaries and Clerks in theirs, or perhaps all twenty-four at parallel tables in one hall for convenience of serving. But for the whole foundation to dine together with guests on 15 August, the cloister would be the most convenient place for setting out the tables. The large hall of the manor-house on the north side of the church would have been too far distant from the collegiate kitchens on the south side. The hall at the manor-house would be used for court-leets, etc.

"In omni duplici festo a Pascha usque ad festum sancti Michaelis semper in superpelliceis appareant in choro, et in capitulo, ad omnes horas diei, et per octavas Assumpcionis et Nativitatis beate Marie." *Sarum Customs*, p. 25. Hence Bishop Grandisson extended their use to the dinner-hour on this one day in the year, regarding it as a development of the other common service of the College held in the Chapter-house. It was also a usual stipulation that "all the brethren and sustren of a gild or bretherhede every yer shul be clothed in suyt"; and "in suyt byfore sayd, shul every yer come and hold to-geder, for to norishe more knowelech and love, a fest." At Coventry "the bretheren and sisteren, on the feast of the Assumption of our Lady, are clad, some of them in livery suits at their own cost, and others in hoods at the common cost of the gild." *English Gilds*, pp. 3, 77, 231. Thus the Bishop would look upon the surplice as the livery suit of his gild of our Lady at Ottery, much in the same way, as white was the special colour he allowed for his own household suite. "Sacerdotes ac clerici Capelle mee superpelliceis ac albis capuciis sicut consueverunt." *Reg.* 1550. Even any visitors who might be attracted to Ottery by the Indulgences special to that day (p. 107), and be invited as guests to dinner with his College were to don them, unless they happened to be Monks or Canons Regular. After the obsequies of John of Eltham, Earl of Cornwall, only brother of Edward III, 13 January, 1337, at Westminster "omnes tam religiosi quam seculares qui ob causam dicte sepulture convenerunt in convivio remanserunt; similiter totus chorus sancti Pauli fuit in habitu ad prandium." *Annales Paulini*, I, 365. (For the commune convivium on Easter-day, cp. Martène, III, 177. Durandus, VI, 86.)

There were to be two readings at table, one during the first course, and the other when dinner was over: this would leave opportunity for conversation during the second and third courses. The readings were to be always either from the Song of Songs itself, or discourses upon the same. The five Anthems at first Evensong on the feast of the Assumption were taken from the Song of Songs, as also were the nine at Mattins, and five out of the eight Responds, and three out of the six Anthems at Lauds. The Bride of the poem in each case being regarded as an allegorical type of our Lady. "*Prima Christi sponsa est eius sacratissima humanitas, secunda est ecclesia, tertia est Deipara, quarta est anima sancta.*" "*Totalis et adaequatus sensus literalis hic est de connubio, sive conjunctione Christi et ecclesiae per fidem et amorem; partialis literalis est de conjunctione Christi cum anima sancta, praesertim quae studet perfectioni: haec est enim pars et membrum ecclesiae; partialis principalis est de Christo et beata virgine; haec enim est praecipua pars, primumque membrum ecclesiae.*" Cornelius a Lapide, ed. Vivès, 1866, VII, 451, 459. The Venerable Bede and Alcuin his disciple wrote commentaries on the book, 700 A.D. and 750 A.D., as did also St Anselm and St Bernard.

Samples of two dinner courses from Midsummer Day to Michaelmas are given in the *Babees Book*, pp. 278 and 370, taken out of Wynkyn de Worde's *Boke of Keruinge*, A.D. 1413. In the first course were soup, vegetables, gruel and frumenty, with venison, pork, capon and swan; in the second more soup, roast mutton, veal, chicken, pigeons, pheasants, fritters and other baked meats, and in holiday time cheese and

fruits. In the composition of the dishes figured quantities of spices, and all manner of rich sauces, "made of wyne, ale, vynegre and poudres." In the Ottery compotus (Oliver, *Monasticon dio. Exon.* p. 280) is entered "pro communi festo in assumptione beate Marie hoc anno 1383, 28s. 3d.," in 1413 29s., and in 1438 "pro victualibus emptis die assumptionis beate virginis pro festo 75s. 10d., et inter servientes eodem die." The latter were evidently extra waiters hired for the day, who would bring the dinner from the kitchens and buttery, the pantries or sewery (which with the brewery, bakery and laundry were on the south side and contiguous to the Hospitia or Lodgings of the Vicars and Secondaries), across the roadway into the Cloisters, round three or four sides of which the College sat practically in the open air, but covered overhead, at this August festivity. The tables were boards laid on tressels, the benches would be only on the outside of these, so that the waiters might easily pass round in front, and the guests would all face inwards, looking out at each other across the cloister. The average cost of this Feast would seem to have been equivalent to a pound a head in modern money: perhaps this would cover the cena that day as well as the prandium. When the table was cleared, the Volder was passed round, and in it each man's trencher and spoon and napkin, together with all crumbs and broken meat were placed. Then a large bowl or bason of clean water with a fresh towel was passed round the table for hand-cleansing, while all kept their seats till the Reader had finished the passage he was reading. Then the Warden or Senior Canon present gave the sign for all present to stand up by beginning the grace, "*Deus pacis et dilectionis maneat semper vobiscum. Tu autem,*" which was taken up by the Reader with "*Domine, miserere nostri,*" and all present answered, "*Deo gracias.*" "*Confiteantur tibi, domine, omnia opera tua, et sancti tui benedicant tibi. Gloria Patri.*" The Priest proceeded, "*Agimus tibi gratias, omnipotens Deus, pro universis beneficiis tuis, qui vivis et regnas Deus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.*" He then began, and all present joined in with him, in reciting, "*Laudate Dominum omnes gentes, laudate eum omnes populi. Quoniam confirmata est super nos misericordia eius et veritas Domini manet in eternum. Gloria Patri. Kyrie eleyson, Christe eleyson, Kyrie eleyson. Pater noster.*" He then continued, "*Dispersit, dedit pauperibus*": all replied, "*Justitia eius manet in seculum seculi*": He, "*Benedicam dominum in omni tempore*": They, "*Semper laus eius in ore meo*": He, "*In Domino laudabitur anima mea*": They, "*Audiant mansueti et letentur*": He, "*Magnificate Dominum mecum*": They, "*Et exaltemus nomen ejus in id ipsum*": He, "*Sit nomen Domini benedictum*": They, "*Ex hoc nunc et usque in seculum.*" Then he said, "*Oremus. Retribuere dignare Domine Deus omnibus nobis bona facientibus propter nomen sanctum tuum vitam eternam. Amen. Benedicamus Domino*"; to which they answered, "*Deo gracias.*" Then our Lady's chaplain "dicat aliquam Antiphonam ad placitum cum versiculis et oratione de eadem, quae magis tempori conveniant." A very usual one was "*Ave regina celorum, Mater Regis angelorum, O Maria flos virginum, Velut rosa vel lilium, Funde preces ad filium Pro Salute fidelium. Versus Ave Maria gracia plena. Oratio Meritis et precibus sue pie matris, benedicat nos filius dei. Amen.*" On all days except Principal double feasts there then followed a few suffrages for the dead, a collect, and Ps. *De profundis*. The graces said before and after dinner and supper varied on common days, fast days, Easter Eve, Easter Day. They are given in *Manuale Sarum*, 33*-39*; *Sarum Customs*, 242-247; Wordsworth's *Tracts of Clement Maydeston*, H.B.S. 152-156; *Westminster Mass-book*, III, 1377-1381, and in *Babees Book*, 382-396, H. Bradshaw's note. After grace they sat again, and the loving cup, the "poculum caritatis," was passed round. This would be a brew of Hippocras, the "company" drink of the middle ages, prepared of wine, ginger, cinnamon, pepper and honey, and doubtless served on this high-day in the Founder's Grace-cup, the "cuppam argenteam deauratam ponderis centum solidorum, que est apud Otery, sculptam de armis meis et ymaginibus, que inscripta est in pede—Quod habeant memoriam de Seint Mary Otery," left by him in his will to his successors in the See of Exeter. *Reg.* 1553. For further notice, "How brethren ought to behave in the Frater," see Clark's *Customs of Augustinian Canons*, 156-165, and *Customary of St Augustine's*, H.B.S. I, 159-185.

Another reason besides those given on p. 178 for considering that the Pontifical in the British Museum, Lansdowne MS. 451, is one of the two which Bishop Grandisson drew up for his own use and left unfinished, *Reg.* 1515, is that on fo. 217 the special and characteristic blessing (cp. p. 141 n.) the Bishop would have given if he had been present at Mass, "in vigilia vel in die assumptionis beate Marie," was "*Misericordiam vobis et indulgentiam Deus cum sua tribuat benedictione, beate Marie semper virginis intercessionem, cuius assumptionem congruo celebretis honore. Amen. Celesti quoque gaudio vos una cum angelis letificet dei genitrix, vobisque in omnibus succurrat piissima assistens filio pro salute nostra interventrix gloriosa. Amen. Operetur hanc etiam in vobis salutem que 'cum virginis mater honore' dominum genuit angelorum, ut mortis nexibus absolutos ad gaudia eterna vos secum perducat coronandos. Amen. Quod ipse prestare dignetur.*"

This blessing is altogether different from the two equally elaborate benedictions for the day given in Bishop Lacy's *Pontifical*, p. 190, as put forth for use by Archbishop Peckham, and from those given in the *Westminster Mass-book*, II, 641. It is, however, immediately succeeded on fo. 217^b by another "In die ejusdem." "Deus qui per beate Marie semper virginis partum genus humanum dignatus est redimere, sua vos benedictione dignetur locupletare. Amen. Ejusque semper et ubique patrocinia senciatis, ex cujus intemerato utero auctorem vitae suscepisse vos fideliter creditis. Amen. Et qui ad ejus celebrandam assumptionem hodierno die devota mente convenistis, spiritualium gaudiorum et eternorum premiorum vobiscum munera reportetis. Amen. Quod ipse prestare dignetur." This is almost word for word the same as that given in Archbishop Egbert of York's *Pontifical*, 88, in that of Archbishop Bainbridge, 187, and in the *Benedictional of Archbishop Robert*, H.B.S. 1902, pp. 40 and 174, *The Pontifical of Magdalen College*, H.B.S. 1910, p. 42.

54^m ca.^mlij. *De leccione in mensa; et gracijs postea sequentibus.*31^m fo.^v

ITEM, statuimus quod uicarij quotidie habeant aliquem lectorem in mensa, qui in principio mense et fine, ut predicatur, duas bonas lecciones legat de biblia, uel de uitis sanctorum aut patrum, uel omelij, aut sermonibus; prout eis placet. Interimque silentium teneant, et eas audiant diligenter; et in fine lotis manibus, et finita postea leccione, amotaque tabula surgant, et stando, ut in romana fit curia, gracias deo soluant; et postea si uoluerint bibant, et recedant, et in bonis et honestis operibus se occupent et intendant.

lij. The Reader at the Vicars' table was daily, as prescribed in the last Statute, to read only during the first course, and after the second course was concluded, from the Bible, Saints' lives, or Homilies. The College Statutes were, however, to be read during the second course besides, either once a quarter, or as seems more probable in certain portions four times a quarter, p. 133. "Lector vero mense in legendo non debet festinare ut multum legat, set aperte et distincte ad intelligendum, et quando bonum passum et notabilem inuenit, iterum et iterum repetere debet, ut perfecte intelligatur." *Customs of Augustinian Canons*, p. 158. Among the beneficial effects that would result from this reading aloud at meals was the increase of good humour and sociability. Where the common life was so insistent as it was of necessity in a college of celibates at Ottery, and men met day after day at two meals, and were elbow to elbow during the greater part of every twenty-four hours, certain obvious and undesirable evils were inevitable. "It is hardly to be hoped that men (he is speaking of public school masters, but *a fortiori* his remarks apply to less exalted individuals), possibly irritable and probably tired, should meet day after day at meals without engendering a certain amount of friction; and possibly the institution of silent meals, as in monastic life, might be useful, if feasible. In a close society all sorts of little things get on sensitive nerves. The tones of certain voices, the familiar turns of remarks, ancient stories, methods of dealing with food, small personal characteristics, are apt to grate on perceptions stimulated by irritability." "Some masterful prejudiced man of quick speech will inevitably give a good deal of pain to his colleagues. A stubborn insistence on opinions, the expressions of contempt for other people's views, are difficult to avoid in such societies." "I have heard of men condemned to meet week after week at the common meal who were not on speaking terms with each other, and never communicated except in acid notes." "Of course the trivialities of ordinary intercourse are very distressing; there must be trivialities indeed, and it is impossible for men living a common life with common interests not to indulge largely in 'shop.' But I think that men ought deliberately to attempt to keep the tone of such gatherings good humoured, if not intelligent. And if each member of the party were convinced of the necessity of doing so, the conquest would be an easy one." A. C. Benson, *The Schoolmaster*, 1903, pp. 121-124.

"Ut in romana fit curia" may refer either to the manner of varying the grace with certain gestures and observances or with a slight difference in words from the old English use. Alike in the pre-Tridentine and in the present Roman breviary the grace said on ordinary days is simpler than the old English one quoted in the preceding note; there was no Anthem to our Lady, and the memorial of the departed was much shorter. In the edition of 1478, and in that printed at Venice, 1564, it is implied that the seats in hall were fixed against the wainscoting, as in several of the halls at Oxford and Cambridge they are still: hence those sitting against the wall were to come out and stand in line in front of the tables, before grace after meat at the words *Deo gracias*. "Omnes de mensis egrediuntur et ipsis e regione stantibus ante mensas cantor

incipit Ps. *Miserere*, quo alternatim completo cum *Gloria Patri* communiter cantetur *Kyrie eleison*, *Christe eleison*, *Kyrie eleison*. *Pater noster* and suffrages as in the modern Breviary. Nota in finibus omnium gradiarum totius anni dicitur, *Fidelium animae per misericordiam Dei requiescant in pace*. Sciendum est quod '*Laudate Dominum omnes*' (Ps. 116) dicitur in cena omni tempore secundum consuetudinem Romanae curiae. Preterea quando in die semel commeditur omnia sicut in cena dicuntur, excepto quod Ps. *Miserere* dicitur eodem tempore quo assignatur in prandio." In the *Manuale sacrarum ceremoniarum Romanae ecclesiae*, Bauldry, 1745, p. 118, the rule is given, "Finita refectione datur signum a superiore—(with the Vicars at Ottery this would be either the Prior, Stat. lxj, or the Succentor, Ord. xij, or the Confessor, Stat. xxiv)—cessandi, et tunc lector stans, et caput Crucifixo inclinans, vel si commode potest, genuflectens, dicit *Tu autem Domine miserere nobis*, et respondent omnes adhuc sedentes, *Deo gracias*, tum surgunt et post eos maior; et stantibus omnibus ante mensas, ut prius, superior dicit initium versus pro ratione temporis, quem omnes simul presequuntur, cum *Gloria Patri*, quibus superior addit sine *Oremus*, *Agimus*, vel aliud: quo dicto Cantor aut Hebdomadarius incipit Psalmum (specified as being either *Miserere mei Deus* Ps. l. or Psalm cxvi. in the Rom. Brev.), qui dicitur alternatim incipiendo a parte illius qui gratiarum actionem facit, vel a parte Hebdomadarii secundum consuetudinem. In fine Psalmi omnes simul addunt *Kyrie eleison*, et Superior aut Hebdomadarius dicit *Pater noster*, *Et ne nos cum versibus sequentibus et Retribuere*, non praemittens *Oremus*, et in fine addit Superior vel Hebdomadarius, *Benedicamus Domino*. *Fidelium animae per misericordiam Dei requiescant in pace. Amen*. Dicitur *Pater noster* totum secreto, quo finito addit *Deus* (non autem *Dominus*) *det nobis suam pacem. Resp. Amen*."

In operibus se occupent, "work." Bishop Grandisson did not apparently approve of mid-day *siestas* or sleeping, usual in monasteries. Healthy men "shuld exchew merydyall slepe. But an nede compell a man to slepe after his meate, let hym make a pause, and then let hym stand, and leane and slepe agaynst a cupborde, or els let hym sytte upryght in a chayre, and slepe. Slepynge after a full stomacke doth ingendre dyuerse infirmities." "After thet you have dyned and supped laboure not by-and-by after, but make a pause, syttynge or standing upright the space of an houre or more, with some pastyme." "Beware chiefly of ydlenes, the great pathway that leedeth directly to all evils; be diligent alwayes." Andrew Boorde, *Dyetary*, E.E.T.S., chap. viii. Some of the Vicars would betake themselves to read in their cubicles, Stat. lxij: others to such games as were allowed by the next statute in the Cloisters, or in their hall till Sext, None, or Evensong, after which they would go to supper at about five o'clock, an almost equally formal meal with dinner, though perhaps not so elaborate. "To rise at five, to dine at nine, To sup at five, to bed at nine, Makes a man live to ninety and nine." Traill's *Social England*, i, 543. At Lincoln they drank thrice after dinner. *Statutes*, i, 381. "In Greek and Roman times, and in the middle ages, and later as on the continent to-day, there were for ordinary people only *two* meals in the day: dinner at 10 a.m. (or after High Mass) in the morning, and supper at 4 p.m. in the evening—a piece of bread dipped in wine taken early in the morning does not seem to have been general, and was only taken on rare occasions." *Cena*, *Dict. Greek and Roman Antiquities*. Children and delicate women might take "something to recreate nature," as the mother of Edward IV did (*Archaeologia*, 1790, p. 37): but the family breakfast of the nineteenth century was unknown. Andrew Boorde says two meals a day were enough for an ordinary man, though he who has to work hard in the fields may eat three times a day. Two meals a day was also the custom in the seventeenth century. After the Restoration the hour of meals grew later, and a light breakfast comes in. In 1613 dinner was at 11 a.m., supper at 6 p.m. Pepys dined at 12 in 1660 and took a morning draught early. Tea, coffee, chocolate and hot drinks came in then, and they tended to bring in the modern English breakfast. Wickham Legg, *Papal faculties for fasting*, Church Hist. Soc. Tract 87, p. 27.

liij. De ludis prohibitis; et licitis.

55m ca^m

ITEM, inhibemus sub pena excommunicationis, ne aliqui de collegio ad taxillos, uel hasardum ludant. Volumus tamen, quod causa recreacionis non pecunie lucrande ad scaccarium, uel merellos, uel tabulas ludant; loco modo et tempore opportunis. Set canes uenaticos, et uenacionis exercicium, non tamen carnes uenaticas, eis penitus inhibemus.

De
prohibicione
exercicij
venacionis.

liij. "Aliqui de collegio," anybody in the College, man or boy, all being Clerici, who had received at least the first tonsure, and as such all would be subject to excommunication if they transgressed the Canon Law. "Clerici ad aleas et taxillos non ludant, nec hujusmodi ludis intersint." *Dec. Greg. IX*, lib. iii, tit. i, c. 15.

"Prohibemus etiam clericis ne intersint ludis inhonestis vel ludant ad aleas vel taxillos." Synod of Worcester, A.D. 1240, Wilkins, I, 673. "Precipimus ut clerici ad aleas vel ad taxillos non ludant nec aliis ludentibus sint participes aut inspectores. Avibus nec canibus venatoriis non utantur." Bishop Quivil in Exeter Synod 1287, Wilkins, II, 142. "Taxillos vel hasardum," i.e. dicing or gambling in general, of any sort or kind. "Hasard is verray moder of lesinges, And of deceite, and cursed forsweringes, Blaspheme of Crist, manslaughter, and wast also Of catel and of tyme; and forthermo, It is reprove and contrarie of honour For to ben holde a commune hasardour." Chaucer, *Pardoner's Tale*, 591. "O lytle chylde Eschewe thou euer game—For that hath brought Many one to shame,—As dysynge, and cardynge, And such other playes, Which many undoeth, As we se nowe a dayes. For what hurte by game, To many doth growe, No wise man I thynke, But doth it wel knowe. Experience doth shewe And make it manifeste, That all good men Can it but deteste, As strife and debate, Murder and thefte, Whiche among Christians, Wolde god were lefte, With cursynge and bannynge, With swearyng and tearyng, That no honest harte Can abyde the hearyng: These be the frutes That of them doth sprynge, With many more as euill That cometh of gamynge." *Babees Book*, p. 346. King Richard I and Philip Augustus of France at Messina in the third Crusade in 1190 A.D. enacted "Nemo in toto exercitu ludat ad aliquod genus ludi pro lucro, exceptis militibus et clericis; qui in tota die et nocte non nisi viginti solidos amittent (about £24 in modern money). Si autem milites aut clerici plusquam ad viginti solidos in die naturali luserint, quoties viginti solidos excesserint, centum solidos archiepiscopis et eorum prenomatis sociis (the Masters of the Templars and of the Hospitallers, and the Duke of Burgundy) qui predictam pecuniam servabunt (et ad subvectionem terrae Jerosolimitanae ubi viderint magis necessarium, pecuniam predictam impendent). Reges autem pro beneplacito suo ludent, et in hospitio duorum regum possunt servientes eorum ludere, precepto eorum, usque ad viginti solidos (and similarly in the presence of archbishops, bishops, earls, and barons, precepto eorum possunt servientes ludere usque ad viginti solidos). Si autem servientes, aut marinarii, aut alii ministri per se inventi fuerint ludentes, servientes tribus diebus nudi per exercitum vapulabunt nisi se voluerint redimere arbitrio predictorum; et alii ministri similiter. Marinarii vero si luserint, tribus diebus a summo navis in mare demergentur more marinariorum, semel in die, nisi se voluerint redimere arbitrio predictorum." *Benedict. Gesta Regis Ricardi*, Rolls Series, II, 130, and Hoveden, *Chronica*, III, 59.

"Chess" was played in the first Crusade during the long siege of Antioch in 1098; and in the Chanson de Roland Charlemagne and his paladins while away their leisure with chess and tables beneath the walls of Cordova. The game itself is of Eastern origin, one of the gifts of Harun-al-Rashid to Charlemagne in the ninth century being a set of chessmen. Two centuries later it was so popular that Peter Damiani laments its prevalence among the clergy; fifty years later it was one of the amusements forbidden to the Templars, for the mediaeval players had usually some stake on the game. Charlemagne plays for his kingdom, and Huon of Bordeaux for his own life and the hand of the Sultan's daughter. The squares were usually gold and silver, the men red and gold. The pieces had much the same power as now, except that the Queen could only move one square, and that diagonally, being thus the weakest piece on the board, and the Bishop could only move three squares. The Queen was called "fers," the Persian for general or counsellor, and would always be near the King for defence (vierge or queen was a corruption of the name); the Bishop was "Alphyn" or elephant, the Castle "roccus." In elaborate sets the peons or pawns were all different, and beginning from the King's rook's pawn bore the names of labourer or farmer, blacksmith, clerk or butcher, merchant or tailor, physician, innkeeper, warder, gamester, thief or ribald. *Archaeologia*, IX, 24-38. In "tables," or backgammon, there was still more gambling. It was a favourite amusement of King John, who lost heavily at it. Louis IX forbade it, and when he caught the Count of Anjou at play on the voyage from Egypt to Acre he threw the board into the sea. At Acre, however, the Count played again and gave all his winnings to the needy. An Englishman in his passion for play lost all, even to his very shirt, at the game before Acre. *Crusades*, Archer and Kingsford, pp. 286-7-8. Cards are said not to have been introduced into England till the end of the fourteenth century (1395) and Bridge only at the end of the nineteenth.

Chess, Merils, now called Mill, and Backgammon are the three games Bishop Grandisson allows at Ottery, only they must be played without stakes. Of these, chess was played either on a square board as now, or on a circular, and there appear to have been no less than forty-four different ways of so doing. Strutt, *Sports and Pastimes*, Bk. IV, c. 2, §§ 4 to 10. Skeat's *Chaucer*, I, 478-482. Merelles or Merils, the nine-men's morris, was played with *méreaux*, counters or marbles. Nine holes, arranged in three parallel rows of three holes each, were drilled in stone or wood. (There are no less than eight such preparations for

the game drilled on the stone seats on the north and south sides of the King's Cloister at Windsor, an index of how popular the game was there for the Vicars, Clerks, Poor-knights and Choristers in the fourteenth century. Cp. J. T. Micklethwaite *On the Indoor Games of Schoolboys in the Middle Ages*. *Archaeological Journal*, XLIX, 319 to 328.)—Each player had nine marbles and the "business of either party was to prevent his antagonist from playing three of his pieces so as to form a row of three without the intervention of an opponent piece. If a row be formed, he that made it is at liberty to take up one of his competitor's pieces from any part he thinks most to his own advantage; excepting his competitor has made a row which must not be touched, if he have another piece upon the board that is not a component part of that row. When all the pieces are laid down, they are played backwards and forwards, in any direction that the lines run, but can only move from one spot to another at one time; the object being to make a row of three along any line and to prevent your adversary from doing so. When a player is reduced to only three men he may jump to any point whatever, irrespective of the lines, and when either player is reduced to two men the game is ended, because he can no longer make a three, and the other one claims the victory." The rustics, when they have not materials at hand to make a table, cut the lines in the same form upon the ground, and make a small hole for every dot. They then collect stones of different forms or colours for the pieces, and play the game by depositing them in the holes in the same manner that they are set over the dots upon the table. Hence Shakespeare, describing the effects of wet and stormy seasons, says: "The fold stands empty in the drowned field, And crows are fatted with the murrion flock, The nine-men's-morris is fild up with mud." *Midsummer Night's Dream*, II, 1, 98. This amusement was formerly the pastime of the shepherds while tending their flocks in the open fields. A more elaborate form of the game was played "on a board, whereon are marked three squares, one within another at equal distances, and connected with each other by a line at each angle, drawn from the inner to the outer square, and again by lines in the middle of each side of the square, the area of which is denominated the pound. At each intersection of the lines a spot or hole is made—(24 in all). Each of the players has nine pieces, differing in colour or material from his adversary's, which they lay down on the spots alternately, one by one, each endeavouring to prevent his opponent from placing three of his pieces in a line, as whichever does so is entitled to take off any one of his antagonist's men where he pleases, without breaking a row of three, which must not be done while there is another man on the board. After all the pieces are placed on the board, they are moved alternately backwards or forwards along the lines; and as often as either of the players succeeds in accomplishing a row of three, he claims one of his antagonist's men, which is placed in the pound, and he who takes the most pieces wins the game." *English Dialect Dictionary*, iv, 92.

Backgammon, always called Tables till the seventeenth century, was played on a board consisting of two tables united generally by hinges, in each of which there were twelve points, six opposite six, precisely the same as at present used: each player also had fifteen pieces. There was a great variety in the game, sometimes three sometimes two dice only were used: and the men were arranged on the board in several ways, so that two, four, or six persons could all engage in the game. Seven sorts of the game are mentioned in Strutt, *Sports and Pastimes*, iv, 2, 16. Adam de Murimuth had a chess-board and tabularium cum aleis. *Charters of St Paul's*, 1100.

Hunting was forbidden to those in holy orders by the Canon Law. "Episcopum, presbyterum aut diaconum canes aut accipitres aut huiusmodi res ad venandum habere non licet. Quodsi quis talium personarum in hac voluptate sepius detentus fuerit, si episcopus est, tribus mensibus a communione suspendatur: si presbyter, duobus; si diaconus, ab omni officio suspendatur. Omnibus servis Dei venationes et silvaticas vagationes cum canibus, et accipitres aut falcones interdiciamus." *Decretal. Greg. IX*, lib. v, tit. 24. It was also forbidden by provincial Synods in England, e.g. that of Bishop Quivil of Exeter, quoted above, but to little purpose. Chaucer's Monk "lovede venerye, Ful many a deyntee hors hadde he in stable: And, when he rood, men mighte his brydel here Ginglen in a whistling wind as clere And eek as loude as dooth the chapel-belle. He yaf nat of that text a pulled hen, That seith, that hunters been nat holy men. Therefore he was a pricasour aright; Grehoundes he hadde, as swifte as fowel in flight; Of priking and of hunting for the hare, Was al his lust, for no cost wolde he spare." *Prologue, Canterbury Tales*, 166. Several instances are given in Skeat's notes to *Piers Plowman*, II, 68, of the love of clerics for field sports at that date, and those who lived amid the moors and woods of the West country gave Bishop Grandisson much trouble in the matter. He complains that some of the Canons of Exeter "avibus canibusque venaticis, plusquam divino officio vel fraterno solacio intendentes, parum aut nichil de clericali militia pretendentes, se presencialiter absentes subducere presumunt." 19 December, 1328. *Reg.* 435.

To the Augustinian Canons of Launceston Priory, after visitation, he writes, "Inhibemus ne canes vel aves venaticos vestros, vel alicujus vestrum, seu eciam alienos, infra septa dicti Monasterii, seu alibi, teneatis." 21 May, 1342. *Reg.* 955. To those at Bodmin, "inhibemus sub pena excommunicationis ne aliquis vestrum intra septa prioratus, vel extra ubicunque, canes majores retineant vel minores (greyhounds, bull-dogs, and mastiffs for hunting, or spaniels for hawking) proprios vel alienos, nisi forte tales sint qui custodie ostiorum pistrini vel stabuli deputantur. Interdicimus insuper vobis et vestrum singulis sub pena supradicta, ludum alearum, tabularum et scaccariorum." 22 April, 1347. *Reg.* 1011. To those at Hartland, "quia sacrorum Canonum instituta multociens striccius observantur cum fuerint penarum adjeccione vallata, inhibuit fuit in visitacione nostra hujusmodi ne abbas, vel aliquis vestrum, venacionibus aut aucupacionibus interesset, nec canes venaticos, per se vel per alios, tenere presumeret, prout aliqui tenuerunt." 1355. *Reg.* 1156. To the Benedictines at Tavistock, since the Abbot and Prior, and their servants, "ac etiam Frater Thomas Coffyn, commonachus vester, canes venaticos sumptibus monasterii retinetis et retinent, vestris vestigiis inherentes, monemus quatinus dictos canes a vobis totaliter abicientes, dictum fratrem Thomam, quem ut insolentias evitet, claustrum inmorari faciatis, necnon familiares vestros supradictos, ab hujusmodi canum retencione deinceps omnino faciatis cohiberi." 12 September, 1345. *Reg.* 998. And again to the same "volumus et ordinamus quod ex nunc idem Abbas amota ab eo omni familia onerosa et canibus venaticis quibuscunque in ipso monasterio resideat inter suos commonachos et confratres." 4 December, 1348. *Reg.* 1073. To those at Totnes, "quia Jacobus de Conca, frater, et Jacobus de Spina, nepos Prioris, equos, canes et aves venaticos nec non famulos inutiles, onerosos et consumptuosos tenent in eodem prioratu, ordinavimus et precepimus quod equi, canes et aves, ac famuli et servitores in dicto Prioratu inutiles et onerosi, infra octo dies a tempore recepcionis presentium, penitus amoveantur." 24 December, 1348. *Reg.* 1074. Most of these it will be observed were Regular, not Secular clergy, such as he had placed in the College at Ottery, these last he dismisses with a play on the words "canes et carnes," the latter they may have, but not the former. In 1389 an Act of Parliament was passed imposing one year's imprisonment on any layman not having £2 a year, and any of the clergy not having a benefice of £10 a year who kept dogs to hunt. *Statutes of the Realm*, II, 65.

56^m ca^mliiij. *De penis incorrigibilium et delinquentium.*

ITEM, statuimus et precipimus, quod si aliquis rixosus, ebriosus, incontinens, aut rebellis inueniatur, post terciam admonicionem penitus amoveatur, omnesque tales fouentes, defendentes, aut excusantes, partem habeant cum facientibus hic et in inferno. ¶ Si quis autem uicarius, uel secundarius, contra aliquem canonicum, aut secundarius contra uicarium iurgauerit, uel deliquerit, nisi infra triduum emendauerit, ex tunc nichil de ecclesia percipiat; quousque satisfecerit competenter¹.

¹ This statute was specially marked in the margin by John of Exeter as worthy of notice.

liiij. Drunkenness and incontinency in clerks were of course violations of the Canon Law. *Decret. Greg. IX*, lib. III, tit. 1, c. 13 and 14, to be punished by suspension and deprivation, "ab officio et dignitate." Similarly quarrelsome and disobedience to superiors, *Decret. Greg. IX*, lib. v, tit. 25. The laws against such offences as enforced by English bishops and Synods are given in Lyndwood, lib. I, tit. 2, and lib. III, tit. 1 (pp. 10, 11, 119). He notes (p. 15) "Regulare est quod gravem poenam (qualis est privatio beneficii vel alia hujusmodi) precedere debet monitio"; and p. 127, "Canonica monitio debet esse trina, vel una pro omnibus continens in se aliquorum dierum competentium intervalla." But the three warnings were often given in one day, if the culprit proved intractable. Bishop Grandisson, 28 January, 1352, writes, "Cum, testante sacro eloquio, *melior sit obedientia quam victima* et omnis oblatio preter, vel contra, obedienciam abhominabilis sit et execrabilis apud Deum, dicente Psalmista, *sacrificium et oblacionem noluisti; aures autem perfecisti michi*; et iterum, *in auditu auris obediunt michi*; ac etiam propter solam inobedienciam primi parentes cum eorum posteritate ab hereditaria Paradisi amenitate expulsi, in miseriam hujusmodi mundi exules sint facti; nec aliter quam per obedienciam Christi, pro nobis usque mortem humiliati, ad gaudia eterna vel premia Ei per omnia obedienciam poterimus revocari; tanto severius obligatorum ad obedienciam contumax rebellio est punienda." *Reg.* 1111. "Hic et in inferno," the first because excommunicate, and the latter "nisi resipiscentes"; and there Dante on Good Friday, A.D. 1300, saw

them in the second circle, "the carnal sinners who made their reason subject to their inclination," *Inferno*, Canto v; and in the third circle the gluttons, Canto vi; and in the Stygian marsh the souls of the wrathful and the sullen, "these were beating each other, not only with hand but with the head and with the breast and with the feet, maiming each other with their teeth piecemeal," Canto vii; and deeper still in the ninth pit all who were sowers of scandal, strife, and dissensions in their life, Canto xxviii.

As all common life together whether in college or school would tend to accentuate differences and ill-will, and to exaggerate trifles or disturbances, "the sun was not to go down upon their wrath more than twice," any contention of a junior against a senior was to be settled before the third day. "Et nota circa tunc materiam obedientiae, quod obedientia, quae debetur homini ab homine, est debita minoris ad maiorem reverentia; unde si mandatur id quod justum est, obediendum est, si injustum, nequaquam; si dubium, tunc illud propter bonum obedientiae est explendum," Lyndwood, p. 11. Bishop Walter Brounecombe, 15 November, 1275, to the Chapter at Exeter writes "Quia detractores et seminantes discordiam inter fratres schisma inducunt, odium provocant, et charitatem exulant, prohibemus sub pena excommunicationis ne tales de cetero in ecclesia nostra remaneant, districte precipientes decano, quod si quos tales de cetero invenerit eos prorsus abjiciat, sine nostra consciencia nullatenus recipiendos"; and again on 11 February, 1277, "Ut pax temporis et pectoris ad pacem eternitatis introductoria inter Canonicos et Vicarios ecclesie nostre puro corde et simplici oculo servetur de cetero, statuimus decernimus et diffinimus ut si inter quoscunque Canonicos inter se, seu quoscunque Vicarios mutuo aut permutatim (quod deus avertat) suborta fuerit materia questionis, statuimus diffinimus et decano nostro in virtute obediencie et sub pena canonice districtionis injungimus, et infra octo dies postquam ad ejus noticiam pervenerit, hujusmodi discordiam judicio vel concordia terminare non omittat. Alioquin suspensio interim ab ingressu chori auctore discordie, quid super premissis invenerit et circa ea fecerit, infra alios octo dies nobis vel successori rescribere non omittat, partes causam et processum nobis transmittendo sigillatim."

lv. *De tonsura et uestitu decentibus.*

ITEM, statuimus quod omnes sacerdotes largas coronas habeant, et sibi inuicem consimiles ^{32^m fo.} cum rotunda tonsura; et pueri modo consimili. Set clerici alij¹, medio modo, taliter scilicet ^{p. 197.} quod omnes secundum statum suum sint conformes, in quantitate corone et modo tonsure. ^{57^m ca^m} ¶ Et quia uidimus, quod nunc¹ aliqui clerici, uel potius heretici, tanto se laicis magis conformant et assimilant, tam in habitu quam in tonsura, quam malis moribus, quanto [in] beneficijs et ordinibus¹ ascenderint, quasi¹ uerecundati de domino suo Ihesu Christo, et parati recipere antichristum, precipimus et ordinamus, quod quilibet iuxta gradum et ordinem suum, tam in tonsura quam in uestitu et gestu se gerat, uel monitus a collegio amoueatur; ne alios inficiat, [sicut]¹ "ouis morbida totum gregem."

¹ Winton reads "alio" for "alij," "modo" for "nunc," "quam" for "quasi" and omits "in" and "et ordinibus" and "sicut."

lv. Coronas. "Bisshopes and bachelers bothe maistres and doctours, That han cure under Criste and crownyng in tokne And signe that thei sholden shryven here paroschienes Prechen and prey for hem and the pore fede." *Piers Plowman*, prologue, 87-90. "Tonsura, ceremonia ab ecclesia instituta qua laicus baptizatus et sacramento confirmationis consignatus, sacro ritu in clerum instituitur"; when the circlet of short hair then left round the head became the "corona clericalis" or mark of clerk-hood. Its form was settled by the 41st Canon of the fourth Council of Toledo A.D. 633. "Omnes clerici vel lectores, sicut Levitae et sacerdotes, detonso superius toto capite, inferius solam circuli coronam relinquunt; non sicut hucusque in Galliciae partibus facere lectores videntur, qui prolixis ut laici comis, in solo capitis apice modicum circum tondent. Ritus enim iste in Hispania hucusque hereticorum fuit. Unde oportet ut pro amputando ab ecclesiis scandalo hoc signum dedecoris auferatur, et sit una tonsura vel habitus sicut totius Hispaniae est usus. Qui autem hoc non custodierit fidei Catholicae reus erit." Harduin, III, 588. Up to that date several modes of tonsure both in the East and West, and even in Britain, had prevailed. The Abbot Ceolfred, abbot of Jarrow, writing in 714 A.D. to the King of the Piets concerning the Catholic Easter and

tonsure, says "Neque Apostoli omnes uno eodemque sunt modo attonsi, neque nunc ecclesia Catholica sicut una fide, spe et charitate in Deum consentit, ita etiam una atque indissimili totum per orbem tonsurae sibi forma congruit. Verum si profiteri nobis liberum est, quia tonsurae discrimen non noceat, quibus attonsi in Deum fides et charitas in proximum sincera est, maxime cum nunquam patribus catholicis sicut de Paschae vel fidei diversitate conflictus, ita etiam de tonsurae differentia legatur aliqua fuisse controversia. Inter omnes tamen quas vel in ecclesia vel in universo hominum genere reperimus tonsuras, nullam magis sequendam nobis amplectendamque jure dixerim ea, quam in capite suo gestabat ille, cui se confitenti Dominus ait, 'Tu es Petrus et super hanc petram edificabo ecclesiam meam, et portae inferi non prevalebunt adversus eam; et tibi dabo claves regni celorum.' St Matt. xvi. 18. Neque vero ob id tantum in coronam attondemur, quia Petrus ita attonsus est; sed quia Petrus in memoriam dominicae passionis ita attonsus est, ideoque et nos, qui per eandem passionem salvari desideramus, ipsius passionis signum cum illo in vertice, summa videlicet corporis nostri parte, gestamus. Ita etiam oportet eos qui vel monachi votum vel gradum clericatus habentes formam coronae quam ipse in passione sua spineam portavit in capite, ut spinas ac tribulos peccatorum nostrorum portaret, id est, exportaret et auferret a nobis, suo quemque in capite per tonsuram preferre. Ut se etiam irrisiones et opprobria pro illo libenter ac prompto animo sufferre ipso etiam frontispicio doceant. Ut 'coronam vitae aeternae, quam repromisit Deus diligentibus se' (St Jac. i. 12), se semper expectare, proque huius perceptione et adversa se mundi et prospera contemnere designent." Wilkins, i, 78; Bede's *Eccles. Hist.* v, 21. Several of the preceding rival modes of tonsure are described in Ussher, *Brit. Ecc. Antiq.* (1687), 478, 479. The Canon law was, "Clerici, juxta apostolum ('nec ipsa natura docet vos quod vir quidem si comam nutriat, ignominia est illi,' 1 Cor. xi. 14) comam non nutrant, sed desuper caput in modum sphaerae radant." "Clerici qui comam nutriunt ab archidiacono etiamsi noluerint inviti detondeantur." Council of Agde, 506 A.D. "Si quis ex Clericis comam relaxaverit, anathema sit." Council of Rome, 743 A.D. *Decreti prima pars*, Dis. xxiii, cap. 21, 22, 23. The last of these is repeated by Gregory IX, *Decretal.* lib. iii, tit. 1, c. 4 and 5, with a slight addition "Clericus neque comam nutriat, neque barbam." It was enforced in England by Archbishop Hubert Walter of Canterbury in the council of York, A.D. 1195. "Statuimus ut clerici tonsuram habeant et coronam, quam si habere contempserint ad hoc beneficiorum si quae habeant privatione cogantur; qui vero beneficia non habent per archidiaconum vel decanos tondeantur inviti." Wilkins, i, 502. And by Archbishop Stephen Langton at Oxford, 1222 A.D. "nec clerici comam nutriant sed honeste tonsi et coronati convenienter incedant." *Ibid.* 589, on which Lyndwood comments (p. 119) "*clerici*, scilicet quicumque; ut sic includat etiam habentes primam tonsuram duntaxat. *Tonsi*, haec tonsura sic fiet, ut aures sint patentes; et hoc, si religiosus sit, altius; si secularis, dimissius. Et sic, quod inter Presbyterum et alios inferiores sit differentia. *Coronati*. Rasura superior, et tonsura inferior, faciunt de circulo capillorum coronam." The monks at St Augustine's Canterbury "in hyeme qualibet quindena semel radi debent; in estate vero bis in tribus septimanis. Tamen ita provide et discrete agatur rasura, quod semper fiat contra quodlibet principale festum. Scito die rasturae, providebit sub-camerarius de aqua calida, bacinis, et panniculis ad rasturam pertinentibus." The brethren were to be summoned in turn before the barber, "incipiendo a senioribus, quia in principio cultelli sunt acuti et panniculi sicci." *Customary*, i, 216. The hair was shorn away from the top of the head in a circular shape, more or less wide, according as the wearer happened to be high or low in orders; and besides this the hair was clipped away over the ears, and all about the nape of the neck behind, so as to have no uneven angles or out-juttings and thus became a complete ring or crown around the head. "Clerici namque sunt reges, id est se et alios regentes in virtutibus, et ita in Deo regnum habent. Et hoc designat corona in capite. Hanc coronam habent ab institutione Romanae ecclesiae in signo regni quod in Christo expectatur. Rasio vero capitis est temporalium omnium depositio. Illi enim victu et vestitu contenti nullam inter se proprietatem habentes, debent habere omnia communia." *Decreti secunda pars*, causa xii, q. 1, c. 7; Synod of Worcester, Wilkins, i, 670.

Lyndwood commenting on these words under Cardinal Otho's Constitutions, A.D. 1237 (p. 37), somewhat caustically writes, "Coronam portant Clerici in signum depositionis temporalium seu abdicationis avaritiae. Unde quibus major est tonsura, amplior et rotundior corona, illis evidentiora sunt signa; sed utinam in multis deleteretur signum, et remaneret signatum. Nam saepe hi, qui majora hujusmodi signa deportant, minus signati reperiuntur. Sub qua 'tonsura honesta' contineri intelligo rationem barbae, quam moderni quidem clerici abominabiliter prolixam nutriant studiose contra legem; sed utinam tonderentur, licet inviti, usque ad dentes vel gingivas, ut sic poena paucorum ceteris metum et timorem incuteret. Majorem debet habere religiosus quam clericus secularis, et majorem Presbyter quam Diaconus coronam, cum magis signati

et sancti esse debent, licet plerumque sit contra." "Tonsuram que deceat habeant honestam sine scrupulo angulari, crinibus ad rote speciem succisis, habitu quidem uniformes majores et minores in gestu suo simul saltem modestos et compositos se ostendant; attendentes quod non 'solum coram Deo set eciam coram hominibus facienda sunt bona' (2 Cor. viii. 21) et quod 'testimonium bonum oportet habere eciam ab hiis qui foris sunt' (1 Tim. iii. 7). Non clericis liceat comam nutrire, sed attonso capite et patentibus auribus incedere debent, ne capilli crescentes aures operiant. Longitudo enim capillorum multitudinem significat peccatorum." *Statutes of St Paul's Cathedral*, pp. 44, 47. "Et sic quod aures pateant est signum quod praescindenda sunt vitia cordis et corporis, ne intuitum divinorum impediunt, ut notant doctores." Lyndwood, p. 69. Bishop Grandisson in his *Ordinale*, p. 12, had written that at Exeter "Habeant clerici coronas fere usque ad medium capitis (as 'medio modo' in present statute) cum tonsura ad aures, statui concedentes": and writing to the archdeacons of Exeter, Cornwall, and Barnstaple quotes the Constitutions of Cardinal Othobon promulgated in 1268 A.D., "ut universi Clerici vestes gerant non longitudine vel brevitatem nimia ridiculas vel notandas, sed talares, saltem ultra tibiaram medium attingentes, auresque patentes crinibus non opertas, et coronas habeant probanda latitudine concedentes," which ordinances the archdeacons had neglected, or dared not, to enforce, so that "talis ac tantus in eos abusus adeo generaliter modernis temporibus est diffusus, ut vix eos a laicis habitu quovis vel tonsura discernere valeat oculus intuentis; ex quo provenit quod clericalis ordinis celsitudo deprimitur et decor honestatis ecclesiasticae plurimum maculatur." He charges them therefore that they should admonish all who thus offend "ut monstruosam transformationem huiusmodi a se de cetero prorsus abiciant, coronas et tonsuram ex nunc congruentes habeant, talia eciam superius deferant indumenta que, ut est predictum, tibiaram medium excedant; ita quod in omni casu per habitum exteriorem, per quem interior designatur, a laicis notabiliter cognosci valeant et discerni"—and if any disobey, to cite them at once before himself. 18 June, 1342. *Reg.* 960. And writing to the Exeter Chapter 18 November, 1358, "de tonsura et veste clericali, quia plurime Canonum pagine si observentur sufficientissime ac artissime provident, ac violatores puniant, ad presens non loquimur, sed eis cum penis adjectis firmissime ex habundanti precipimus observari. Vos eciam et quemlibet vestrum monemus primo, secundo, et tercio, ac peremptorie," to observe all such statutes and ordinances. Thus the Bishop gave the thrice repeated canonical warning required before depriving any one of his benefice. Similarly at Ottery after such a warning any one disobedient to Statute Iv "monitus a collegio amoveatur" for "one sickly sheep infects the flock and poisons all the rest" as Dr Isaac Watts in his "*Divine Songs*" for children, no. 21, "against evil company," translates the proverb which has always been used as an argument for cutting off a "heretic" from contact with the faithful. "The offender is not a cleric, but a heretic," says Bishop Grandisson: and in this application of the term he would be borne out by St Thomas Aquinas, who in the *Summa*, secunda secundae, q. 11, a. 1, quotes St Augustine *de utilitate credendi*, "Hereticus est qui alicujus temporalis commodi et maxime gloriae principatusque sui gratia falsas et novas opiniones vel gignit vel sequitur. Ergo heresis non est species infidelitatis sed magis superbiae"; and it was pride that led these clerics to ape the fashions of laics. "Dicitur etiam hereticus, qui ex contemptu Romanae ecclesiae contemnit servare ea quae Romana ecclesia statuit, et etiam qui despicit et negligit servare *Decretales*, quasi videantur contra Claves," Lyndwood, p. 292. Bishop Grandisson's reference to Antichrist may probably be suggested by the "*Turnoyement de l'Antéchrist*" by Huon de Meri A.D. 1228, a monk of St Germain des Prés near Paris, wherein Antichrist is supposed to be on earth visiting every profession and order of life "in mannes forme" and finding numerous partisans. The vices arrange themselves under his banner, which Pride as the chief of the deadly sins bears aloft, and the virtues under that of Christ.—(So in Chaucer's *Parson's Tale*, "simony is the gretteste sinne that may be, after the sinne of Lucifer and Anticrist," that is Pride.)—The two armies at length come to an engagement, and the battle ends to the honour of the Virtues, and the total defeat of the Vices. Skeat's *Piers Plowman*, II, 276. Thus the Bishop regards those soldiers of Christ who were through pride ashamed of their tonsure as ready to enlist under the standard of His arch enemy. Some "chanons that men clepen seculere, ben Christes fals traytours...Antichrist these serven all; With Antichrist such folk shull fall, They folowen him in dede and fay; They serven him in riche array, To serve Christ such falsely fayne; Why, at the dredful domes day, Shull they not folowe him to payn?...And ben as proude as Lucifere....Buckelers brode, and swerdes longe, Baudriks with baselardes kene, Such toles about hir necke they honge; With Antichrist such prestes been; Upon hir dedes it is well sene Whom they serven, whom they honouren; Antichristes they ben elene, And goddes goodes falsely devouren." *The Plowman's Tale*, 1395 A.D. Skeat's *Chaucer*, VII, 173, 176. The proper dress for a secular priest in England at that date Bishop Grandisson has himself defined in his mandate to the Benedictine Abbot of Tavistock, whom he forbids

to wear it instead of his proper monastic habit, "capa duas aperturas pro manibus habente, capucioque clauso super humeros non fisso, manicis etiam botonatis." 12 September, 1345. *Reg.* 997. The "gestus" and "mores" desired by the Bishop for the members of his College at Ottery are exactly described by Myrc, "Preste, thyself thow moste be chast, And say thy serves wythowten hast, That mowthe and herte acorden in fere, Ef thow wole that God thee here. Of honde and mowthe thou moste be trewe, And grete othes thow moste eschewe, In worde and dede thou moste be mylde, Bothe to mon and to chylde. Dronkelee and glotonye, Pruyde and slouth and enuye, Alle thow moste putten away, Ef thow wolt serve God to pay. That thee nedeth, ete and drynke, But sle thy lust for any thyng. Tauernes also thow moste forsake, And marchaundyse thow schalt not make. Wrastelynge and schotyng and such maner game, Thou myhte not use wythowte blame. Hawkyng huntynge and dawnsynge, Thow moste forego for any thyng; Cuttede clothes and pyked schone, Thy gode fame they wole fordone. In honeste clothes thow moste gon, Baselard ny bawdryke were thow non. Berde and crowne thow moste be schauē, Ef thow wole thy ordere saue. Of mete and drynke thow moste be fre, To pore and ryche by thy degre. Besely thow moste thy sawtere rede, And of the day of dome have drede; And euer do gode ageynes euele, Or elles thow myhte not lyue wele. Wymmenes felaschip thow moste forsake, Of euele fame leste they the make, For wymmenes speche that ben schrewes Turne ofte away gode thewes (*i.e.* manners). Thus thys worlde thow moste despyse And holy vertues haue in vyse, Ef thow do thus thow schalt be dere To alle men that sen and here." P. 2.

53^m ca^mlvj. *De nulla mulierum cohabitatione infra collegium.*

ITEM, statuimus quod nulli de ecclesia mulieres, eciam de sanguine suo, secum ad perhendinandum habeant infra clausam; nec eciam in uilla eorum sumptibus ultra vnum diem et noctem.

lvj. The third Canon of the Council of Nice, A.D. 325, was, "omnibus modis interdixit sancta synodus neque episcopo neque presbytero neque diacono neque ulli clericorum omnino licere habere secum mulierem extraneam: nisi forte mater aut soror aut avia aut amita vel matertera sit. In his namque solis personis et harum similibus omnis quae ex mulieribus est suspicio declinatur. Qui autem praeter haec agit periclitabitur de clero suo." Harduin, I, 324. And the same relatives were allowed by the 42nd Canon of the Council of Toledo, A.D. 633, *ib.* III, 588. But the permission was subsequently withdrawn. Archbishop Egbert of York, A.D. 750, ordered "ut nullus sacerdos extranearum mulierum habeat familiaritatem, nec in sua domo in qua ipse habitat ullam mulierem unquam permittat habitare." Wilkins, I, 102. "Inhibendum est et modis omnibus interminandum, ut nullus sacerdos feminas de quibus suspicio potest esse in domo sua retineat. Sed neque illas, quas canones concedunt, scilicet matrem, amitam (father's sister), et sororem, quia instigante diabolo et in illis scelus frequenter perpetratum reperitur, aut eciam in pedissequis earundem. Sed si qua de his talem patientem necessitatem habuerit, presbyteri habeant in vico aut in villa domum longe a sua conversatione, et ibi eis quae sunt necessaria subministrent." *Decretales Greg. IX*, lib. III, tit. 2, c. 1. Some of the later Canons of Ottery, as we learn from their wills, had one or more servants thus living down town, like the bed-makers at Cambridge Colleges. But it would have been very awkward, to say the least, to have had any female friends to "stay" in the College; and Bishop Grandisson did not wish any to be entertained as guests in the town beyond one day, much less to be living there continuously. "Qui corpus suum continentiae dedicant, habitare cum feminis non presumant." St Gregory, *Dialog.* III, c. 7. It was not however till 1102 A.D. that celibacy for those in holy orders (*i.e.* subdeacons, deacons, and priests) became the law of the English Church. "Nullus ad subdiaconatum, aut supra, ordinetur sine professione castitatis." Wilkins, I, 382.

32^m fo. vlvij. *De habitu presbiterorum.*59^m ca^m

ITEM, statuimus quod Custos, Minister, Cantor, et Sacrista, ad prandium capucia circa collum cum pilleis habeant. Ipsi autem, ac ceteri sacerdotes collegij, supertunicis clausis sine birris ante uel retro utantur.

lvij. "Pilleus est ornamentum capitis pro sacerdotibus et graduatis, anglice *a hure*, *a pyllion*." Hure in *N. E. D.* is a cap. The shape of this head-covering is shown in several of the plates from Cotton MS.

Nero D. 1, printed in *The Ancestor*, v, 101-137, and also on many brasses of ecclesiastics, e.g. on that of Christopher Urswick, Dean of Windsor. Rock, II, 87. It fitted close to the head, was soft and flexible, round and cornerless, though somewhat widened at the top, where cushion-shaped, it had a low blunt point. It was never stiffened with pasteboard either like the modern Italian biretta, or the English square college-cap. It must be remembered that clerics' crowns were all shaven (the one distinguishing mark of the clerical order was the tonsure), the churches were not warmed, and such close-fitting caps served the same purpose as the skull-cap, often even now worn by the bald at service. The Prior and Chapter of Carlisle had an indult 9 December, 1258, "to wear such caps in choir, on account of the cold, provided they were removed at the Gospel and the Elevation." *Papal Letters*, I, 361. These little black caps were part of the choir habit at Exeter for all. *Ordinale*, 12. "Debent itaque omnes indui exterius capis nigris decentibus et integris non laceratis longis, ad minus usque ad pedes, et interius superpelliceis longitudinem cape non excedentibus, et in capite pilleolis nigris. Item, calciamenta habeant honestati et religioni conveniencia, et alia indumenta clericorum decencia et in nullo forma vel colore reprehensibilia." Accordingly at Ottery too, every one would wear such caps in choir. Ord. xv. At Sarum, however, it was only the "installati" who "pilleolis nigris utantur." *Sarum Customs*, p. 263. Bishop Grandisson in the present Statute seems to desire that this principle of distinction should be so far modified for Ottery as to allow only the four chief dignitaries there to wear the cap out of church, and with capes about their shoulders as they sat to receive their guests from the College to mess with them in their Chambers, p. 109. Just as Canon 74 of those enjoined by the English Church in 1603 orders that "all Deans, Masters of Colleges, Archdeacons, and Prebendaries in Cathedral and Collegiate Churches (being priests or deacons) shall usually wear gowns with standing collars and sleeves straight at the hands with hoods or tippets of silk or sarcenet and square caps." In the Sarum Statutes, which were drawn up in 1319 A.D., it was enacted that "extra chorum omnes et singuli gerant habitum competentem, et illi maxime qui in sacerdotio fuerint constituti exteriorem vestem habeant dissimilem militari, utpote antierius vel posterius non birrhatam; qui et capucium dum in mensa fuerint aliena habeant circa collum, ad mensas canonicorum non aliter admittendi." § xxx, p. 61. Ed. Dayman and Jones, 1883. Thus at a great Cathedral like Salisbury all priests who went as guests to the Canons' tables would wear the cape: at Ottery only the hosts, not the guests. These are some of the little differences referred to in Statute lxxv. As to dressing for dinner, Archbishop Stratford in his constitutions, promulgated at the Council of London in 1342 A.D.—which Bishop Grandisson attended in person—allowed clerks "apertis et patentibus supertunicis, alias 'mensalibus' nuncupatis, cum manicis competentibus, locis et temporibus oportunis, uti." Wilkins, II, 703. On this Lyndwood comments *Provinciale*, p. 124, "apertis, scilicet in parte anteriori; mensalibus sic dictis quia in eis solebant utentes sedere ad mensam. Et erant hujusmodi supertunicae antiquae vestes preparatae ad parcendum vestibus magis pretiosis, maxime tempore prandii vel coenae, quibus temporibus solent comedendum et bibendum vestes cibo vel potu ab ore cadente deturpari." (This would almost look like a sly suggestion that the capes of dignity were in reality bibs for the elderly.) "Manicis competentibus, strictis videlicet ad brachia, et cubitos circumquaque tegentibus. Locis, videlicet secrete in propria domo. Temporibus scilicet diebus feriatis et non festivis cum non solent supervenire extranei. Secus tamen dicerem, si essent in loco alieno vel in presencia extraneorum aut alicujus multitudinis."

As regards the apparel of the Secular clergy it was at this period in England the same in shape and cut as that worn by an ordinary and sober-minded layman. (Cp. *The Ancestor*, v, 101.) Even the Mass-Vestments themselves, the chasuble and albe, it is now agreed were evolved from the paenula (*φαινόλης*), an immense cloak sleeveless and without any opening in front, and the sleeved and girded tunic (*alba tunica talaris*), the ordinary costume of a well-to-do Roman citizen of the first and second centuries. The chasuble was not only worn by the celebrant, but by all who assisted at the altar service up to the end of the sixth century, deacons, subdeacons, and collets. It was still worn by the deacon and subdeacon between Septuagesima and Maundy Thursday and in Advent, except on Vigils and Ember days, according to the Sarum Customs in the fourteenth and succeeding centuries. The dress of the clergy therefore even at Mass was originally identical with the dress of a Roman civilian of the time who had some position. No distinctive vestment as to shape was set apart for exclusive use of the Christian minister, even in the most solemn part of Divine worship, during at least the first four centuries of the Christian era. What was worn was, however, always to be fair and comely, not mean or sordid. Then as the old cut gradually passed out of use in the world it was retained in the churches. Ecclesiastical conservatism would retard such changes as far as they concerned the dress worn at Divine service: small differences would spring into existence between every-day

dress and the dress of the ministrant that was kept in the Vestry, and those differences, at first hardly perceptible, would increase as the process went on, till the two styles of costume became sharply distinguished from one another; and the one would become ever hallowed more and more with a multitude of sacred memories and associations. (Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, ch. xi.) From the historical standpoint then the Eucharistic vestments are one of the most valuable heirlooms that the Church possesses: that they are retained and used by the whole of Catholic Christendom, East and West, is a public external witness to the age, continuity, and universality of the Church: and it is their natural origin which gives them their real value. Clergy still stand at the altar in the same habit as they did at the beginning, in the costume which St Paul (2 Tim. iv. 13; Acts xx. 7) and the other Apostles wore as citizens of the world-wide Roman Empire. The chasuble may thus be regarded as a visible token of the inherent unity of the Church and of the universality of her mission.

And if five hundred years were required to evolve the peculiar dress for priests in the sanctuary, twice that period of time elapsed before the secular clergy were expected to wear different clothing from that of staid and respectable laymen in outdoor life. There was, however, one distinctive mark, which by the seventh century (as shown in preceding note on p. 191) had been adopted for all clerics, that of the tonsure. In the first ages of the Church Christians were simply expected to avoid vanity in dressing their hair (Tertullian, *de cultu fem.* ii. 1), and St Jerome commenting on Ezek. xlv. 20, "sacerdotes autem caput suum non radent neque comam nutrient, sed tondentes attendent capita sua," deprecates eccentricity in this respect, and expresses his dislike of long hair and of shaven heads. The latter had been forbidden to the Jewish priests lest they should appear to resemble those of the heathen around them. Baruch vi. 31. Similarly also Christian clerics of the early centuries abstained from this practice lest they should be confused with the priests of Isis and Serapis. St Ambrose, *Ep.* 36. But by the sixth century, as fear of this had passed away, tonsure was more or less prevalent throughout the Church for all ecclesiastics. The ancient British, Irish, and Scotch tonsure consisted in shaving the head in front of a line drawn from ear to ear over the top of the skull, and allowing all the hair behind that line to hang free and long: but in the West generally only the crown of the head was shaved. Till the tenth century, tonsure could be given by simple priests, after that time it was limited to Bishops and Abbots. There is now in the British Museum a tonsure plate of copper slightly convex on one side and concave on the other, three inches in diameter, dating from the thirteenth century with this inscription, "This is the measure of the corona or crown of those who have officiated in the Church of St Paul, London, since its first institution; and it has been used by many venerable fathers, bishops and deans, and by the chapter." The same is figured and described by W. Sparrow Simpson in *Journal of Brit. Arch. Association*, 1882, pp. 278-290. Up to the fourteenth century then tonsure alone was the distinguishing mark of all clerics, not any peculiar cut or shape of clothes when out of church. They were to be distinguished from others by their learning more than by their dress; by their manners and habit of life more than by the cut of their garments, provided these last were decent and seemly, neither slovenly nor smart. Every cleric was to avoid staring colours and to aim at an efficient simplicity of attire, which in its quiet dignity was to be clerical rather than clerical in the modern use of the word, when "clerical dress" is supposed to be something different in shape and colour from a layman's, and when the distinction is carried so far that even high-church and low-church clergy affect to define their several positions by difference in neck-gear. But in Bishop Grandisson's time the difference between clerical and military or layman's dress was generic, not specific. The former was simply defined "utpote antierius vel posterius non birrhat." He cautions the College at Ottery against carelessness in out-door dress in Ord. xv (p. 101), and against excess of apparel in the present Statute.

In the fourteenth century the most trustworthy evidence as to contemporary costume in England may be gathered from Inventories, such as that of the outfit which each young man was required to bring with him when he joined St Augustine's, Canterbury, 1330-1340 A.D.: or the list of linen and woollen clothes given out every year at Easter and Michaelmas to the Augustinian Canons at Barnwell, A.D. 1296. J. W. Clark, lxxiv-lxxxii, 197. At Canterbury every novice was to bring: "Three linsey-woolsey tunics (or shirts) with three pairs of linen drawers; two woollen tunics, one thick and one thin; two tunics lined with fur, that is lamb's wool, not that of woodland animals, cat, coney, or fox, unless the latter were covered with black cloth (on account of moth or insects); two cowls, and two frocks (the outer and characteristic dress of a monk), each of the latter reaching to the ankles, with loose open sleeves; and another long useful or serviceable garment for wearing out of doors; two pairs of hose (*caligae*), two pairs of socks (*pedules*), one pair thick for winter, and the other thin for summer, one pair moreover of these are always to be kept clean for putting on

after foot-washing on Saturday; two pairs of low shoes (*sotulares*), one pair for day wear and one for night use, the latter might be furred or lined with felt or cloth on account of cold: a leathern girdle, a plain leathern case with comb and knife, a double (that is lined) waistcoat, doublet, or stomacher (*bracile sive lumbare duplex*) of cloth or leather." *Customary*, I, p. 401. In John Russell's *Boke of Nurture*, E.E.T.S., 1868, p. 176, the dress of a layman a few years later than the foregoing, when he gets up of a morning, is described in detail. 1. The linen drawers (*femoralia*) were put on first and tied round the waist. These were only a breach cloth covering the loins and thighs, though later they reached to the knees. (Loose or longer trousers or breeches in the modern sense were only used from the fifteenth or sixteenth century onwards.) These drawers were to be changed by the young monk at Canterbury or Westminster at least every week, so was the linsey-woolsey shirt worn next the body in spring or summer, or the woollen shirt that took its place in autumn and winter. 2. This tunic or shirt was equivalent to the *cote* of the Normans, the *roc* of the Anglo-Saxons, the *cotta* of the ancient Britons. It was a loose and short undergarment, with tight sleeves confined by rows of buttons from the elbow to the wrist, originally of linen, afterwards of cambric or silk; it reached to the thighs, and to its lowest edge were fastened the tops of the long tight hose of cloth, which completely encased and fitted close to the leg from the foot upwards. 3. These long hose, or stockings (though the latter word did not exist till the sixteenth century), reached to the middle of the thighs and were trussed or tied in the Plantagenet times with white threads or lachets, or points, to the lower edge of the shirt to keep them from slipping down. (Garters were unknown till the end of the fourteenth century.) 4. Next came the doublet (or *cote-hardie* of men from the thirteenth century). This was of cloth, and fitted close to the body, or of leather, laced in front or buttoned all the way down to the middle of the thighs, sometimes it had sleeves, sometimes not. (Buttons date from the reign of Edward I, when they were used to secure the tight-fitting sleeve from elbow to hand, and on the supertunic, and on buskins and boots till the reign of Edward III. In the following century laces and points came in to hold together the various portions of the dress, and prevailed till the sixteenth century. Hooks and eyes began also to be used in the fourteenth century.) Sometimes a stomacher, or waistband, was added for extra warmth about the loins when the supertunic was shortened; it was then worn under the doublet or bodice which was laced across it. 5. Over these was put the supertunic, sur-coat, over-slipe, pellise, long-coat, cassock, smock-frock, blouse, gown, toga, or robe. All these terms describe practically the same garment at various times. It properly reached to the feet, and was bound about the body with a girdle. This supertunic was sometimes lined with lamb's wool (or fur of fox, hare, or cat), for winter and bad weather, and thus got the name of pilche, or pellice. (Hence the linen surplice, or super-pelliceum also its name, as being slipped on and worn above this skin-lined supertunic, by all clerics or laymen who took part in the choir services, in lieu of the older albe which had close-fitting sleeves and was worn with a girdle at the waist, which would make it somewhat inconvenient for wearing over a fur-lined cassock with sleeves of its own.) There would be a certain amount of dignity and staidness in this long robe; but workmen and labourers found the long pelisse heavy and in the way, hence in the fourteenth century they generally adopted a more convenient short coat, courtpey or pea-jacket, tabard or gabardine, and when at work in the open air in warm weather, often threw this off too, as well as the tunic or shirt. Their betters, as the fancy took them, increased or diminished the length of the supertunic with what appeared in each case to the sober-minded an excess of activity. Chaucer complains of the "horrible disordinate scantinesse" of the supertunic adopted by some in order to show their parti-coloured hose of white and red, white and blue, black and red, and so forth, "thanne semeth it as by variance of colour that half their members were corrupt by the fyr of Seint Antony (erysipelas) or by cancre, or by other swich meschaunce." *Parson's Tale*, 425. This fashion of decking each leg in a different coloured hose continued for one hundred years, in spite of the anger and satire of poets and clerics, after which time it was limited to henchmen, pages, and grooms, and disappeared entirely about the middle of the sixteenth century. Planché, *Dictionary of Costume*, 303. Some of the well-to-do, however, ran to the other extreme, and sought display by enlarging the supertunic to the utmost and allowing its skirts to trail upon the ground (*Parson's Tale*, 423), and widened their sleeves until they hung not only over the entire hand but several inches beyond it, even falling to the middle of the leg when their arms were by their sides. These ostentatious elaborations were forbidden to the clergy by the ecclesiastical authorities, as were also the over-short supertunics, tight-fitting hose, or belted swords. The two things they were to avoid were excessive shortness or excessive fulness of this exterior garment, and the excessive commixture of colour. Their dresses were to be neither "nimia brevitare notandas, nec inutili longitudine defluentes." Up to the supertunic then, the clothing of the fourteenth century would be the same for cleric, layman, or monk,

except that to the last all colours were forbidden, as the Puritans from Queen Elizabeth's time would have forbidden them all to laymen and (in this matter at one with the ultramontanes) to all clerics alike. 6. Over his supertunic, pellise, or cassock, the monk, or regular-cleric, would wear his frock and cowl, and the layman or secular cleric a cloak with cape, hood, or hat. The *capa*, cloak, *ἐπιτόμιον*, super-totus, or over-all, *manteau* or mantle, was slipped on over the head, and came down all round like a bell, *cloche*. It was often open up the sides, from the bottom, for each arm to go free; the edges of such openings being secured at will with buttons or tags. Such a cloak would only be really required in wet or cold weather, the supertunic with cape would usually be sufficient. But as the supertunic grew shorter and shorter there would be more need of some such over-clothing, and thus the mantle came into fashion, and its borders were cut into fantastic shapes, and it is often shown as hung over the breast or thrown back over the left shoulder. 7. Not infrequently men and women of all classes wore no head-gear at all, or were content with a simple ribbon or fillet to keep back the hair from the forehead. Flexible soft caps of wool or cloth were, however, worn sometimes, from earliest times in England, *Cappa* "quia capitis ornamentum est." But these left the ears and neck exposed to sun and rain, and being themselves detached were liable to be lost in windy weather. Hence the simplest and most convenient covering, a cloth or shawl, as *kerchief*, thrown over the head when required, generally superseded the close-fitting short cap. This shawl folded back and hanging down behind in summer or warm weather, and in spring or winter brought forward over the head, developed in England in the fourteenth century into the hood or chaperon (*caputium*) as an appendage to the cloak. Before this, in the twelfth century, Henry II had introduced the *capa*, a short mantle common in Normandy and worn by both sexes, lay or clerical, with a little hood to draw over the head. The combination of tippet and hood, a pointed bag with an oval opening for the face, thus encasing head and shoulders, must have been very comfortable, warm, and convenient in bad weather, or when travelling. On the top of the hood, or sometimes underneath it, a low-crowned hat fitting close to the head, and wide-brimmed to shield the eyes from the glare of the sun, was added for further protection. Rock, III, 432. This too was slung round the neck with a band, which would prevent its being blown away with the wind or accidentally lost, and at the same time would admit of its being easily thrown over the back and hung behind the shoulders when not wanted in milder weather. Often too the long pendant tail to the hood (the *liripipe*) that hung down the back, when the hood was thrown off, was wound bandage-wise about the hat when placed upon the head and thus made of it a sort of turban; at other times this pointed end of the hood was twisted round the neck of the wearer for additional warmth. The remnant of such tail still survives in the Oxford and Cambridge B.A. and M.A. hoods; similarly too, the streamers or pendulous sleeves of the thirteenth century are also preserved in the long pendant attachments to the sleeves of the M.A. gown, through which at the top a hole is slit to allow the exit of the arm. Meanwhile the constant transference of the head-gear on to the shoulders, and from the shoulders on to the head, is borne witness to by the very names of the articles themselves, cap, caput, capa, cope, caputium, chaperon, hat, head, hood. So, too, *almuce* is said to be derived from *al* the definite Arabic article, and *mozza*, equivalent to the Scotch *mulch*, O. F. *musser*, German *mütze*, and to have been introduced from Spain into the rest of Europe, and *biretta*, the Italian shaped cap, to be a diminutive form of *byrrhus*, the cloak of Greek and Roman antiquity, the hood attached to which became head-gear. Archbishop Benson, *Cyprian*, 514. Birretum, "capitis tegmen, lineum tenue, strictum forma ipsius capitis, Pontificum proprium fuit. At Italis commune fuit omnibus capitis tegmen." Ducange, s.v. 8. Lastly the feet were covered by socks, the tops of which appeared just above the low shoe (*sotularis*), and this true to its name (*subtalaribus*) never reached above the ankle. These shoes were red or black, green or brown, and laced or buckled on with a strap across the instep or round the ankle. From Henry III's time the boots and shoes were often ornamented with diagonal lines and fretted and embroidered work: those of many English Bishops are represented as being green, light-blue, or crimson. Long-pointed toes and (*rostrata*) peaked shoes came into fashion in Rufus's time and so continued till that of Henry VII. In Richard II's reign they were prolonged to such an extent that they had to be stuffed with tow till the points curled like a ram's horn and had to be fastened up to the knees with small chains of gold and silver. These shoe peaks were forbidden by Act of Parliament in 1465 to be more than two inches long. *Statutes of the Realm*, II, 401. Work-a-day folk would naturally eschew such things, and occasionally wore vampeys (*avant-pied*)—a sort of forerunner of the modern spats—over the instep of the foot and above the low shoe. The ancient Saxon leg-bandages or swathings were still sometimes worn in Plantagenet times, and resembled the puttees wound spirally from ankle to knee as now often seen with knicker-bockers. Buskins, half boots, or shoes reaching above the ankles half-way up the shins with rows of buttons up the centre, lacing from the

toes upwards, and ornamented with cross-bands were only used in riding, or by travellers and countrymen from the tenth century, with turn-over tops of another colour.

Such then being the articles of dress worn by our fellow-countrymen at this period, Archbishop Stephen Langton, at Oxford in 1222 A.D., ordained that all priests in his province "decenter incedant in habitu clericali, et cappis clausis utantur." Wilkins, I, 589. He had lately returned from the fourth Lateran Council (1215 A.D.) where Canon 16 enacted "clerici clausa deferant desuper indumenta, nimia brevitate vel longitudine non notanda. Pannis rubeis aut viridibus, necnon manicis (*manches*, hanging sleeves) aut sotularibus consutitiis seu rostratis (embroidered or peaked shoes) non utantur." Harduin, VII, 34. Lyndwood as regards the Archbishop's ordinance remarks (p. 118) that ruby-red and green are the only two colours forbidden to clerics, and that only "causâ jactantiae seu voluptatis. Nam usus vestium seu ciborum non culpatur, sed jactantia seu voluptas (ostentation and luxury). Unde secundum regionis consuetudinem hiis vestibus uti possunt clerici, ita quod nimis fulgidis nec nimis sordidis vestibus se ornent; quia conformare se debent moribus illorum cum quibus vivunt. Quare magis dicti colores (ruby-red and green) prohibeantur quam alii, ratio reddi non potest. Erit etiam iste habitus de panno plano, non virgato (striped) nec partito (parti-coloured) et prohibetur ne clerici, maxime beneficiati, publice utantur caligas sticcatas (chequered hose) viridibus vel rubeis. Licet certi colores et formae prohibeantur clericis, tamen *non habent certum habitum eis deputatum nec in colore nec in forma*, et ideo possunt qualicunque veste uti, eorum statui congruenti, dummodo eis non sit expresse prohibita." Cardinal Otho in 1237 A.D. reiterated the ordinance, "quod in mensura decenti habeant vestes, et cappis clausis utantur in sacris ordinibus constituti," i.e. all priests, deacons, and subdeacons. Wilkins, I, 652. On this again Lyndwood argues that the clergy were at liberty to use their discretion as to the fashion and colour of their clothes (p. 37). "Clerici conformare se debent in vestibus honeste secundum consuetudinem regionis, ne videantur hypocritae, et ne vilescat dignitas clericalis. Vestis clerici nec sordeat nec splendeat, in talibus namque sola superbia reprobat, et honestum habitum debeant gerere clerici," and as regards "cappis clausis" "haec constitutio nunquam acceptabatur a subditis in hac parte, igitur non videtur arctare." Non-conformity in this point in England was venial.—(*E.g.* Bishop Bronescombe of Exeter 15 November, 1275, orders that no canon or vicar should enter the choir-aisles or pass through the choir after toll for Lady Mass *in habitu seculari*, which assumes they wore *habitus secularis*; the said habit to be forfeited, if they did so transgress, to the use of the secondaries, which assumes that they also were able to wear such habit.)—The ordinance was, however, repeated by Cardinal Othobon in 1268 A.D. Wilkins, II, 4. Whereupon says Lyndwood, "Istud (ut scilicet certi viri ecclesiastici utantur 'cappis clausis') trina vice statutum est," first by Archbishop Langton, then by Otho, Legate of the Holy See, and thirdly by Othobon, Legate also of the Holy See. "Sed tamen, ut experientia rei docet, non observatur quoad hoc, sicut nec quoad plura alia, ubi posset dubitari an non observantes peccent, vel nunquid non observantia poterit tales excusare. Johannes de Athona ponit pro fundamento quod subditi non admiserunt has constitutiones, et propterea arguit, quod per eas non arctantur," and he then goes into the argument at length (p. 118). Nevertheless two or three English Bishops charged in its behalf. Bishop Walter de Cantilupe of Worcester ordered, 1240 A.D., for his diocese, "ne clerici de superbia sint notabiles, precipimus ut juxta statuta conciliorum pannis sericis aut viridibus aut rubeis non utantur. Cappas etiam deferant clausas sacerdotes." Wilkins, I, 670. And Bishop Quivil for the diocese of Exeter in 1287: "Ne in clericis superbiae vitium, quod omnis peccati et perditionis fuit initium, praedominetur; precipimus, quod pannis sericis vel viridibus aut rubeis, seu subtalaribus manicis (pendulous sleeves drooping to the heels), sotularibus consutitiis (embroidered shoes), caligis (hose), aliis quam nigris (fraenis, sellis, pectoralibus, calcaribus deauratis), aut alio quocunque ornatu superfluo non utantur; sed habitu et incessu corporis, professionem suam ostendant, et ita tam in statu mentis quam habitu corporis Deo et hominibus studeant complacere. Omnes personae in dignitate necnon rectores ecclesiarum in sacerdotio constituti, ac parochialium ecclesiarum vicarii, capis et supertunicis utantur clausis, et maxime in civitatibus, via et in plateis, coram suis praelatis et conventibus clericorum: hoc idem faciant sacerdotes, quanquam minime beneficiati, si sibi suppetant facultates; quae si defuerint, volumus tamen et precipimus, quod tam ipsi, quam ceteri clerici omnes constituti in sacris ordinibus, superindumentis saltem utantur clausis, ut in omni casu per habitum exteriorem (per quem interior designatur) clerici a laicis discernantur. Induant se clerici vestibus unius coloris, et non varii nec permixti; quoniam omnis ornatus ad jactantiam adhibitus esse debet a clericis alienus; et sicut nec fulgidis vestibus se ornare, ita non sordibus deturpare. Nam nec exquisitae deliciae nec affectatae sordes laudes pariunt. Clerici vestes habeant nec longitudine nec brevitate nimia ridiculas, nec corrigias (girdles) sericas auri vel argenti habentes ornatum." Wilkins, II, 141. The *cappa clausa*, a

cope, not like those worn in church offices open in front except for the morse clasp, but closed all the way down from neck to feet (a belated attempt to revive the old Roman paenula, p. 195, for outdoor use), was a very awkward and ugly thing at best, and was never taken to by the clergy of the Church of England. The supertunica clausa of this Statute was another thing altogether. It was originally worn by all classes, high and low, cleric or laic, and by both sexes of Saxons and Normans alike, over another tunic, and was thus equivalent to the Greek ἱμάτιον, as worn over the χιτὼν, or smock. The old smock-frock of English country-life, and the blouse of the French labourer are its survivals, as the frock coat is among laymen, and the longer or shorter cassock is among clerics. It had sometimes long and ample sleeves, sometimes only half or upper sleeves, sometimes no sleeves but arm-holes, through which those of the under tunic passed. It was termed "over-slipe," as being usually slipped on over the head, and the aperture for the neck (it did not open further down) was closed with two or three buttons or tags. In the Plantagenet period the long narrow sleeve became pendulous at the wrist, and was often more than a yard in length, and of a different colour from the rest of the dress. Sometimes the sleeves were a separate article of dress altogether, and were worn with this or that garment according to the fancy of the owners. The girdle that secured it about the hips would carry an ink-horn, a rosary, a small book, or a purse at will. A short cape over the shoulders, as described in this Statute, was often worn with it. These clothes were made of all colours. In illuminations of the fourteenth century, secular clergy are often depicted correctly habited (as Bishop Grandisson describes with "capa duas aperturas pro manibus habente capucioque clauso super humeros non fisso, manicis etiam botonatis," *Reg.* 997) in blue, scarlet, yellow, murrey, and brown cassocks, and short capes on their shoulders, sometimes of a different colour from the cassocks, just as English bishops nowadays wear scarlet or purple cassocks and purple coats. The wills, too, of ecclesiastics of every grade at this period witness to their being possessed of wearing apparel of all sorts of colours: e.g. the will of William Holcombe, precentor of Ottery, dated 1 April, 1499, enumerates "unam zonam wyth a blew corse and harnysse acordyn of silver and gylte, unam togam talarem clausam apte ante, de mustvylis, tres curtas togas quarum una viridis coloris, altera murrey, tercia muster devillys (mustard-coloured or grey mustrevillers, a mixed grey woollen cloth made at Montiguliers, near Harfleur, Fairholt, II, 294), duas togas simplices non duplicatas cum capuciis." Oliver, *Monasticon Exon.* 278. Archbishops Anselm of Canterbury and Gerald of York, and all the Bishops and clergy of the English Church at Westminster in 1102 A.D. ordained "ut vestes clericorum sint unius coloris et calciamenta ordinata." Wilkins, I, 382. In the case of the monastic orders and the regular clergy their froecae or supertunicae, and their cowls or hoods, were black, white, or grey, according to the rule they were subject to; but the secular clergy might wear what colour they pleased, provided it was one throughout, and they had tight-fitting sleeves to their cassocks. The tonsure, not the colour or form of their garments, was the distinctive caste mark of clerkhood: the great point was not wilfully to cover or hide it (King Edgar's Canons, 960 A.D., Wilkins, I, 228) by wearing coifs (Wilkins, II, 4; Lyndwood, p. 120) or otherwise. Neither was there any distinctive dress for the military or for lay-folk as such; the lawyers, of course, were all clerics at this time. The soldiers wore their armour and accoutrements when on service, and the laymen dressed according to their means and rank, as described in Chaucer's Prologue to *The Canterbury Tales*. There was, however, a constant tendency for the accessories of dress, both in layman and cleric, to become fantastic: fashions in dress are always changing, and the freaks and whims of extravagance are always open to ridicule. Under Henry III it became the fashion to ornament the edges of the garments by cutting them into shapes of leaves, flowers, half circles, and other fanciful devices. Such things were called quaint, contoise, or quintes, from the capricious fancy thus displayed. "The brilliant reign of Edward III was favourable to the full development of that display in costume which began during that of his unfortunate father, and to the fostering of a good taste for its regulation. Peace and commerce did much in inducing this, as new luxuries were imported in great abundance." Fairholt, I, 110. Meanwhile the supertunic grew shorter, first to the calf, then to the knee, then almost disappeared till it became little more than a jacket, not reaching even to the waist, where it met the hose, fitting tight and close upwards to the navel. These short coats and tight breeches of gallants were a great offence to old-fashioned folk. Russell's *Boke of Nurture*, p. 136 n. The pendulous sleeves became long narrow strips of cloth or silk, called tippetts or tufts, streaming from the upper part of the arm or reaching from the elbow to the knee or lower, and scalloped with fantastic dagges, frettings, and slashings. The body clothing was parti-coloured, half with its sleeve would be of one colour, and the other half with its sleeve of another; the hose, too, would be of different tints, and the shoes of rich workmanship. The Church authorities appealed to clerics not to run to the same excess with the young knights and gay squires, or lay themselves open to be like

them lampooned for effeminacy, and for looking like wandering fiddlers and harlequins, but to dress and behave as scholars and respectable gentlemen, with reason, moderation, and good sense, not as fops and silly mountebanks, "in medley and motley, as peacocks and pies," remembering that "a man's attire and excessive laughter and gait shew what he is." *Ecclus. xix. 30.* Archbishop Friar John Peckham, 1281 A.D., in his Constitutions exclaims "Proh pudor! clerici plurimi hujus incolytæ regionis, Judæorum antiquam insaniam imitantes, qui Græcas glorias paternis honoribus prætulerunt (1 Maccabees, i. 15), dum verecundantur clerici apparere, militari se contegunt apparatu, ut stultis placeant, quos constet cunctis sapientibus eo ipso merito displicere, et fatuos reputari. Et cum corona sit character ecclesiasticæ militiæ, et revelati cordis, ac patuli radii celestibus insigne, ipsi ut veraciter ostendant se hujus characteris titulum erubescere, tenia (with coif) coronas abscondunt, quasi celestes radios repellentes, ad Judæorum instar corda sua gerentes, erroris velamine obscurata. Statuto igitur adhaerentes domini Ottoboni, nihilominus ordinamus et districte precipimus, ut clericus quilibet in sacris ordinibus constitutus (sub-deacons, deacons, and priests), vestem exteriorem gerat dissimilem militari vel laicali; utpote antierius et posterius non birratam, vel saltem ex forma sua militari vel laicali congrua dissimilem honestate." Wilkins, II, 59. On which Lyndwood comments, p. 120. "*Militari.* Ut puta cum sericis vel aureis intertexturis, aut aliorum colorum ornameto in vestium summitate. *Laicali.* Vestem notabiliter brevem vel strictam (tight-fitting) potius militibus vel laicis quam clericis congruentem." Then as to "birratam" he gives an alternative meaning. Birrhus (*πυρρός*) at the end of the twelfth century was a large wrapping military cloak originally fire-coloured, made of a thick rough woollen cloth, which in the thirteenth century, as "borel" or "burel," was worn by the poorer folk. "Borel" thus became a synonym for rude, rough, boistous. Wyclif translates St Matt. ix. 16, "No man putteth a clout of boystous clothe in to an elde clothing," and *Promptorium parrulorum* (A.D. 1440), p. 42, gives as rendering of Boystows, *rudis*, and of boystows garment *birrhus*. Trevisa (1397 A.D.), "In the tyme of Louis I Emperor of the West (815 A.D.) bisshoppes and clerks dede away barred gurdelles and gay blasynge clothes." Higden, *Polychronicon*, VI, 297. "The more thou garnish thyself with these outward blazings the less thou carest for the inward garnishing of thy mind." (*Homily against excess of apparel*, 1563 A.D.)—So says Lyndwood, "Secundum istum sensum (i.e. the first, as to the coarseness of the cloth) dat intelligere quod clerici hujusmodi non debeant uti vestibus vilibus vel abjectis, quæ sint contra ipsorum honestatem." But as on the other hand such cloaks had many folds and pouches, "unde capiendo *birrum* pro *gremio*, potest esse hic sensus, ut clerici non habeant vestes ante et retro birratas, i.e. scissas (slittered) seu divisas, aut complicatas (purpled), ex qua scissura sive plicatura multa fiant gremia." Similarly Ducange, "*Birrus* interdum pro lauta et sumptuosa veste, quandoque pro vili etiam et crassiori usurpatur"; just as "frieze" is used of rough cloth, and also of elaborate embroidered work, and on Lyndwood's note he observes "Hinc forte nostri dicunt *birbaré* pro *variegatus*" (in the same way *burelé* is the term now applied by philatelists to a kind of fine network pattern composed of coloured lines and dots), and gives the quotation where (1287 A.D.) capæ stragulatæ (plaid) radiatæ (striped perpendicularly) et birratæ seu barratæ (striped horizontally) are mentioned. *Polychronicon*, VIII, 265, which Trevisa translates, "ray-barred and beemed," having rays or beams of light, radiant, as in Chaucer's *Parson's Tale*, 415 "barringe, oundinge (with wavy lines), palinge (upright stripes), windinge, bendinge (with slanting stripes)." Probably therefore "without flares, patchings, or facings before or behind" would be as near a rendering as possible of Bishop Grandisson's "sine birris ante et retro," which is the echo of "vestem antierius vel posterius non birratam" of Peckham, in 1281 A.D., and of the Sarum Statutes, 1319 A.D. "Facing" like birrhus had a double meaning. It was used of old for boasting and swaggering, and facings are also the cuffs and collar of a military jacket when of a different colour from the rest of the coat. It is curious to read that the origin of these parti-coloured slashings and facings is said to date "from the defeat of Charles the Bold of Burgundy at Grandson (the Bishop's paternal home, p. 40) in 1476, when the magnificent garments and stuffs found among the plunder were cut up by the Swiss soldiery and fantastically sewn upon their clothes. The effect of a variety of colours thus obtained was afterwards systematically reproduced by the makers of garments in all the countries of Western Europe." Traill's *Social England*, II, 580. The same authority, however, I, 18, states that "Pliny describes the texture of the cloth from which the Britons' sleeved jacket, trousers, hat, and cloak were made. It was a coarse felt, made of wool, pressed and treated with some chemical, and so thick as to be a protection against a sword. The cloth was worked in glaring colours, and the Briton seems to have been excessively vain. His favourite dress was one of striped cloth, containing little squares of all bright colours. The favourite colour seems to have been flaming red." Whatever was the origin of the fashion, Celtic or Burgundian, the supertunics of the Ottery priests were to be without either smart or shabby patches; there was to be nothing

boistous, loud, *éclatant* about their dress, either by reason of the substance itself, or of its too tight fit, or of any brilliant slashings or insertions of a plaided pattern, stripes, frets or bars of divers colours, or by reason of its cut and shape with jagged, indented, wavy or foliated edges, as was the fashion adopted by many knights and squires in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This interpretation is borne out by the Canon Law. *Clementines*, lib. III, tit. i, c. 2, published by Pope John XXII (Bishop Grandisson's patron) in 1317 A.D. "Quicumque clericus virgata (striped) vel partita (parti-coloured) veste publice utetur" (except for a reasonable cause) shall be suspended from his benefice, or held incapable of holding a benefice. "Ceteri quicumque clerici utentes epitogio seu tabardo (a trim short close-fitting sleeveless jacket or paltock) furrato usque ad oram (bordered with costly fur merely for the sake of showing the fur turn-over at the edge of collar or cuff as is done in modern astrachan coats) et ita brevi quod vestis inferior notabiliter videtur," should forfeit the same to the poor. "Clerici, presertim beneficiati, caligis scaccatis (chequered hose or leggings) rubeis aut viridibus publice non utantur." Archbishop Stratford in the Council of London (20 March, 1342) with his eleven suffragans—Bishop Grandisson being one that was present—he himself issued a mandate to his archdeacons to the same effect on his return, quoted p. 193) remarked that "Clericorum abusus, qui plus solito invaluit hiis diebus in vestibus et aliis, abominabile scandalum in populo generavit, dum ecclesiasticas dignitates, personatus, prebendas honorabiles et curata beneficia obtinentes, —(a re-echo of Bishop Grandisson's words in Stat. IV *supra*)—militari potius quam clericali habitu induti superiore, scilicet brevi seu stricto,—(precisely as Bishop Grandisson defines 'habitus laicalis' to mean 'stricta botonata et curta toga.' Reg. 1028, A.D. 1347)—notabiliter tamen et excessive latis vel longis manicis cubitos non tangentibus sed pendulis, et caputiis cum tipettis mirae longitudinis barbisque prolixis incedere, et suis digitis annulos portare publice, ac zonis stipatis pretiosis mirae magnitudinis supercingi, et bursis cum imaginibus variis sculptis amellatis et deauratis ad ipsas patenter cum cultellis ad modum gladiatorum pendentibus, caligis etiam rubeis scaccatis et viridibus (red, green, or chequered leggings and hose), sotularibusque rostratis (peaked) et incisus multimodo, epitogiis aut clochis furratis uti patenter ad oram, contra sanciones canonicas temere non verentur." Wilkins, II, 703. Lyndwood comments, p. 123. "*Brevi*, debent enim vestes clericorum esse talares (to the ankles) vel ad minus ultra medium tibiurum. *Stricta*, nam clericis non convenit corporis formam ostendere sed potius occultare. Potest dici vestis *notabiliter brevis* quando non operit genua: est etiam *notabiliter stricta* quando non potest clausa reversari ultra caput. *Manicis longis*, i.e. ultra extremitates digitorum. *Excessive*. Excessus enim sive nimietas evitari debet, quia pene nihil immensum bonum est; et medium tenere honestum est et commendabile, presertim in moribus; item in abstinentia, item in opinionibus, item in verbis." It is worth observing how closely the Canons of 1603 follow these fourteenth century provisions. "All ecclesiastical persons shall usually wear in their journeys cloaks with sleeves, commonly called Priests' cloaks, without guards, welts, long buttons, or cuts. And no ecclesiastical person shall wear any coif or wrought night-cap, but only plain night-caps of black silk, satin, or velvet. In all which particulars concerning the apparel here prescribed our meaning is not to attribute any holiness or special worthiness to the said garments, but for decency, gravity, and order, as is before specified. In private houses, and in their studies, the said persons ecclesiastical may use any comely and scholar-like apparel, provided it be not cut or pinkt; and that in public they go not in their doublet and hose, without coats or cassocks; and that they wear not any light-coloured stockings. Likewise poor beneficed men and curates (not being able to provide themselves long gowns) may go in short gowns of the fashion aforesaid." There are three articles in *The Transactions of the St Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, the first on "Ecclesiastical Head-dress," by C. Browne, vol. III, 155-164, the second and third on "The Ecclesiastical Habit in England," by Rev. T. A. Lacey, vol. IV, 126-134, that may be read in illustration of the above. On the later and chiefly foreign development of the pileus, vol. V, 1-16.

The only sumptuary laws that were made by the King and Parliament at this period bear out the above statements respecting cleric's and layman's dress, and at the same time show how futile it was attempting to deal with the subject by legal enactment.

At Michaelmas, 1363 (Friday in the utas of St Michael, 37 Ed. III), the Parliament passed an Act against "the outrageous and excessive apparel of divers people against their estate and degree." It forbade the use of materials more costly than necessary, but did not deal at all with their shape or size. It provided that servants of lords, and they of mysteries and artificers, should have clothes or hosing, whereof the whole cloth should not exceed two marks (i.e. £1. 6s. 8d.); people of handicraft and yeomen, vesture or hosing not to exceed two pounds the whole cloth (that is to say, £50 in modern money), no manner of fur nor of budge, but only lamb, coney, cat, or fox skins; esquires and gentlemen under the estate of knights,

with land under £100 the year (= £2,500 in modern money), were not to wear cloth for their clothing, or hosing of a higher price than 4½ marks (£3) the whole cloth. Nothing of gold, or silver, or silk, was to be worn by any of these three classes. If, however, the last-named class had land of £200 a year then they might spend 5 marks (£3. 6s. 8d.) on the whole cloth, and be reasonably garnished with silver and silk. Merchants, citizens, burgesses, artificers, and people of handicraft, if possessed of goods and chattels worth £500, might wear as esquires and gentry of £100 a year: if possessed of £1000 then as esquires and gentry of £200 a year. Knights that had land or rent within £200 a year were to wear cloth of 6 marks (£4) the whole cloth, but not furred with miniver nor with sleeves of ermine. All knights, who had land or rent over 400 marks (£266. 13s. 4d.) up to £1000 a year, might wear cloth at their pleasure except ermines and lettuces. No one was to wear pearls or precious stones anywhere upon their dress, but only upon their heads. Clerks which had degree in any cathedral or collegiate church or in the schools, or clerks of the King, that had any estate that required fur, should do, and use, according to the constitution of the same. All other clerks who had 200 marks of rent by the year should wear as did the knights of the same rent; and other clerks within the same rent should wear as the esquires of £100 rent; and that all these as well knights as clerks, who by their ordinance might wear fur in the winter, in the same manner might wear lawn in the summer. Carters, ploughmen, oxherds, shepherds, swineherds, dairymen, and other keepers of beasts, threshers of corn, or attending to husbandry, and all who had not £2 of goods and chattels should not wear any manner of cloth but blanket and russet of wool of 12d. per yard, and girdles of linen. All apparel worn contrary to these ordinances was to be forfeit to the King. This Act of new apparel was to come into operation at Candlemas (2 February) next ensuing. *Statutes of the Realm*, I, 381. But it never did, for before that date it was repealed, in the parliament held in the utas of St Hilary, 38 Ed. III, i.e. January, 1364: and everyone was left to dress according to his pleasure. It was not until one hundred years afterwards, in 1463, that another sumptuary Act was passed, *Statutes of the Realm*, II, 399, wherein it was provided that (from 2 February, 1465) no knight under a lord was to wear any cloth of gold nor fur of sables, no knight bachelor any cloth of velvet on velvet, none under a lord any cloth of silk being purple: no esquire or gentleman any velvet or satin branched, nor counterfeit silk, or fur of ermine, except he was of the King's household or had possessions of £40 a year (about £640 in modern money). Persons not having £2 a year were forbidden to wear any fustian or bustian of Naples, scarlet cloth in grain, or fur, but only black and white lamb's skin. The gowns, jackets, coats and cloaks were to be of such a length as decently to cover a man's thighs.

lvij. *De presentacione et perpetuacione Clericorum facienda.*

60^m ca^m

ITEM, statuimus quod si aliqui clericorum, uel¹ puerorum, per triennium in collegio steterint, et psalterium sciuerint, et alicui seniori, cui id iniunctum fuerit, cordetenus reddiderint², ex tunc si¹ bene se gesserint aliunde, custos et collegium tales et nullos extraneos extra collegium sub eorum titulo ad omnes sacros ordines nobis et successoribus nostris facultatem habeant presentandi. Ita quod uacantibus Uicarijs chori, in eisdem preficiantur; et statum ex tunc perpetuum consequantur.

¹ Winton omits "uel" and "si."

² Winton inserts "et."

lvij. This Statute provides for the proper carrying out of Ord. vij (p. 95), which was similar to the York Statute (A.D. 1221), "in recepcione puerorum in choro aliquando hec erat consuetudo, quod nullus reciperetur puer, nisi bene cantaret, et bonam vocem haberet; et tunc de talibus per processum temporis fiebant thuribularii, subdiaconi, diaconi, et vicarii, dum tamen digni fuerunt." The choristers at Ottery would be in minor orders, but no one could become a Secondary till he was nineteen years old (Stat. iv), at which age he might possibly be a sub-deacon. He would, if taken on the Secondaries' list at the minimum age, have to wait five years before he was twenty-four, the earliest time he could be admitted to the Priesthood. Bishop Grandisson expressly hoped some of the Secondaries at Ottery would be in priest's orders: "intencionis nostre est quod secundarii, licet clerici vocitentur, esse possint, si velint, multo magis in presbiteratus ordine constituti." Ord. v. At Exeter it was apparently different; there the Secondaries were not to be admitted to priest's orders until after their promotion to Priest-Vicars. Bishop Bronescombe, 11 February, 1277, ordered "sicut pro consuetudine antiquitus approbata inuenimus quod numerus duodecim

clericorum de secunda forma in ordine diaconatus, subdiaconatus, et accolitis ministrancium de cetero perpetualiter observetur, ne presbyteri in illo numero attitulentur, sub pena suspensionis prohibentes." On 10 July, 1269, he had laid down "ex Secundariis cum opus fuerit honesti Vicarii creari possunt." "Eligendi sunt secundarii ex choristis, si qui forte secundariatu vacante, voce inclinata aut remissa propter aetatem fuerit; quo rursus ex illis, si idonei reperiantur, futuri Vicarii eligantur." Bishop Woolton (1580-1593 A.D.).

Stat. xj and xij (p. 140) define what the choristers and secondaries at Ottery had to learn by heart within a month of their admission. Bishop Grandisson required candidates for the priesthood from Ottery to know before their presentation to him, as much as the priest-vicars at Sarum, Lincoln, and York, had to learn within a year after their ordination. A young man who joined St Augustine's, Canterbury, had to occupy himself "ut non segniter reddat vel repetat quae cordetenus a monachis sunt scienda, videlicet, regulam sancti Benedicti, *Psalterium*, letaniam sanctorum communem, cantica tam ecclesiastica quam monastica, ambrosianum, id est ymnarium, omnia invitoria et versus nostri antiphonarii, omnia responsoriola et etiam responsoria ejusdem, ad processiones scilicet pertinentia, antiphonas super *Laudes*, tam super psalmos primos scilicet quam etiam *Benedictus*, sex etiam communes ferias integre, et totum *commune sanctorum*; antiphonas etiam, lectiones, ac responsoria, quae ad exequias pertinent defunctorum; quae scilicet in primo triduo professionis ejus congruencius reddi poterunt ab eodem." *Customary*, I, 420. "Nec ad sacerdotium promoventur, nisi de gratia speciali et rogatu, si meruerint, seniorum. Et si esset aliquis juvenis talis ingenii quod esset habilis ut mittatur ad studium, reddat secundum statutum generalis capituli, videlicet *Psalterium*, Ymnarium (pp. 134, 159 *supra*), cantica monachorum, *commune sanctorum*, omnes antiphonas feriales et parva responsoriola, et omnes versus in toto antiphonario," *ibidem*, p. 157. Inasmuch as the greater part of all these consisted of verses from Holy Scripture which, together with the whole book of Psalms, had to be committed to memory, the young men would compare at least favourably with some modern candidates for the priesthood in the English Church as to the amount of the Bible learnt by heart. Their reading also in general was to be more scriptural and devotional than otherwise, "ideo ordinata fuerunt studia ut possent ibi (*i.e.* at collaciones in capitulo) non in antiphonariis studere, vel aliis libris truphatoriis (trumpetry) vel libris legum vel decretalibus, cum ad monachos non pertinent, sed in divinis libris et animae aedificatoriis; similiter, nec in clauistro, nisi in libris qui pertinent ad servicium divinum et ad salutem animae." *Ibid.* p. 157.

The Warden and College might give a title for ordination to one of their secondaries, after due examination had, by one of themselves, inasmuch as they were exempt from the Archdeacon's jurisdiction, Ord. xviii, to whom the duty of examination and presentation of candidates to the Bishop properly appertained; but they could not "give a title" thus to any one who had not been three years at least on the foundation. "Cum quanta reverentia et cordis contritione et animi devotione ad sacramentum ordinis sit accedendum, ex eo patet quod non nisi a summo sacerdote, id est Episcopo, confertur, et non passim, nec nisi certis temporibus, et jejuniis observando non solum ab ordinandis, sed ab universa plebe. Hinc est, quod sanctorum canonum statuta servantes prohibemus, ut nullus ad ordines accedat, vel admittatur, nisi fuerit canonice examinatus. Item, minores clerici ad inferiores gradus non admittantur, nisi idoneos habeant praesentatores, et per testimonium eorum admittantur." Archbishop Walter Raynold, Council of Oxford, 1322 A.D. Wilkins, II, 512. Whereon Lyndwood, p. 33: "quantum est ad examinationem, idem est in minoribus et majoribus ordinibus, quia utrobique non debet fieri Ordinatio sine examinatione precedenti." *Decreti*, Dis. xxiv, c. 5, *canonice examinatus*: "de hac examinatione quando, per quos et de quibus fieri debet, habes in concilio Nannetensi," c. 11 (A.D. 658): "quando episcopus ordinationes facere disponit, omnes qui ad sacrum ministerium accedere volunt, feria quarta ante ipsam ordinationem evocandi sunt ad civitatem, una cum presbyteris, qui eos representare debent; et tunc episcopus a latere suo eligere debet sacerdotes et alios prudentes viros, gnaros divinae legis et exercitatos in ecclesiasticis sancionibus, qui ordinandorum genus, vitam, patriam, etatem, institutionem (sive titulum ordinandi), locum ubi educati sunt, si sint bene literati, si in lege Domini instructi, ante omnia diligenter investigent; si fidem catholicam firmiter teneant et verbis simplicibus asserere queant. Per tres dies continuos diligenter examinentur, et sic sabbato qui probati sunt episcopo represententur." "Episcopus sine consilio clericorum suorum clericos non ordinet, ita ut civium conniventiam et testimonium querat." *Corpus juris canonici*, I, 88. "Idoneos videlicet archidiaconos, de jure communi haec examinatio pertinent ad archidiaconum. Et nota quod in ordinibus celebrandis primo fit examinatio per tres dies ante diem Ordinum celebrandum. Et tunc in die Ordinum celebrandum Archidiaconus vel examinatus alius ad hoc deputatus, in actu celebrationis ordinum presentabit episcopo ordinanti ipsos ordinandos. Et possunt hic etiam intelligi *presentatores idonei*,

hi qui presentant monachos, canones regulares vel fratres, qui de consuetudine admittuntur ad ordines sine aliqua examinatione. Et hoc satis concedi posset in minoribus ordinibus, cum tales sint ut communiter in his quae pertinent ad eorum officia exercitati et satis noti, et propterea minor in eis requiritur examinatio. In maioribus vero ordinibus puto ipsos de jure fore examinandos, licet non adeo exquisite sicut sunt examinandi seculares." *Decreti*, Dis. xxxviii, in sixteen chapters treats of what ought to be known by all candidates for the priesthood, quoting St Augustine's authority according to Bede, "que ipsis sacerdotibus necessaria sunt ad discendum, id est sacramentorum liber, lectionarius, antiphonarius, baptisterium, computus, canones penitentiales, psalterium, omeliae per circulum anni dominicis diebus et singulis festivitibus aptae. Ex quibus omnibus si unum defuerit, sacerdotis nomen vix in eo constabit, quia valde periculosae sunt evangelicae minae, quibus dicitur, *Si cecus ceco ducatum prestet, ambo in foveam cadunt*, S. Matt. xv. 14," and also St Jerome on Isaiah, "Si juxta apostolum Paulum (1 Cor. i. 18, 24), *Christus Dei virtus est et Dei sapientia est* (Rom. i. 16), ignoratio scripturarum est ignoratio Christi." The 27th canon of the fourth Lateran Council (A.D. 1215) runs "quum sit ars artium regimen animarum, districte precipimus, ut episcopi promovendos in sacerdotes diligenter instruant et informant, vel per se ipsos, vel per alios idoneos viros. Sanctius enim est, maxime in ordinatione sacerdotum paucos bonos, quam multos malos habere ministros, quia si caecus caecum ducit, ambo in foveam dilabuntur." *Decretales*, lib. i, tit. 14, c. 14.

lix. *De Uicariorum perpetuacione facienda.*

61^m ca^m

ITEM, statuimus et uolumus quod uicarij et secundarij, qui bene et honeste per triennium continuum et completum in collegio se gesserint, ex tunc de consensu omnium et singulorum canonicorum residencium, ex licencia episcopi, per litteras collegij possint perpetuari; nisi per causas predictas meruerint amoueri.

lix. The privilege of "perpetuatio" ("*affiliatio*, in perpetuam societatem alicujus monasterii susceptio," Ducange) was only to be granted by the unanimous vote of chapter, and by the express licence of the Bishop of Exeter for the time being in each several case. The first three years at least of a Priest-Vicar or Secondary were years of probation at Ottery, elsewhere usually one year's probation was considered sufficient: during this period they were liable to summary dismissal. If after three complete years of good conduct they became full members of the foundation as prescribed in this Statute, then in case of subsequent ill-behaviour they could only be suspended, "*ab officio et beneficio*," from duty and from pay, after three canonical monitions,—(which, however, were sometimes all given at one and the same time, as by Bishop Grandisson, "*per presentes primo, secundo, tercio et peremptorie monemus*." *Reg.* 862)—inasmuch as they had broken the oath, which every Priest-Vicar, Secondary, and Clerk had to take on admission, of fidelity to the Church and obedience to the College. Ord. xxv, Stat. v and ix. This suspension would hold, "*Donec satisfactionem congruam exhibuerint*," which if not accorded in three days as the chapter required, or as would be defined in the Bishop's letters granting such "*perpetuatio*," the man would be *ipso facto* deprived and expelled, "*sine strepitu*" (any formal procedure or suit before another judge). The "*judex competens*" in a suit for deprivation in the more complicated cases of beneficed Rectors, perpetual curates, chantry chaplains, etc., would be usually the Ordinary, with appeal to the Metropolitan, though there were exceptions. Lyndwood, lib. ii, tit. 6, *de jurejurando*, pp. 113, 114.

lx. *De dimittendis per canonicos successoribus.*

33^m fo.
p. 199.

ITEM, statuimus quod Custos et Cantor, Minister et Sacrista, et quilibet alius canonicus vnam capam nigram, vnum superpelliceum cum almicio, duas tabulas cum trescellis, lauatorium cum pelui, 12 discos de stagno, cum totidem salsarijs, et vnum coclear argenteum, et vnum pottum stagneum, sicut de dono nostro habuerunt, suis successoribus imperpetuum dimittere teneantur.

62^m ca^m

lx. The black cope, surplice, and amess would be the choir habit; every one below a Canon had to provide his own choir habit. Stat. iij. The Bishop wished by this Statute to treat each Ottery Canon as if he were a member of his own household. On the other hand the Warden, Chanter, Minister, and Sacrist

had to present to the church a silk cope worth £50 in modern money, and every other Canon a vestment or service book of half that value. Ord. xxiv. The amess of the Ottery Canons was lined with black. Ord. xv. It was originally intended to protect the head from cold, but when thrown back on to the shoulders, it gradually "became larger, and crept down until at last it covered the arms and chest and back, and the fur lining now became the outer part, and the tails of the animals with whose skins it was lined formed pendants or scarf-like strips, hanging round the lower hem as a fringe." Planché, *Cyclopaedia of Costume*, 1876, Diet. p. 7. "It was a short cape extending to the elbows, open in front and not joined on the breast, but evidently put on like a shawl. Sometimes it was clasped on the breast by a morse. In the fifteenth century the form changed, and the amess was completely joined on the breast, and put on over the head. It had two long pendants in front." J. W. Clark, *Augustinian Canons*, p. lxxviii.

Thomas Goord, Canon-Minister at Ottery, in his will desired "quod successor meus habeat capam meam cum viridi cerico, licet solum recepi unum nobile pro capa, et similiter amisiam quam recepi pro officio, quia pro emendacione ejusdem solvi septem solidos novem denarios, et habeat meum superpelliceum de Cornysse clothe, vel illud quod ego recepi—(probably rather worn, for every Augustinian Canon had a new surplice every Easter at Barnwell. J. W. Clark, p. 197)—si non sit benivolus." Bishop Lacy's *Register*, III, fo. 501, b.

The other items to be handed on by each Canon were all table-gear, and the minimum he would require for entertaining beneath his roof. Ord. xxij, Stat. lvij. Thomas Goord (as above) left "domino Johanni More meam pelvim cum lavaero, domino Henrico Waterslade Sacriste secundam optimam ollam cum secunda optima patella." And Henry Waterslade Canon-Sacrist left by his will to his godson Henry Lane six silver spoons, to Thomas Peke his servant two silver spoons, to Thomas Lane his servant six silver spoons, and "unam ollam eneam secundo meliorem, unam patellam optimam, unam pelvim cum lavaero," six platters, and six saucers; to Robert Hosyer six silver spoons, "crateram, sex plateris sex potingeris sex sauceris"; to John Evelynge Canon-Minister "unam crateram argenteam cum cooperculo, sex brode dischis, sex potegeris, sex sauceris et sex coclearia argentea." Will proved 20 April, 1466, Bishop Bothe's *Reg.* fo. lxxv.

63^m ca^m

lxj. *De regimine et custodia pertinencium ad uicarios et clericos.*

33^m fo. v

ITEM, statuimus, ut Uicarij ita ordinate et provide se habeant, quod omni anno vnum quasi Priorem ex eis eligant, magis in temporalibus circumspexit, qui eis presit, et libros studiales, et uasa ac utensilia, que eis dedimus, a custode et senescallis scaccarij per indenturam recipiat; suoque periculo, toto illo anno custodiat et conseruet. ¶ In fine uero anni, quando domus canonicorum superuidentur per senescallos predictos, libri uasa et utensilia predicta, coram prefatis custode et senescallis, per dictum Uicariorum Priorem exhibeantur. Et si aliqui defectus appareant in eisdem, sumptibus uicariorum communibus infra mensem congrue reparentur. Et si necesse fuerit, noua utensilia eorumdem sumptibus emenda subrogentur. Alioquin senescalli predicti ex tunc reparacionem, empcionem, et subrogacionem huiusmodi faciant de porcionibus uicariorum; preciumque, quod in usus huiusmodi conuerti contigerit, in solidum subtractari, ne si aliqui eorum gratis recederent, qui ad eorum utilitatem eis usi sunt, nouis superuenientibus onera indebite¹ relinquant. ¶ Et idem de utensilibus, et rebus ceteris communibus clericorum et puerorum precipimus obseruari. Quodque Secundarij vnum Priorem eis eligant, ut de uicariis premititur, et assumant.

¹ Winton reads "debita."

lxj. At York also by Archbishop Walter Gray's statute A.D. 1250. "Ut hec et alia que ad vicarios pertinent ordinacius disponantur et fiant, volumus quod unus de Vicariis per Vicarios, assensu decani et capituli eligatur, qui curam et administracionem omnium habeat que ad vicarios spectant vel obvenerint ullo modo." *Lincoln Cathedral Statutes*, II, 109. Somewhat similar was the duty entrusted to the Minor Canons' Steward at St Paul's, who, however, held office only for a week. *Reg. Stat. St Paul's*, 340. And to their Warden, *ibid.* 351.

The Vicars' Prior was the third out of the eight vicars at Ottery to be placed in special authority. One of the Vicars, under the Canon-Minister, was "by him appointed Confessor of the College," Stat. xxiv; another of the Vicars was to be elected Succentor, under the Canon-Sacrist, and mark all absences from choir service, Ord. xij; for this duty he received additional pay, Ord. xiiij, Stat. lxvj; and another after the appropriation of Northam (1361) to have charge under the Sacrist of the furniture, for which he was to receive 6s. 8d. But no arrangement seems to have been made for additional payment to that one of the Vicars, who was elected by themselves to be their Prior, nor for the Prior of the Secondaries, to have care of all their common property, under the Warden and Canon-Stewards. These last held audit and inspection of the Hospitia and of the furniture and fittings of each, which the Bishop had given to them (presumably as to each of the Canons' houses, Stat. lx), when they held their annual inspection at Easter. Ord. xxij. There it was laid down that the repairs ordered to be executed by the occupiers, whether Canons, Vicars, or Secondaries, were to be completed before the 24th June ensuing, here "within a month." If not executed by themselves within that period the Stewards were to take them in hand, and have them carried out before 1 November, and stop the pay of the occupiers till the necessary bills were covered. The seventeenth of Cardinal Othobon's Constitutions (A.D. 1268) is *de domibus ecclesiarum reficiendis*. "Improbam quorundam avaritiam prosequentes, qui cum de suis ecclesiis et ecclesiasticis beneficiis multa bona suscipiant, domos ipsarum et cetera edificia negligunt, ita ut integra ea non conservent et diruta non restaurent; propter quod ipsarum ecclesiarum statum deformitas occupat, et multa incommoda subsequuntur; statuimus et precipimus, ut universi clerici suorum beneficiorum domos et cetera edificia, prout indiguerint, reficere student condecenter; ad quod per suos episcopos vel archidiaconos solite moneantur. Si quis vero post episcopum vel archidiaconum sui monitionem per duos menses id facere cessaverit, extunc episcopus ipse vel archidiaconus ipsius clerici sumptibus, id fieri faciat diligenter de fructibus ipsius ecclesiae et beneficii; presentis auctoritate statuti, tantum accipi faciens, quantum ad refectionem hujusmodi sufficiat peragendum. Archiepiscopus vero, episcopos, et alios inferiores praelatos, domos et edificia sua sarta, tecta et in statu suo conservare ac tenere sub divini iudicii obtestatione precipimus, ut ipsi ea reficiant quae refectione noverint indigere." Wilkins, II, 9. Lyndwood on the same, tit. 17, p. 112. Bishop Quivil, in his Exeter Synod, 16 May, 1287, cap. xvj. "Ingratitudinis vitio et avaritiae labe quorundam statum novimus quamplurimum denigrari, qui cum de beneficiis ecclesiasticis suis nonnulla percipiunt emolumenta, onera incumbencia negligunt supportare, edificia ecclesiarum integra conservare, et restaurare diruta non curantes; immo ac bona percepta in sinu avaritiae abscondunt, aut velut prodigi inutiliter consumere non verentur. Hinc est, quod statuendo et monendo districte precipimus ut clerici universi ecclesiarum suarum cancellos domos et cetera edificia destructa, de novo construere, et ruinosam fulcire, prout indiguerint, non omittant. Qui si moniti per nos vel dictos archidiaconos premissa per duos menses facere detrectaverint, extunc juxta predicti legati statutum, tantum de ecclesiarum suarum fructibus levare precipimus, quantum ad refectionem hujusmodi sufficiat peragendum." Wilkins, II, 141. The Vicars' Hospitium, and that of the Secondaries at Ottery with extra grants, their upkeep and furniture are described, p. 76 *supra*, and their pay, p. 97. Plate and other things were left to the Vicars and Secondaries from time to time, e.g. William Holcombe, Canon-Sacrist, by his will, 1 April, 1499, left "omnibus Vicariis et eorum successoribus meum minimum salsarium precii viginti solidorum, ut me habeant in memoriam quando orent pro doctore Stevyns." The present Statute was the result of an afterthought of Bishop Grandisson's: he originally intended the governance of the Vicars and Secondaries in these matters to be otherwise, cp. p. 181. As regards the same at Crediton he subsequently ordered 9 March, 1361, "quod redditus et obventiones omnimodi pro dictorum Vicariorum sustentacione ordinati per Cantorem vel Thesaurarium, vel duos Canonicos residentes, et unum de Vicariis per eosdem communiter eligendum, colligantur et recipiantur; de quibus semper viginti solidi, in principio cuiuslibet quarterii, singulis Vicariis pro ipsorum necessariis liberentur; et quicquid in fine anni post calculum superfuerit in duas partes equaliter dividantur; quarum una inter ipsos Vicarios, per Cantorem vel Thesaurarium et sic electum Vicarium, equalibus porcionibus distribuatur, et pars alia in communi cista Vicariorum pro domorum sustentacione et annis sterilibus, aliisque supportandis per eos oneribus, reponatur. Et, quia ex pristina habitacione divisa et solitaria ipsorum Vicariorum occasio scandali multociens ministrabatur, habitacionem pro eis communem non sine gravibus sumptibus construi et reparari fecimus, infra quam eos exnunc, in esculentis et poculentis communiter victitando, simul statuimus et precipimus habitare. Et, si quis eorum hoc facere recusaverit, nihil recipiat, nec pro Vicario habeatur; set infra quindecim dies alius subrogetur. Item, cum taberne et evagaciones, presertim nocturne, secundum sacros canones et provinciales ac synodales constituciones, clericis et specialiter constitutis in sacris, sint interdicte, districcius inhibemus ne aliquis

dictorum Vicariorum tabernas exerceat, aut contra clericalem modestiam discurrat in habitu inhonesto. Quod ut striccius et caucius evitetur, precipimus et ordinamus ut, si quis eorum, post pulsationem ignitegii, in taberna vel alibi extra clausum ecclesie, absque causa rationabili quam probare per duos teneatur testes, inventus fuerit, seu de hoc coram Cantore aut in ejus absencia coram Thesaurario legitime convictus, pro prima vice qua sic deliquerit tres denarii, pro secunda sex denarii, et pro tertia duodecim denarii, ad usum Cantoris et Thesaurarii vel fabrice ecclesie, de ipsius stipendio subtrahantur. Et, si quarto convictus fuerit in hoc deliquisse, ipsum ab ecclesia statuimus penitus amovendum." *Reg.* 1222. At Exeter the Vicars' hospitium was not built till 1388. At Lincoln in 1293 such hall, with kitchen and camerae, was ordered for the Vicars, and a similar one for the Clerks. At Wells, Bishop Ralph of Shrewsbury, 1329-1363, built the Vicars' close. At St Paul's in Dean Colet's time (1505-1519) it was stated "Vicarii in ecclesia quondam triginta fuerunt, ad numerum Canonicorum, et habuit quisque Canonicus Vicarium suum. Et in domo una manserunt; communem mensam simul tenuerunt; duos presbiteros, speculatores eorum morum habuerunt. Verum nunc, nescio quo pacto, alius est numerus eorum, et vita alia et professio laxior, et forma vivendi libere, nam sex dumtaxat numero sunt, et hii quoque vel uxorati, vel tales qui uxores ducere possunt (i.e. in minor orders only); domum suam non tenent, nec communiter vivunt in domo Vicariorum; ita tempore mutantur omnia, et facile in deterius degenerant. At hii qui nunc sunt, quales esse debent, videamus." *Registrum Stat. S. Pauli*, p. 234.

64^m ca^m

lxij. *De librorum custodia; et studialium.*

VOLUMUS eciam, quod libri predicti in armariolo aliquo stante in dormitorio uicariorum, qui continue sint presentes, sub uicarij Presidentis custodia deputentur, ut¹ extra eorum hospicium non nisi sub pignore ydoneo, et hoc solum a canonicis deportentur; et tunc celeriter reportentur. Ita tamen quod quilibet¹ uicarius infra dormitorium in cella sua, quotidie aliquem eorum habeat, si uoluerit ad studendum: et statim de nocte in armariolo reponantur.

¹ Winton, "et," and omits "quilibet."

lxij. This arrangement for the Books was of course before the Library had been built, pp. 73, 74. The little press, or small *armarium*, in which the manuscripts were kept could not stand in a drier or better position than upstairs in the Vicars' Dorter, "because they were always there." If it had stood in their Hall below, the books would have been apt to be soiled by smoke or dirt; if it had stood in the Warden's house or in that of one of the Canons, they might not have been at hand when the books were wanted; but the Prior of the Vicars (the president of this Statute, "qui eis presit" of the preceding) would be always on the place: and no doubt the Vicars' cubicles were fitted for reading like those described, p. 180: the books were never to be read by them elsewhere, though a Canon, on giving a pledge equal in value to the book, might take one for study to his *Camera*, but only for a short time. The duty of the Librarian was "to take charge of the books, all which he ought to keep and to know under their separate titles; and he should frequently examine them carefully to prevent any damage or injury from insects or decay. He ought to hand to the brethren the books which they see occasion to use, and to enter on his roll the titles of the books, and the names of those who receive them. These, when required, are bound to give surety for the volumes they receive; nor may they lend them to others whether known or unknown. The Librarian ought frequently to dust the books carefully, to repair them, and to point them. No other brother ought to erase or change anything in the books. The press in which the books are kept ought to be lined inside with wood, that the damp of the walls may not moisten or stain the books. This press should be divided vertically as well as horizontally by sundry shelves on which the books may be ranged so as to be separated from one another; for fear they be packed so close as to injure each other or delay those who want them. Further, as the books ought to be mended, pointed, and taken care of by the Librarian, so ought they to be properly bound by him." *Customs of the Augustinian Canons*, J. W. Clark, pp. 63, 65. The same author's *Care of Books*, 1901, chap. ii, pp. 61-100, contains much most interesting information regarding similar church libraries ("Clastrum sine armario castrum sine armamentario"), together with pictures of mediaeval book-presses, and how they developed into the book-room and library. He quotes (p. 76) the injunction inscribed in a fourteenth century manuscript, "Tu, quicumque studebis in hoc libro, prospice, et leviter atque

dulciter tractes folia, ut cavere possis rupturam propter ipsorum tenuitatem; et imitare doctrinam Jesu Christi, qui cum modeste aperuisset librum Ysaie et attente legisset, tandem reverenter complicit ac ministro reddidit"; also the advice of Thomas à Kempis to youthful students, "Take thou a book into thine hands as Simeon the Just took the Child Jesus into his arms to carry Him and kiss Him. And when thou hast finished reading, close the book and give thanks for every word out of the mouth of God; because in the Lord's field thou hast found a hidden treasure." With this may be compared Bishop Grandisson's instructions as to the handling of the Choir books, Stat. xxxij, and the order for the monks in St Augustine's, Canterbury. "Cum in clauistro vel in ecclesia leccioni vacaverint singuli, si commode possit fieri, manu sinistra in manica frocci supposita libro suo jacenti super genua, dextram manum habebunt detectam, quasi ad tenendum seu volvendum librum suum predictum," *Customary*, I, 421, and that, although they washed their hands at least five or six times a day, *ibidem*, pp. 214, 5. The books were only to be taken out of the press in the daytime for study, either in the interval after Mattins, Stat. xvj, or after dinner, Stat. lij: they were to be always locked up in the press at night, for Bishop Grandisson, Stat. xlix, would have no reading in bed, "Be waar of nodding heedis and of candil light, And also of long sleep and of ydillesse, The which of alle viciis sohe is porteresse." *A Dicatorie*, E.E.T.S., 1868, p. 56. When they turned in at curfew they were to go to sleep, in what Canon-Sacrist Henry Waterslade (1460 A.D.) describes as "a perfect bed," "unum lectum integrum, videlicet, unum coverculum de blodio, unum tapetum, unum par lodicum (blankets), unum par linthiaminum (sheets), unum *vetherbede*, unum *matras*, unum *quyll* (bolster or pillow) et unum *canvas* (either stretched on the tressells or hung aloft as a hood)." At Canterbury, "stramenta lectorum sunt ista: scilicet sagum unum et matra; stragulae quatuor; coopertoria duo de panno nigro vel russeto, pellibus silvaticis non furrata; tapetum unum tenue, non de stragulato colore aut vario, sed tantum nigro vel quasi; capitale sive cervical sub capite unum, scilicet magnum, vel duo minora; lenae sive lineae duae, quas scilicet sudaria seu pannos rasurae vocamus; almuciae duae, una scilicet furrata pellibus scilicet nigris non silvaticis, et alia non furrata; cingulum simplex de corio, cum quo et dormiant." *Customary*, I, 401.

lxij. *De fabrica ecclesie conseruanda.*

34^m fo.
p. 201.
65^m ca^m

ITEM, ne fabrica ecclesie ex negligencia proluxa circa cooperturam plumbi, aut fenestrarum, et maxime conductuum uel gutterarum¹ paulatim deteriorata, uix tandem posset maximis reparari sumptibus, quando primitus faciliter emendaretur, statuimus et mandamus, quatinus Custos, et Sacrista, faciant omni mense per se, uel alios sciolos artifices, eorum periculo superuideri ecclesiam exterius diligenter et interius, et si quid forsitan infusione ymbrium, et turbine procellarum, aut aliunde² fuerit corruptum, celeriter emendari. Ex qua causa habeant unum artificem de Exonia, uel alijs partibus propinquis, pensionarium annuatim, qui eorum et collegij expensis, sepius ibidem accedat, et corrigenda reficiat et emendet.

¹ Winton, "goterarum."

² Winton, "abinde."

lxij. The annual visitation of the fabric by the Stewards was at Easter, Ord. xxij. But inasmuch as leakage through defective windows or in the down-pipes and gutters is the cause of more ruin to the walls "both outside and inside" churches than aught else, the Warden and Sacrist were to keep a good look out, and go the rounds to survey such things carefully once a month. The latter was "sometimes," aliquociens, to venture out upon the roof for this purpose. Stat. xlv. The plumber and glazier from Exeter more often still, "sepius," perhaps once a week, was to inspect and report, and for this periodical visit he was to be paid a regular annual retaining fee. "Dicit enim beatus Anselmus, qui de virtute in virtutem, et de profecto ad profectum voluerit ascendere, semper timere debet in singulis minimis, quoniam paulatim defluit qui minima spernit." *Customary of St Augustine's, Canterbury*, I, 229. The supervision of the Nave of the Church and of the North Transept belonged properly to the parishioners, and would be enforced at the annual visitation of the Archdeacon of Exeter. Ord. xvij, Stat. xlj, lxxvij. "Archidiaconis injungimus et eorum officialibus ut in visitationibus ecclesiarum faciendis diligentem adhibeant considerationem ad fabricam ecclesiae, si forte indigeat reparatione; si quos autem invenerint defectus huiusmodi, certum sub pena praefigant terminum infra quem emendentur et suppleantur." *Archbishop W. Raynold's Constitutions*,

A.D. 1322, Wilkins, II, 513, and Lyndwood on the same, p. 53. But apparently Bishop Grandisson desired the Warden and the Canon-Sacrist to undertake the setting right at once of any defects they might observe even in those portions of the church, at their own risk, "eorum periculo," and for the avoidance of greater expense afterwards. Both the College and the parish would alike be gainers by what was expended in timely reparation.

66^m ca^mlxiii. *De senescallis prefaciendis.*

ITEM, statuimus quod senescalli scaccarij, antequam quicquam administrent, de administratione fideli et diligenti facienda, et quod nichil eis usurpabunt, uel applicabunt ultra id quod eis uere debetur, iuramenti uinculo se astringant.

lxiii. This would be as much for the protection of the tenants as of the College. It is not specified whether the oath was to be taken "inspectis" or "tactis sacrosanctis," that is the relics or the Gospels. "Corporale iuramentum requirat tactum." As to the different kinds of oaths, Lyndwood, pp. 108, 111. The two Stewards were elected on Michaelmas Eve, and their duties are defined, Ord. xx.

67^m ca^m
34^m fo.^vlxv. *De recusantibus esse senescallis pena.*

ITEM, statuimus quod si illi qui eliguntur in senescallos, recusauerint esse, perdant illo anno quicquid habere debent in quotidianis distribucionibus et omnibus alijs; excepto solo corpore prebende.

lxv. The Canons who were Stewards while occupied on their duties either in the College or abroad received their "quotidians" in full for every day. Ord. viij. They also received half the fines for absence from service levied on all below the rank of Canon. Ord. xij. If they shirked the duty they were to be held as if non-resident the whole year, and would forfeit their share in the annual division of the surplus revenue, which was estimated for each canon according to his residence, Ord. xx, though the maximum residence that either of the four junior canons could count was 160 days, unless they were stewards, Ord. ix. At Exeter Bishop Stapeldon, 22 September, 1319, laid a still heavier penalty on shirking canons. "Si canonici ad officium visitacionis huiusmodi sic electi, vel eorum alter, ipsum absque causa rationabili admittere contumaciter recusaverint vel recusaverit adimplere, corpus prebende huiusmodi recusantis per biennium fabricae Ecclesiae beati Petri, et residencia sua unius termini proxima facienda scaccario applicentur." The stewards had to visit all the College-estates and benefices, "tam in spiritualibus quam in temporalibus, singulis annis," and "nullam procuracionem a locis visitatis exigant, nisi fenum, avenam, focalia et stramenta pro uno die naturali." The canon that shirked his duties selfishly was breaking the oath he took to his brother canons when admitted, "fidelis ero ecclesie collegiate, ac collegio, et confratribus meis canonicis ibidem." Ord. xxv.

Similarly in secular life "What follows from being one of the body of a Parish is the liability to two distinct things, which are *bearing lot* and *paying scot*. 'I shalbe redy at scott and lotte, and all my duties truly pay and doo,' was the oath taken on admission to a guild. So each inhabitant of a parish is bound to fulfil such personal duties, for and on behalf of the whole body, as shall be *allotted* to him by that whole body; he is also bound to pay his share of scot (shot) towards every general tax." Toulmin Smith, *The Parish*, 2nd edit., p. 474. "Every freeholder is bound to be a partaker in *lot*, which is liability to hold office, and in *scot*, which means contributions to taxes and other charges." Riley's *Mem. of London*, p. 601. *English Gilds*, 346, 474.

68^m ca^mlxvj. *De senescallorum prerogatiuis.*

ITEM, statuimus, prout in Ordinatione primaria habetur, quod senescalli habeant vnam medietatem omnium, que ab officijs absentes perdunt, et punctuans aliam; exceptis canonicorum absencijs, quorum defectus ad episcopum pertinebunt, omni anno fideliter calculando, ne forte ipsi canonici inuicem colluderent, et se mutuo supportarent. Senescalli eciam omni septimana bis ab officijs abesse poterunt; nichil perdendo.

lxvj. In Ord. xij the Priest-Vicar who, as Succentor, was marker and pricked the names of all those absent from the daily Hours and Mass had one half, and the Stewards were to have the other half, of the fines laid down in Ord. ix and Ord. x as due from Vicars, Secondaries, and Boys. All Canons' fines, as laid down in Ord. viij, were to go to the Bishop "in pios usus." The account of these fines was delivered to the Chapter weekly "in scriptis," and presumably the Bishop required periodically the statement of the same to be forwarded to him. Two months later than the date of this Statute he admonished certain canons for "ficti et sophisticæ residendo." 2 December, 1339. *Reg.* 119.

It was the duty of the Stewards always to have money in hand to pay weekly what was due to each member of the College, and their full compotus was to be audited every quarter by the Chapter. In Oliver's *Monasticon Exon.* six of these accounts are printed: in four of them the Sacrist is Steward, in one the Chanter, and in the other the Canon-Minister, pp. 279-284. These three Canons, with the Warden, were to be continually in residence. Ord. iv.

At Exeter, Bishop Walter Bronescombe ordered, 15 November, 1275, "quod seneschalli officium suum diligenter exequantur, in recompensacionem sui laboris per unum diem tantum in ebdomada, quo propriis intendere poterunt negotiis, residenciam percepturi": and again, 11 February, 1277, "Omnes canonici ac eciam seneschalli (excepta indulgencia unius diei per ebdomadam pro recompensacione laboris eis concessa) omnes et singuli vere et sine fraude constitucionis resideant."

lxvij. *De alienacione nunquam facienda; sub pena excommunicationis.*

69^m ca^m

ITEM, statuendo simpliciter inhibemus quascumque alienaciones immobilium aut reddituum, librorum et ornamentorum collegij, necnon decimarum ad firmam annorum plurium dimisiones, et quascumque perpetuas tradiciones, sub pena excommunicationis maioris quam singulares persone contrarium agentes uel consencientes eo ipso incurrunt. Terre tamen et domus antiqui dominici cum reddituum incremento possibili, ad firmam septennii, seu ad terminum uite vnus tantum hominis, prout expediret, dimittantur.

lxvij. This is almost a repetition, word for word, of Ord. xxij, with the exception of the last sentence respecting the old manor-houses on the College estates. *Decretales Greg. IX*, lib. iii, tit. 13, chaps. 1 to 12, treat "de rebus ecclesiae alienandis vel non": and similarly, *Sexti Decretales*, lib. iii, tit. 9; *Clem.*, lib. iii, tit. 4; *Extrav.*, lib. iii, tit. 4. *Corpus juris canonici*, ii, 512-516, 1042, 1160, 1269. In the list of those persons who *ipso facto* are excommunicate by the Constitutions of Archbishop Stephen Langton, A.D. 1223, "omnes illi, qui ecclesias malitiose suo jure privare presumant," stand first. Wilkins, i, 601. The sentence of excommunication is fully dealt with by Lyndwood, pp. 345-355.

lxviij. *De pari diuisione chori.*

35^m fo.
p. 203.
70^m ca^m

ITEM, statuimus quod in choro, hinc inde ita in numero se adequent, quod semper tot canonici ac vicarij sint ex una parte, quot ex alia. Et quando pauci sint, stent distantes, uno stallo uacuo, et alio pleno; nisi dum oportet cantare super librum.

lxviij. This is a sort of postscript to Statutes iv and viij, which deal with the height of the Secondaries and the way they were to stand. The Secondaries, or clerks in the second row of stalls, would generally all be present; the number of Canons and Priest-Vicars in the top row of stalls would vary. There were, however, always to be the same number of each on the Decani as on the Cantoris side, both for the sake of the chanting alternately, "equaliter et ordinate," and for the sake of appearance in choir. The number and arrangement of the stalls is described, p. 56.

lix. *De spectantibus ad sacriste custodiam.*

71^m ca^m

ITEM, statuimus quod Sacrista omnia que pertinent ad suam custodiam, maxime que sunt ualoris et precij, sub indentura a custode et collegio recipiat, vna cum pondere argenteorum, et singulis annis de illis respondeat; ut inferius continetur.

lxi. This is little more than a reiteration of the last clause of Stat. xliij, except that the weight of each piece of plate is here ordered to be inserted in the Inventory by the Sacrist, or Treasurer. "Inferius" refers to the next Statute.

72^m ca^m

lxx. *De sigilli custodia; et eorum que sunt preciosa.*

De
monstracione
iocalium bis
in anno.

ITEM, statuimus quod sigillum commune collegij, et calices non quotidiani, cruces eciam preciose, et reliquie, et alia iocalia argentea, saluo et secure in thesauraria sub tribus clauibus, Custodis, Sacriste, et Cantoris, uel alicuius canonici custodiantur. Ita quod bis in anno, scilicet, in festis Pasche et sancti Michaelis, alijs canonicis presentibus, sub testimonio duorum uel trium uicariorum fide dignorum ostendantur; necnon, cum oportunum fuerit, eisdem per totum annum utantur.

lxx. The College Seal was a pointed oval with the Coronation of the Blessed Virgin by our Lord seated at her side, under a double arched canopy pinnaced and crocketed (the same as sculptured on the centre boss in the roof above the high altar at Ottery, p. 65, and at Exeter): in base a shield with the Bishop's arms, as founder, and on the rim "Sigillum Collegii beate Marie de Oteri." An impression of this seal is shown on the first page of Oliver's *Monasticon*; cp. *British Museum Catalogue of Seals*, I, 696, No. 3810.

In the Pan-Anglican Council, held in London, under the presidency of the Archbishops Edmund Rich of Canterbury, and Walter de Gray of York, and the Cardinal-legate Otho, it was ordered (A.D. 1279), "ut sigillum habeant non solum Archiepiscopi et Episcopi, sed etiam eorum officiales. Item Abbates, Priores, Decani, Archidiaconi et eorum officiales, et Decani rurales, necnon ecclesiarum cathedralium capitula, et cetera quoque Collegia, et conventus. Pro varietate cuiuslibet predictorum habeat unusquisque sigillum, puta nomen dignitatis, vel officii, seu Collegii, et etiam illorum proprium nomen qui dignitatis vel officii perpetui gaudent honore, insculptum notis et characteribus manifestis: sicque sigillum authenticum habeatur." Wilkins, I, 655. Similarly by the Statute of Carlisle (A.D. 1306) it was enacted that every abbey must have a common Seal, which was to remain in the custody of the Prior and four of the most worthy and discreet men of the house, so that the Abbot may not establish anything of himself; and all deeds without the common Seal were to be null and void. Yet the ancient chapter of Crediton had no common Seal, 29 December, 1360, though they had one by 9 March, 1361, *Reg.* 1215, 1222: and there is an engraving of it in Oliver's *Monasticon*. At Salisbury, in 1214 A.D., the Chapter ordered "quod nunquam majus sigillum debet aperiri, nisi ad confectionem scripti authenticici, et hoc fiat in presentia domini Decani, Cancellarii et aliorum canonicorum qui commodè ad hoc possint venire. Rescriptum autem hujus scripti in registro ecclesie Sarum per visum predictorum debet notari, et in thesaurario poni. Istud autem majus sigillum per assensum Decani et Cancellarii custodiæ duorum canonicorum fidelissimorum debet tradi, nisi Cancellarius in propriâ persona præsens ibidem possit esse, qui cum alio canonico sigillum ipsum possit custodire." *Reg. Osmund*, fo. lvi. Similarly at Lincoln the Common Seal was in the keeping of the Chancellor, the provost, and one canon. *Lincoln Statutes*, I, 285; II, 220. At Exeter, Bishop Woolton (1580-1593) in his digest of the Chapter ordinances, wrote "sigilla vestra in scaccario proprio recondi in cista communi volumus, sic, ut una clavis sit penes Decanum, duæ reliquæ penes duos Senescallos, ut nonnisi in presentia trium Canonicorum residentium quicquam sigillo vestro consignetur." So, too, the keys of the common chest at all cathedral or collegiate churches were kept either by three, or sometimes four, officials. At Hereford, 1280 A.D., the Treasurer was to keep the keys of the Treasury, where all the gold and silver vessels and relics were stored, "et de hiis omnibus coram Decano et Capitulo semel in anno rationem reddere." The chapter Seal there was under three keys, one in the hands of the Dean, and the others in those of two Canons elected for that purpose. At Ottery, Bishop Grandisson desired that two or three of the Priest-Vicars "qui continue sint presentes" on the place should inspect the articles in the Treasury with the Canons, "ne forte ipsi canonici invicem colluderent, et se mutuo supportarent": without them it might often happen that there would be only three Canons present even at the half-yearly audits. The inspection, moreover, was to be twice a year, not once only, as was usual elsewhere. Similarly, some of the duties usually performed by Canons who were rectores chori were to be undertaken at Ottery by the Vicar who was Succentor. *Ord.* xij. The approach to the Treasury was off the north choir aisle, p. 66.

lxxj. *De sigillacione non facienda sine sensu canonicorum residencium.*73^m ca^m
35^m fo^v

ITEM, statuimus quod nulla litera sigilletur, nec eciam sigillum commune extrahatur, nisi omnibus canonicis residentibus conuocatis, et assensum suum prebentibus, et in anime sue periculo ad utilitatem et honorem ecclesie id decernentibus faciendum.

lxxj. At Exeter, Bishop Walter Bronescombe, 15 November, 1275, had ordered "quod in majoribus ecclesie negotiis disponendis, scilicet in tradicionem firmarum, presentacione ad beneficia, placitis aggrediendis et aliis similibus, omnes canonici convocentur in capitulo, qui infra decem dies debent volunt et possunt interesse. Alioquin ordinatio secus facta pro nulla habeatur, et ordinatores arbitrio nostro puniuntur. Omnia parlamenta et simplices tractatus Canonicorum die Sabbati et in Capitulo tractentur, et statuta ac cetera salubria ibidem legantur et ordinentur." Bishop Veysey, 30 November, 1544, "In veteribus codicibus compertum habemus hactenus inviolabiliter observatum fuisse quod in majoribus ecclesie negociis communibus disponendis canonici absentes per quindecim dies ad minus vocentur: et quod per decanum cum majori parte capituli concedenda, non ante, sigillo communi signentur, quando per tres dies Sabbati successive sequentes capitularis tractatus de eisdem concedendis communiter habeatur: nisi aliqua ecclesie necessitas aut evidens utilitas urgeat aliter faciendum."

lxxij. *De obitibus inscribendis.*74^m ca^m

DE obitibus uero taliter statuimus et ordinamus, quod ante martilogium per se in Kalendario, ubi nulla festa sanctorum nisi duplicia, scribantur, et non infra martilogium; et que sunt solemnia et que simplicia specificentur; ita quod quotidie lector martilogij respiciat in ipso Kalendario tam quotam lune quam obitum diei sequentis.

lxxij. A Kalendar, in a fourteenth century hand with the Obits entered in the way here prescribed by Bishop Grandisson, now forms part of MS. 3625, belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Exeter. In it forty-five double feasts are entered in red, and against each of them is written "debent dividi xviii. s." (with the exception of St Cuthbert, 20 March; Translation of St Edward, 20 June; St Margaret, 20 July; St Nicholas, 6 December; the Conception, 8 December; and St Silvester, 31 December). This entry refers to Bishop Stapeldon's Injunctions, 25 July, 1314: "quod in singulis festis duplicibus singuli octodecim solidi sterlingorum inter tunc corporaliter presentes canonicos distribuuntur pro porcione equali, ut in hiis precipue festis, ex eorum presentia resonantibus celebrius divine laudis organis, cultus augeatur divinus, crescat etiam hospitalitas et elemosinarum largitio, ac fidelium ampliatur devotio in futurum," out of the endowments of the churches of Thorverton and Donesford. The rest of the space in the Kalendar has been used for entering the Obits of the Bishops, Deans, Canons, and others connected with the Cathedral: and against each is specified the sum that was available from the special endowment attached to them. Bishop Bronescombe, 15 November, 1275, had strictly ordered "quod omnes obitus et omnia annualia perpetua de cetero celebrentur sicut fuerunt instituti; et redigantur in scripturam communem continentem modum institutionis et nomina personarum pro quibus sunt, et ex quo, et ex quanto solent et debent sustentari. Et quod duo preficiantur, videlicet unus canonicus et unus vicarius jurati, qui Seneschalli obituum appellatur, ad illud officium prosequendum, et quod presens absentis vicem quoad obitus suppleat incessanter."

Looking at such a Kalendar the boy whose turn it was to read at the daily service in the Chapter-house after Prime (Stat. x), would first find the day of the month, and observe whether any obit was down for the next day or not. He would then turn to the Martiloge, and read the sentences describing the one or more saints whose memory was to be revered. That done, he would then turn back to the Obit list if necessary, and read, "eodem die obiit N. de W. qui fuit...qui legavit...," specifying the service that was to be held on his behalf. Bishop Grandisson was anxious that the names of those whose souls were to be prayed for should not be mixed up inconsiderately with those of the saints, as would have been likely to result if they were written on a Martiloge. As to the Martiloge in general, cp. Maskell's *Monumenta Ritualia*, 1882, i, pp. clxx-clxxxii, and the Introduction to the editions of the *Martiloge* of Syon by E. S. Dewick, H.B.S. 1893, pp. i-xxxix. On pp. xxxiii-xxxv is a full and exact form of the service in capitulo after Prime according to the Sarum use.

75^m ca^mlxxij. *De quatuordecim principalibus obitibus per fundatorem institutis.*36^m fo.
p. 205.

VOLUMUS autem et statuimus, quod obitus noster, et domini Petri cardinalis Penestrini episcopi, post migrationem a seculo, et patris nostri, ac matris nostre, et domini Johannis pape 22ⁱ promotoris nostri, solempniter ut in minoribus duplicibus festis,—et obitus fratrum et sororum nostrorum, viz. Petri et Othonis, Thome et Willielmi, Agnetis et Mabile, Katharine et Matildis, et domini Othonis de Grandissono patris nostri, et domini Willielmi de Monte acuto sororin^j nostri, more simplicium festorum, ita quod nonum Responsorium cantetur a duobus,—imperpetuum celebrentur. Semper etiam Laudes de *Dirige* immediate sequantur, sicut Exonie, non post Matutinas de die, ut Sarum fieri solet. ¶ Similiter in quadragesima post prandium, ante collacionem uel completorium dicantur *Placebo* et *Dirige* cum Laudibus totaliter simul, et numquam diuidantur. ¶ In solempnibus uero obitibus, commendaciones et missa dicantur post nonam [in choro¹] sicut fit Exonie. ¶ In communibus uero et simplicibus obitibus, finito capitulo, dicantur in choro, uel ante illud altare ubi missa sequens pro defunctis dicetur. ¶ Obitus etiam domini Johannis pape fiat 4^{ta} die Decembris. Domini Willielmi patris nostri in crastino sanctorum Johannis et Pauli. Domine Sibille matris nostre die 11^{me} millium uirginum. Thome fratris nostri clerici 14^{mo} die Julij; post scilicet translacionem sancti Benedicti Abbatis². Willielmi fratris nostri Archidiaconi Exonie die sancti Bonefacij; et Mabile sororis nostre 4^{ta} die post Assumpcionem. Ceteri tempore confeccionis presencium uiuebant. Unde cum migrauerint ad deum dies tam hic quam in martilogio inserantur.

¹ Winton adds "in choro," Exon omits.² The translation of St Benet was on the eleventh of July.

lxxij. This Statute provides for carrying out Ord. xvij. At Exeter the Grandisson Obits were by far the most richly provided for of any in the Cathedral. Such are marked in the Kalendar, "9 May, obitus Willelmi Kylkenny xx. s. inter presentes; 27 June, in obitu Willelmi Graunson debent dividi xxiv. s. una medietas in *placebo* et *dirige* et altera in Missa; 22 Aug. in octavis Assumpcionis debent dividi l. s. ad Vesperas Matutinas et Missam equaliter, ita quod canonicus percipiat duplum porcionis vicarii (*Ordinale Exon.*, 253, 'in octava Assumpcionis fiat majus duplex festum ex ordinacione Johannis Episcopi qui ad hoc stipendia deputavit'). Et in crastino pro obitu Johannis Graunson inter presentes xviii. d. (*Ordinale Exon.*, 253, 'in crastino octavarum Assumpcionis semper memoria vel obitus Johannis de Grandissono Episcopi Exon. cum distribucione lx. s.'). 6 Oct. obitus Ricardi Wydeslade xiii. s. debent dividi partim in *placebo* et *dirige* et partim in Missa; 21 Oct. in obitu Sibille matris Graunson Episcopi debent dividi xxiv. s., una medietas in *placebo* et *dirige* et altera in Missa; 4 Dec. obitus Johannis pape, xxvi. s. viii. d., partim in *placebo* et *dirige* et partim in Missa inter presentes." The Bishop had obtained the permission of Pope John XXII by Bull dated 17 December, 1331, to appropriate the Church of St Merryn in Cornwall for these Obits and other purposes to the Exeter Chapter. Accordingly, on 25 May, 1338, he did so, "fructusque ipsius ecclesie in usus proprios convertere libere valeant decanus et capitulum, juxta Ordinacionem nostram, divisionem et distribucionem quas taliter declaramus:—In primis, pro octava die assumpcionis beate Marie Virginis (22 August) sub festo maiori duplici, cum luminaribus et ceteris omnibus aliis, excepta processione (*Ord. Exon.*, 253) prout et sicut in festo nativitatis ejusdem, imperpetuum celebrando, distribuuntur annuatim quinquaginta solidi inter canonicos vicarios secundarios annivellarios et pueros chori, predictarum octavarum officio personaliter interessentes, partim ad Vesperas, partim ad Matutinas, et partim ad Missam equaliter distribuendi; ita, semper quod vicarius quilibet recipiat medietatem porcionis unius canonici, et secundarius annivellarius ac custor quilibet medietatem porcionis vicarii, et puer medietatem secundarii; et executor officii, qui et Missam dicat, duplum respectu alterius sui status et gradus. Quod etiam in ceteris distribucionibus singulis subsequentibus volumus observari. Item, pro xv. cereis ultra numerum consuetum, circa maius altare et in corona pendente in choro, eadem die accendendis, xl. denarii. Item, pro festo translacionis sanctissimi regis et confessoris Edwardi, apud Westmonasterium quiescentis (13 October), qui sedem

cathedralem a Criditonia transferens Exonie constituit, sub festo medio duplici, ut in nativitate sancti Johannis Baptiste, in dieta Exon. Ecclesia, iii^o Idus Octobris celebrando, xx. solidi (*Ord. Exon.*, 267). Item, pro sex cereis ultra consuetum numerum, xx. denarii. Item, pro festo translacionis beati Thome martiris (7 July) sub consimili officio duplicis festi, et Matutinis cum propria historia alterius festi ipsius (29 December) in sero celebrandis xx. solidi (*Ord. Exon.*, 239). Et pro cereis tunc ultra numerum consuetum inveniendis, xx. denarii. Item, pro duabus candelis ad Matutinas, omni nocte, in choro ad duo Antiphonaria ultra numerum consuetum imperpetuum sustinendis xii. solidi per annum; ut sic sint amodo quatuor candeles pro Antiphonariis, omni nocte (p. 160). Item, Vicariis chori ad perpetuum pro nobis orandi memoriam, ac specialiter ad pausaciones debitas et punctuaciones in Psalmodia, et alias observancias per nos editas (p. 137), devote et diligencius observandas, xl. solidi annuatim; ita tamen quod si iidem vicarii premissa, quantum in ipsis est, non observaverint Decani et capituli iudicio, eosdem denarios amittant; quos tunc fabrice ecclesie nostre Exon. volumus applicari. Item, pro salubri statu nostro dum vixerimus et pro obitu nostro, in crastino dictarum octavarum cum migraverimus ab hac luce; quinquaginta solidi, annuatim. Et eodem die quadringentis pauperibus mendicantibus scholaribus, ut *Psalteria* dicant, incarcerationis et leprosis aut aliis magis indigentibus, cuilibet denarius; ut quilibet quinquaginta oraciones dominicas cum salutatione dicant angelica; in consciencia Decani per manus clericorum Scaccarii, xxxiii s. iv d. Et eisdem clericis, ut distribucionem illam fideliter faciant, tres solidi. Item, fratribus predicatoribus et minoribus, eodem die, pro vigiliis et missis celebrandis xiii s. iv d. per porciones equales dividendi inter eos. Item, pro obitu Willelmi de Grandissono militis, patris nostri, in crastino sanctorum Johannis et Pauli (27 June) xxiv. solidi; videlicet, medietas in vigilia (i.e. *placebo* et *dirige*) et alia medietas in Missa. Et, eodem die, fratribus predicatoribus et minoribus Exonie predictis, pro vigiliis et Missis celebrandis, sex solidi et octo denarii; videlicet, cuilibet ordini iii s. iv d. Item, eodem die, centum pauperibus octo solidi quatuor denarii. Item, pro obitu domine Sibille, matris nostre, in festo undecim milium virginum (21 October) xxiv s. Et, eodem die, fratribus predicatoribus et minoribus pro vigiliis et Missis celebrandis vi s. viii d. Item, eodem die centum pauperibus octo solidi et quatuor denarii. Item, pro obitu domini Johannis papae XXIIdi, promotoris nostri, quarto die Decembris in eadem ecclesia celebrando xxvi s. viii d. Et eodem die centum pauperibus viii s. iv d. Item, pro obitu magistri Willelmi de Kylkenny, olim canonici Exoniensis xx s. (9 May). Item, pro obitu magistri Ricardi de Wideslade, thesaurarii Exonie, cum ab hac luce subtractus fuerit xiii s. iv d. (6 October). Item, pro incenso ad thurificandum ad missam beatissime semper virginis Marie in capella ejusdem in dieta nostra Exoniensi ecclesia, in omnibus suis et aliis majoribus duplicibus festis, per totum annum ii s. Et pro carbonibus xii d. annuatim. De residuo autem de predicta ecclesia obventuro, deductis necessariis oneribus, disponant decanus et capitulum ecclesie nostre Exon. predictae, prout eis videbitur expedire. In quorum omnium testimonium sigillum nostrum fecimus hiis apponi. Data in capitulo nostro Exoniensi, xxv. die mensis Maii, anno domini M.CCC. xxxviii., et consecracionis nostre anno xi., indicione sexta, pontificatus domini Benedicti Pape XII. anno quarto." *Reg.* 873. At Exeter then Bishop Grandisson's Obit was kept on the morrow of the octaves of the Assumption. Similarly, Bishop W. Bronescombe's Obit was kept there on the morrow of St Gabriel, usually the first Tuesday in September. At Ottery, however, and at Glasney Bishop Grandisson's Obit was held on the actual anniversary of his death, 16 July (1369), the morrow of St Swithun. The upkeep of his Chantry at Exeter at the west end of the Cathedral was under the care of the Warden and Canons of Ottery, and endowed out of the proceeds of certain London property by his executors, 1404, see *infra* and *Reg. Stafford*, II, 278. The College was to pay the Chantry priest eight marks a year for his salary: the mass-books, vestments, and furniture of the Chapel, bread, wine, and lights in daily use therein were to be found also by them at the cost of half a mark, or about £8 a year in modern money, *Register of Bp. Stafford*, I, 327. The Founder's five chief Obits to be kept at Ottery were those of the father and mother of Bishop Grandisson, his own, and those of Pope John XXII (to whom the Bishop owed his promotions, p. 43, and who died 4 December, 1334, p. 103), and of the Cardinal Peter des Prés. The first four of these he had a year preceding the date of this Statute provided for at Exeter. On the Bishop's Obit day 100 poor were to be fed at Ottery, and on the Obit days of his father and mother, of the Pope, and of the Cardinal, 30. *Ord.* xvij. His father died 27 June, 1335, and his mother 21 September, 1334, p. 42, though her Obit was to be kept 21 October, perhaps the date of her burial: they were both buried at Dore Abbey, in Herefordshire. Cardinal Peter des Prés, Bishop of Praeneste, was one of the Bishop's most intimate friends (p. 103 n.). Clement VI in the first year of his pontificate had sent him as Nuncio into England in 1342 with extraordinarily extensive powers. *Papal Letters*, III, 71-73. In the following year, when Bishop Grandisson visited Avignon (p. 119), he had stood

his good friend with the Curia, and presented the petition for Papal Confirmation of the Ottery foundation 6 July, 1343, as Vice-Chancellor of the Roman Court. He was one of the many Cardinals who held English Archdeaconsries, p. 121. After having been Archdeacon of Rochester, he was provided by Pope John XXII to the Archdeaconsry of York, 15 September, 1323, where he also held a Canonry and Prebend at the same time as Bishop Grandisson, who had been holding one in that church since 1309, and also the Archdeaconsry of Nottingham since 1310 in the same diocese. But unlike the English Bishop, who had to resign these preferments on his promotion to the See of Exeter, the Cardinal retained his for nearly forty years. On his death, 13 May, 1361 (eight years before that of Bishop Grandisson), Pope Innocent VI provided Stephen Aubert, Cardinal of Carcassone, to his Canonry, Prebend, and Archdeaconsry of York, 19 September, 1361, and to the Canonry, Prebend, and Archdeaconsry of Wells, 25 September. *Papal Petitions*, I, 321. His Obit was kept at Ottery 17 May, being the date probably of his burial.

The other Grandisson family Obits at Ottery were those of the Bishop's four brothers, Peter, who died 10 August, 1358, and was buried in Hereford Cathedral near the shrine of his great-uncle, St Thomas de Cantilupe; Otho, who died 21 May, 1359, and was buried at Ottery (pp. 37-40), at whose desire also Northam Rectory was appropriated to the Ottery Chapter 1 September, 1361, for (amongst other objects) the endowment of two extra priest-vicars, who were to pray for his soul; and for the payment for the keeping of his Obit xx. shillings, *Reg.* 1226; Thomas, who died 14 July, 1317; William, who died 5 June, 1330, on the feast day of Winfrid, or St Boniface, of Crediton, the Apostle of Germany, and Saint; and also those of the Bishop's four sisters, Agnes (de Northwode), who died 3 December, 1348; Mabil (de Patteshulle), who died 19 August, 1339; Katharine (de Montacute), who died, a strange coincidence, on St George's day, 23 April, 1349; and Matilda, Prioress of Aconbury, who died before 1368. To these are here added the Obits of the Bishop's brother-in-law, Sir William de Montacute, who died 30 January, 1344 (p. 60), and of the Bishop's uncle, Sir Otho, who died 2 April, 1328, at Lausanne, where he was buried in the Cathedral, and where an effigy, said to be his, is still shown (p. 41). In Ord. xvij his Obit was ordered to be celebrated "solempniter," like those of the Bishop's father and mother, the Pope, and the Cardinal.

The service on the five chief Obits was to be said as on lesser double feasts, and that on the others here enumerated as on simple feasts. Besides the amount of plain song, and certain regulations as to the dignity and number of persons who were bound to take part in the service, and as to the number of lights to be burnt and bells to be rung (Stat. lxxvij, 15, 19), one difference between the two modes would be that in the former case nine psalms with their special Anthems, and nine lessons from the book of Job, with their special Responsories would be said at Mattins, and, in the latter case, only three psalms and three lessons would be used; though the three Responsories would then be the third, sixth, and ninth as of special distinction from the fuller service. *Sarum Customs*, 120, 248. Bishop Grandisson refers to this when he wishes that in all his Obits alike the ninth Responsory should always be said, which was "Libera me Domine de morte eterna in die illa tremenda. Quando celi movendi sunt et terra. Dum veneris judicare seculum per ignem. V. Dies illa dies irae calamitatis et miserie; dies magna et amara valde. Quando celi movendi sunt et terra. V. Quid ergo miserrimus quid dicam vel quid faciam dum nil boni perferam ante tantum judicem? Dum veneris judicare seculum per ignem. V. Nunc Christe te petimus, miserere quesumus qui venisti redimere perditos: noli damnare redemptos. Dum veneris judicare seculum per ignem." And then once more the Respond was repeated, "Libera me Domine de morte eterna in die illa tremenda. Quando celi movendi sunt et terra. Dum veneris judicare seculum per ignem." At Sarum the rule was "Fiant vigiliae mortuorum cum ix Psalmis et ix Antiphonis et ix Leccionibus quando dies anniversarius contigerit (i.e. all Obit services) nisi in tempore paschali. In paschali vero tempore dicuntur iii Psalmi et iii Lecciones cum tribus Antiphonis super Psalmos ante Lecciones qualiscunque nocturnus dicitur. (Each of the three Nocturns, which together made up the longer service of nine Psalms and nine Lessons, consisted of three Psalms and three Lessons: each was taken on a different day of the week for variety's sake.) Sciendum est quod in tempore paschali semper erit tertium responsorium, *Libera me Domine de morte eterna* cum his tribus versibus a duobus de superiore gradu ad gradum chori." *Sar. Customs*, 207. These were "the two persons" whom the Bishop refers to in the Statute. Simple feasts at Exeter were always ruled by two, and the Invitatory and last Responsory were sung by the two rulers in silk copes. *Ord. Exon.*, p. 16. This shorter service was really said every ordinary week-day, except from Easter to Trinity, at Sarum for the faithful departed with Missa in crastino in capitulo. "In omnibus feriis et festis trium lectionum quando chorus non regitur extra tempus pasche post Terciam dicitur Missa pro defunctis, cum diacono et subdiacono albis cum amictibus indutis." *Sar. Customs*, 102. But at Exeter "omni die per annum post Nonam de die,

quando Nona dicitur immediate post Missam, vel alias in recessu ultimo a choro ante prandium, dicatur Psalmus *De profundis* pro omnibus fidelibus defunctis, in statione puerorum sine nota. Post prandium, in prima pulsacione Vesperarum, si festum ix leccionum vel cum regimine chori non sequatur in crastino, extra tempus Paschale fiat semper officium mortuorum cum novem leccionibus per totum annum, sive anniversarium, sive presens corpus fuerit, sive non, prout plenius continetur in fine huius Ordinalis." *Ord. Exon.*, p. 40. At Sarum after evensong for the day there followed evensong of our Lady and then evensong and Mattins of the Dead, "scilicet *Placebo* et *Dirige* usque ad Laudes tantum." *Brev. Sar.*, I, xliv-li; II, 271-282. Then next morning "Post Matutinas de die et de sancta Maria dicuntur Laudes mortuorum." At Ottery, however, as at Exeter, the seven psalms with the suffrages and four collects of the Laudes mortuorum were to be said the preceding evening. The difference in the details becomes clear if the Sarum and Exeter rubrics are placed side by side. "Pulsato bis ad Collacionem, sed utraque vice cum una sola campana, dicantur vigilie mortuorum, scilicet *Dirige* usque ad Laudes. Postea immediate legatur Collacio, scilicet Liber pastoralis beati Gregorii pape; que quidem Collacio quotidie ante Completorium usque ad cenam domini, exceptis tantum dominicis, in pulpito legetur. Finita Collacione statim pulsatur ad Completorium cum unica campana, et sequatur Completorium." *Sar. Brev.*, I, dxciii. *Sarum Customs*, 215. "Sciendum est quod quotienscunque dicitur *Placebo* post Missam ante Vesperas per totam Quadragesimam dicitur *Dirige* ante Collacionem usque ad Laudes tantum. Laudes vero dicantur post Matutinas de die et de Sancta Maria. In Quadragesima omnes hore diei ante Missam dicuntur. Post Missam vero sine intervallo *Placebo* et Vespere diei dicuntur, deinde Vespere de Sancta Maria. Post prandium ante pulsatam Collacionem dicuntur vigilie mortuorum, deinde legatur in Collacione." *Sarum Customs*, 100. In Lent at Sarum and at Exeter alike Evensong for the day was said immediately after the Mass after None, that is at about three o'clock in the afternoon. In Lent no food was to be eaten of a day before sunset, which in England takes place in Lent between five and six o'clock. "In the East all through Lent the Liturgy, whether it be that of St Basil, the Presanctified, or the Typica (a sort of Table-prayers used on Mondays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays in Lent), is combined in a very ingenious and complicated way with Vespers, the principle being the same as when in the Western Church Evensong immediately follows afternoon Mass." W. J. Birkbeck. "Quotidie per totam Quadragesimam de quocunque fit servitium dicuntur Vespere de die sine intervallo, deinde Vespere de Sancta Maria post Missam ante prandium," except of course on Sundays. At Sarum the service would be taken in three parts, Evensong (*placebo*) before the one meal of the day in Lent, *Dirige* after the meal, and the Laudes (*Exultabunt domino ossa humiliata*) the next morning; but at Exeter and at Ottery the service was taken in only two parts. At Exeter after Evensong for the day followed "absque intervallo Vespere de sancta Maria." *Ord. Exon.*, p. 25. "Post Sextam cantetur magna missa, et hoc fiat per totum annum, nisi in quatuor temporibus, et in vigiliis, et in quadragesima, quando ieiunium est ecclesie generalis; tunc enim semper missa dicatur post Nonam de die." *Ord.*, p. 40. "Post Primam, peractis hiis que ad capitulum pertinent, semper quando officium mortuorum precesserit in precedentibus Vesperis, dicatur missa pro eisdem, nisi forte corpus presens aut obitus solempnis requirant quod missa pro eis ultimo post Nonam dicatur. Et quotienscunque obitus vel presens corpus acciderint, dicantur commendaciones immediate ante Missam pro defunctis, prout plenius continetur in fine Ordinalis huius." *Ord.*, p. 44. At Sarum throughout the whole year or any anniversary the "commendacio animarum cum nota dicitur statim post Primam ante Missam capituli pro defunctis." *Brev.* I, xlviii, dlxxxix; II, 282. "Omni die in quadragesima, quando de feria agitur, nisi festum duplex precedente die contigerit, post Primam ante Missam capitularem pro mortuis dicatur commendacio animarum pro omnibus fidelibus defunctis et postea Missa pro defunctis." *Ord. Exon.*, p. 116. The "commendacio animarum" consisted of Psalms cxviii. and cxix. (the first being practically the psalm said at Tierce, Sext, and None, now taken all at one time) without *Gloria patri*, but followed by the anthem "Requiem eternam dona eis, Domine, et lux perpetua luceat eis. Kyrie eleyson. Christe eleyson. Kyrie eleyson. Pater Noster." Then Psalm cxxxviii. "Domine probasti. V. Requiem eternam dona eis, Domine, et lux perpetua luceat eis. V. A porta inferi Erue, Domine, animas eorum. V. Credo videre bona Domini In terra viventium. Dominus vobiscum. Et cum spiritu tuo. Oremus. Tibi, Domine, commendamus animas famulorum famularumque tuarum, ...et omnium fidelium defunctorum; ut defuncti seculo tibi vivant; et quae per fragilitatem mundanae conversationis peccata admiserunt, tu venia misericordissimae pietatis absterge, per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen. Requiescant in pace. Amen." "Omni die feriali per totam Quadragesimam de quocunque fit servitium pulsetur ad Vesperas dum dicatur Missa de jejuniis (Missa de jejuniis dicitur post Nonam, missa de festo post Sextam, p. 55). Dicantur Vesperae statim post Missam jejunii ante prandium nisi in

dominicis diebus tantum. Non enim dicitur Exonie *placebo* pro mortuis usque post prandium cum *dirige* et laudibus simul, p. 117. Notandum est quod per totam Quadragesimam in feriis post prandium, dum pulsatur ad Collacionem, dicatur totum officium simul mortuorum, et post *placebo* et *dirige* legitur una leccio que Collacio vocatur, habitu non mutato, in medio chori. Legitur vero de dialogo beati Gregorii pape de Pastoralis cura, vel de vitis patrum, vel de expositione vel omelia Evangelii quod eodem die legebatur ad missam; et fiet per assignacionem Cancellarii, vel per aliquem ab eo ad hoc deputatum, secundum antiquum Exon. usum." p. 118.

The Mass at the five chief Obits at Ottery was to be sung at the High Altar after None in the choir, and would be the High Mass for that day. The Missa de Requiem on the other ten Obits mentioned in the Statute was to be said after Chapter which followed after Prime, and at Exeter was taken at one of the "duo altaria parva in presbiterio," *Ord.*, p. 24; at Ottery, where the usual Chapter Mass was sung, either in the choir, or (as would appear most likely) at the altar in the centre of the Nave, at the north side of which Sir Otho Grandisson had been buried by the Bishop, p. 130.

De omnibus obitibus gradatim sequentibus per annum in ecclesia de Otery.

- In primis, in mense Januarij, 9^o die eiusdem, obitus magistri Nicholai Braybrook [canonici Exon'] et domini Theobaldi Mountenay militis.
- Item, in mense Februarij, 21^o die eiusdem, obitus domini Petri de Pateshulle Thesaurarij ecclesie Exoniensis.
- Item, in mense Marcij nichil.
- Item, in mense Aprilis, 2^o die eiusdem, obitus domini Othonis de Grandissono [primi] patru domini Johannis Episcopi Exoniensis, et eodem mense obitus domine Katharine de Monte acuto, 9^o Kal. Mayi, in festo sancti Georgij, sororis domini Johannis de Grandissono.
- Item, obitus domini Petri Penestrini cardinalis, 17^o die Mayi.
- Item, obitus domini Othonis de Grandissono, post festum sancti Dunstani, 21^o die Mayi.
- Item, in mense Junij, 3^o die eiusdem, obitus domini Edwardi principis Wallie. Item, in eodem mense, 5^o die eiusdem, obitus Willielmi Archidiaconi Exon' fratris domini Johannis de Grandissono Episcopi. Item, in eodem mense, 27^o die, obitus domini Willielmi de Grandissono patris domini Johannis Epis. Exon'.
- Item, in mense Julii, 14^o die, obitus Thome clerici, fratris domini Johannis Epis. Exon. [In die Sancti Swythuni, 15^o die eiusdem, obitus domini de Grandissono Episcopi fundatoris nostri.]
- Item, in mense Augusti, 26^o die eiusdem, obitus Thome Bythysgate et Johanne uxoris eius.
- Item, in mense Septembris nichil.
- Item, in mense Octobris, 21^o die, obitus Domine Sibille matris domini Johannis de Grandissono Episcopi Exon'.
- Item, in eodem mense, 27^o die, obitus Petri Cortenay armigeri.
- Item, in mense Novembris, 26^o die, obitus Johannis Prestecote [iuridici et quondam seneschalli curiarum de Otery, et Margerie uxoris eius].
- Item, in mense Decembris, 2^o die, obitus domini Thome Brantyngham [canonici et postea Episcopi Exon'].
- Item, 3^o die predicti mensis, obitus Agnetis de Northwode sororis domini de Grandissono, Exon'. Epis'.
- Item, 4^o die mensis predicti, obitus domini Johannis 22ⁱ pape.

This is the fifteenth century list of Obits in Exon. MS. described on p. 1. The Obits of Sir William de Montacute and those of Bishop Grandisson's brother Peter, and of his sisters Mabel and Matilda are omitted from it, and so had apparently ceased to be kept.

Nicholas Braybrook was of the family (possibly a younger son) of Sir Gerard, the second of that name, of Bradebroc Castle, near Northampton, who died in 1359, and of Isabella Hampden, his wife. He thus came from the same county as the Nassingtons, who were such useful officials of Bishop Grandisson: and would be brother to Robert Braybrook, Bishop of London, who died 1404. He was created notary public by Bishop Grandisson, 9 November, 1349, being then a clerk of Winchester Diocese (where he was, and continued to his death, a confrater of Merton Abbey, in Surrey), "*non conjugatus nec in sacris ordinibus constitutus*." For the next few years he acted as the Bishop's Scriba, clericus familiaris et commensalis. He was appointed Canon-Sacristan of Bosham by him, 28 January, 1350, but resigned when made Rector of Bideford, 29 September, 1351. He exchanged a Prebend at Crediton for one at St Crantock, 2 March, 1360: he became Prebendary of Bosham again 27 September, 1361, and Canon of Exeter 28 November, 1361. He certified to the Bishop, as "*vester alumnus humilis et familiaris devotus presbiter*," 7 October, 1366, that he then held the Canonry and Prebend of Funtynghdone at Bosham, valued at £26. 13s. 4d. a year, a Canonry at Exeter at £4, a Canonry and Prebend at St Crantock at £2, the Rectory of Bideford at £13. 6s. 8d., and the Canonry and Prebend of Llanbadarn-tref-Eglws, at Llanddewi-Brefi, in Cardiganshire at £8. On 25 July, 1369, he acted as one of the executors of Bishop Grandisson's will. On 26 July, 1381, he exchanged Bideford with his brother Robert for the Archdeaconry of Cornwall, with prebend at Glasney attached. On 23 November, 1381, he exchanged his canonries at Wells and Bosham with William Burstall for a canonry and prebend of Combe prior at Wells: and on 12 March, 1393, he exchanged the canonry at Llanddewi-Brefi for a prebend at Bosham again. On 4 June, 1395, he was collated by his brother Robert, Bishop of London, to a canonry with prebend of Neasdon in St Paul's. His will was made at Merton on the fifth and proved at Lambeth on the 20th January, 1400. A copy of it is in Archbishop Arundel's Register there, vol. II, fo. 1656b. He desires to be buried in St Paul's, and amongst other legacies bequeaths to the Prior and Augustinian convent of Merton, "*pro exequiis meis devote et solempniter faciendis, xx s.*," to the Abbot and Benedictine convent of Chertsey the same, to the Dominicans at Guildford the same. "*Item, lego inter clericos domini mei Londoniensis pro exequiis meis ibidem solempniter celebrandis, xx s.*, et cuilibet canonico in huiusmodi exequiis presenti, xl d., et executori officii ipsarum exequiarum quinque solidos, et cuilibet vicario duos solidos, cuilibet clerico et annivellario, xii d., cuilibet puero, vi d., et pro brevi classico (which he preferred, like Bishop Grandisson, Stat. lxxiv) duos solidos, et ad faciendum et ad vitriandum unam fenestram in clauetro ibidem, x marcas. Item, lego collegio beate Marie de Otery pro exequiis meis solempniter celebrandis ibidem, x s. distribuendos more solito inter eos, et pauperibus parochie venientibus ad ecclesiam illam die huiusmodi exequiarum mearum, cuilibet j d. Item, lego Custodi, Ministro, Cantori et Sacriste qui nunc sunt, cuilibet xl s. Item, lego Preposito et Canonicis, ac aliis ministris ecclesie collegiate de Glasney x s. in exequiis meis debite ibidem faciendis, et pauperibus de parochia illa venientibus dicto die, cuilibet j d. Item, lego ecclesie quondam mee de Bydeford, pro libris et ornamentis, x libras, et reparacione et sustentacione capelle ad pontem, et pontis ibidem x libras. Item, inter pauperes parochianos ejusdem, presertim in subsidium eorum quando impositiones regie contingant exigendas, juxta discrecionem executorum meorum. Item, libere capelle de Bosham ls., si communem habitacionem vicariorum ibidem edificatam contigerit, et ministris ibidem presentibus ad celebrandum exequias meas, dimidiam marcam, et pauperibus parochie illuc dicto die venientibus, cuilibet j d. Item, lego ecclesie beate Marie de Otery unum calicem aureum cum ampullis aureis, ut ibi remaneant imperpetuum. Item, lego unum messuagium sive tenementum quod nuper acquisivi a Petro Plenti in Civitate Exon., magistro Johanni Cheyne et domino Willelmo Trendelber, ut ipsi illud vendant et pecuniam inde receptam distribuant inter pauperes ministros ecclesie de Otery predicte, vel alio pio modo ordinent ibidem juxta discrecionem eorundem, pro salute animarum domini Johannis de Grandissono et domini Teobaldi Mountenay militis." The residue of his property at Exeter and Ottery to John Cheyne, William Trendelber, and Roger Smith, his executors, "*ut ipsi disponant de illis melius et salubrius quo sciverint pro salute anime mee*," with the advice of Bishop Robert Braybrook of London, and of Robert Wyndeshore the Prior of Merton Abbey (elected 27 October, 1368, died 6 May, 1403, and to whom he left a silver cup and cover), "*simul cum consilio et auxilio Alicie neptis mee, de cuius fidelitate summe confido*." His Obit was kept at Exeter 5 January, when "*debent dividi xlviii s.*" That at Ottery was provided for by deed dated 22 February, 1403, in which his brother, the Bishop of London, assigned Blossom's Inn in the Old Jewry and other houses in Honey Lane in the City, for its upkeep. On

1 May, 1404, Sir Gerard Braybrook, fourth of that name, founded a chantry at St Paul's for Canon Nicholas, Bishop Robert, and Bishop Grandisson, p. 272. Another of the family, William Braybrook, was one of the latter bishop's attorneys in England 15 October, 1331, and again 12 May, 1343, on the occasion of his going beyond the seas, and, together with Nicholas Braybrook and Sir John Montacute, was one of Bishop Grandisson's executors. Reginald Braybrook was prebendary of Lincoln 5 December, 1387, of Brownswood, St Paul's 18 May, 1392, and of Finsbury 23 July, 1394; and Katharine Braybrook was fifteenth Prioress of Clerkenwell.

Sir Theobald de Mounteney, King's yeoman 30 August, 1337, purchased the manor of Grendon, Bucks, 12 September, 1342. This family, too, was of some standing in the Midlands, members of the same being in the King's commission for the peace at this period alike in Notts, Lincolnshire, and Northamptonshire. They were apparently connected with the Braybrooks: the manor of Mounteneys in Essex was demised to Robert, Bishop of London, and Sir Gerard. Their arms were gules, a bend between six martlets gold. Sir Theobald was one of the executors of Sir Otho Grandisson, in whose will, 1358, he is termed his "consanguineus," and as residing at his manor of Ashe in Kent, 8 miles east of Chelsfield: he inherits from him all his extensive farming stock and furniture there. Nicholas Braybrook and Sir Theobald specially ordained that their Obit at Ottery was "solempniter celebrari," p. 2. With regard to the London property by the Tower, left by Sir Otho to Ottery (p. 38), on 2 February, 1384, Richard II, in consideration of sums owing by the King's father, the Black Prince, to Bishop John de Grandisson and to the College of Ottery founded by him, and their poverty occasioned thereby, granted a licence to the Warden and Canons to acquire lands of the yearly value of 20 marks, since Otto Grandisson, who bequeathed tenements of that value in Tower Street, London, whereof they were sometime in quiet possession, was not a citizen of London, and the same had been forfeited as granted in mortmain without a licence.

Peter de Pateshulle, clerk, was collated by Bishop Grandisson, 13 June, 1338, to the prebend of Samforde at Crediton, which he held till his death, that occurred before 9 March, 1348, when Richard de Kirkeby succeeded him in it. He was also Canon and Treasurer of Exeter. *Reg.* 1413. Apparently he and Thomas de Pateshulle were brothers, and so nephews of Bishop Grandisson. Thomas was canon of Crediton, 14 March, 1335, and of St Teath, and of Exeter, 3 October, 1342, and Rector of Southhill in Cornwall 5 October, 1347. He died 1349. Their family was originally settled at Pateshulle, $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles south-west of Northampton and close to Nassington (pp. 44, 119).

The Black Prince died 11 June, 1376, the Wednesday after Trinity Sunday, which that year fell on the 8th June. "iij Id. Junii obiit sanctus princeps Edwardus, quo die festum sancte Trinitatis contingebat, militiae Anglorum decus et flos, quod festum singularissime venerabatur, semper hoc desiderans in illo festo vitam finire, etatis anno xlvi." On his Obit at Exeter 8 June, "vi d. inter presentes," and on the 21st June, that "Edwardi Regis et Philippe regine, xii d. inter presentes in omnibus officiis debent dividi." *Kalendar*, Exon. MS. 3625.

Thomas Bythysgate and Jane his wife obtained a licence from Bishop Brantingham, 16 October, 1381, to have the mass celebrated "in capellis infra maneria sua de Kyngestone infra parochiam de Ottery sancte Marie, et de Sparkheighs infra parochiam de Coletone, situatis." *Reg.*, i, 455. Knightstone had been conveyed, 1371, by "Richard, son of John de Knightstone, to Thomas Bittlesgate, who made his dwelling there: to whom succeeded Thomas his son, who entailed this, amongst other lands, unto the children of Thomas his son (who died in his father's lifetime), and in remainder to William, Lord Bonville, who also possessed Ashe in this parish. All the children died without issue, by means whereof Bittlesgate's lands came, at Richard Bittlesgate's death in 1494, to Cicely (Bonville), wife of Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset, p. 23. By the attainder of the Duke of Suffolk in 1554 (p. 25), the land fell to the Crown, and was purchased by William Sherman, of Ottery St Mary." *Risdon, Survey*, 1811, p. 46. John Bythelesgate, priest, who was collated by Bishop Grandisson to the sixth Prebend at Ottery, 3 November, 1366, probably belonged to the same family: afterwards Rector of Feniton, 28 October, 1375, on presentation of William Malherbe (an Ottery family). He was residing as Canon at Ottery in 1379.

Peter Courtenay was on the King's commission as justice of the peace for Somerset in 1381, and with William de Montacute and Earl of Sarum 1382, and William de Bonville in 1390, also on that for Devon the same year. In 1483 there was paid £2. 13s. 4d. by the Sacrist, "octo vicariis pro missa celebrata quotidie ad altare sancte Katarine pro anima domini Petri Courtenay et aliorum benefactorum. Item, pro obitu Petri Courtenay et domini Tenefeld et omnium benefactorum cum 1s. 4d. inter pauperes 13s. 4d., et canonico 10d." Dominus Petrus Courtenay, if not the same as Petrus Courtenay armiger, would be the sixth son of

Edward, Earl of Devon, cousin of Bishop Grandisson, p. 52. He may have been only armiger when he made the benefaction in 1357.

John, son of William and Jane Prestcote, was twice married: Margery, his second wife, survived him. He is on the roll as justice of the peace for Devon in 1377, 1378, 1380, 1381, 1390, 1391, with Edward, Earl of Devon, and Peter Courtenay, esquire; also with William de Bonville, ancestor of the Marchioness of Dorset, in 1382, 1384, 1387. He was steward of the Manors in Devon forfeited to King Henry IV, 22 May, 1400. Six years before his death, he bound over the Warden and Canons of Ottery, "*diem obitus anniversarium discreti viri Johannis Prestcote domicelli et Margarete uxoris sue celebrare in festo sancte Katarine virginis, cum diacono et subdiacono, et cum nota juxta modum et formam statutorum bone memorie J. de Grandisson olim Ep. Exon., in eadem ecclesia collegiata de obitibus celebrandis editorum et hactenus observatorum, annis singulis imperpetuum*": failing which they were to pay a fine of x s. to the Exeter Chapter for every omission, 6 November, 1406. His seal thereto bears his arms ermine, a chevron sable: on a chief gold, two leopards' heads, gules. His will is dated 25 January, and was proved 23 November, 1412: an abstract of it is printed in Bishop Stafford's *Register*, ed. 1886, p. 399. He wishes to be buried at Culmstock, in which parish his manor of Prestcote was situated. His anniversary, and those of Jane and Margery, his wives, and of William Prestecote and Jane his wife, he directs to be celebrated yearly for ever, "*ad collectum Sancti Johannis*": and bequeaths £23. 6s. 8d. for a chaplain to say mass for five years after his death in the chapel of Our Lady at Culmstock for his own soul, and that of Jane his late wife; the chaplain to have seven marks yearly. To the canons, vicars, and other ministers of the Cathedral 20s. for *placebo* and *dirige* on the day of his funeral, before the mass of Requiem: and in like manner to the canons, etc., at Ottery 20s.; and so to many other religious houses. A daughter Jane is mentioned in the will, but no son. Three hundred masses were to be said, immediately after his death and before his burial. Every chaplain present at his funeral was to have 6d., every poor person 1d., and all that were blind, 2d. Ten marks were to be paid to Thomas Ferrers, precentor of Ottery, to put William Walrande, his cousin, son of William Walrande, junior, to school for four years after testator's death. His Obit was kept at Exeter, 28 November.

Thomas de Brantingham was born in the East Riding of Yorkshire, near South Cave. King Edward III petitioned the Pope for a provision for him, when treasurer of Calais and Guisnes, to a Canonry at St Paul's, with expectation of Prebend, though he held Assheby-David (Castle-Ashby in Northamptonshire) in the diocese of Lincoln, 11 December, 1361; and again for a confirmation of this grant, though he then held a Canonry and Prebend at Hereford, 22 April, 1363. He also held at various times the churches of Barnwell in Northamptonshire, St Agnes, Aldersgate, and St Nicholas, Cole Abbey, in the City of London, and Houghton-on-the-Hill in Leicestershire. He was elected Bishop of Hereford, July, 1369, but William Courtenay was provided by the Pope to that see, 17 August. He was Canon and Treasurer of Wells, 19 July, 1367, and Treasurer of the King's Exchequer, 27 June, 1369. Being also Canon of Exeter, he was elected by the Chapter to that see, and approved by Papal Bull, 4 March, 1370, was consecrated 12 May, and had the temporalities restored on the 16th. On 19 July, 1377, he was again made Treasurer of England. He obtained leave to alienate Teignton Drewe to the Warden and Canons of Ottery, for the support of their poor chaplains, clerks, and ministers, 30 August, 1380. His will was dated 13 December, 1393, and proved 30 December, 1394. He died 3 December, 1394, and was buried in the first bay of the north nave-aisle before the altar he had there dedicated in honour of the Holy Trinity, opposite to the Courtenay chantry in the south nave-aisle. He left "*Custodi, Ministro, Cantori et Sacriste eccles. colleg. S. Marie de Otery, et cuilibet Canonico presenti in eadem ecclesia tempore exequiarum ii s. Item, cuilibet vicario eiusdem ecclesie xii d., cuilibet clerico et puero choriste, vi d.,*" and the like to those at Crediton. He also bequeathed to Ottery "*Vestimentum meum album stragulatatum cum capis et cetris eiusdem secte.*" *Reg. 742-748.*

Pope John XXII was James Duèse, born at Cahors in Guienne, the second cobbler's son who had sat on the throne of St Peter: "*regis Cicilie cancellarius, postea episcopus Foriuliensis (Fréjus), postea Avinoniensis et auditor palatii, et postea vice-cancellarius ac postmodum Cardinalis Portuensis, et finaliter in papam electus, scilicet vii die Augusti, 1316,*" after the holy see had been vacant two years and four months. "*Et quinto die Septembris (i.e. in octavas festi decollationis sancti Johannis Baptiste) proximo sequentis coronatus fuit in ecclesia Lugduni, presente rege Francie Philippo V et frenum suum super pedes ducente a loco coronationis usque ad domum fratrum Predicatorum (where the king had enforced the Cardinals to make the election). Quo die nulli permissum fuit equitare nisi vestibis sacris indutis. Qui quidem papa*

fecit dicto regi multas gracias, in recompensationem laborum et expensarum quos et quas sustinuit pro dicto negotio ecclesie quod promovit. (He was a determined opponent of Louis of Bavaria to the Imperial crown, whom he excommunicated five times.) Et cito postea se transtulit papa per Rodanum versus Avinonam, quam secundo die Octobris intravit, ubi se tenuit cum curia multis annis." "Hic septimum librum Decretalium innovavit et publicavit, quae constitutiones Clementinae (after his predecessor, Clement V, who had collected them) primitus vocabantur. Hic etiam literatos promovit, disciplinam triplicis linguae, scilicet Graecae, Ebraicae et Latinae apud studia generalia Catholici orbis instituit, ac dum in primis acceptiones munerum, omne aurum et argentum, abhorrere videretur, dampnavit primo pluralitatem beneficiorum ita ut, unico beneficio per curatum rectorem quemlibet acceptato, ipse papa reliquorum fructus vacantium per aliquot annos optineret. Insuper et aliorum beneficiorum per mortem seu resignationem seu per translationem vacantium primos fructus reservavit, ita ut rector institutus taxationem beneficii sui aut residuum acceptaret; ex qua cautela et negotio innumerabiles thesauri ad papae manus et cameram devenerunt." "A.D. 1334 quarto die Decembris obiit Johannes papa XXII, in anno etatis sue nonagesimo, et in palatio suo Avinonie, et in ecclesia beate Marie palatio contigua est sepultus, in qua ipse fuit episcopus ante cardinalatus honorem. Vacavit sedes apostolica diebus XV, quia XX^o die eiusdem mensis Decembris fuit electus in papam frater Jacobus, tituli Sancte Prisce presbyter cardinalis, qui fuit monachus ordinis Cisterciensis (bishop of Mirepoix and of Pamiers) et magister in theologia, de comitatu Fuxensi (Foix) juxta partes Tholosanas oriundus, vocatusque est Benedictus XII. Qui mox ad professores diversorum ordinum constitutiones edidit regulas eorum concernentes. In die dominica post Epiphaniam (8 January, 1335) fuit coronatus apud fratres predicatorum Avinonie." Higden's *Polychronicon*, vii, 42. Adam Murimuth (Rolls Series), pp. 24, 74. *Annales Paulini*, p. 363. Cp. also *supra*, pp. 90, 103, 116, 117.

The following expenses connected with the Ottery Obits are given in the seven Compotus rolls, printed in Oliver's *Monasticon*, pp. 279-285. In that of the Sacrist and Steward, 1383, "Item, de £3. 2s. 6½d. de oblationibus in die natalis, pasche et in obitu uxoris Thomae Bityllsgat, receptis," and paid "£6. 4s. 8½d. pro diversis obitibus et distributionibus pauperibus pro Ottery et Ilington." In the sacrist's expenses in 1413, "pro diversis obitibus in eadem ecclesia celebrandis per annum £6. 17s. 8d.," and "24s. solutis duobus presbiteris fundatis ad celebrandum in ecclesia collegiata beate Marie de Otery pro anima domini Ottonis de Grandissono pro eorum cotidianis termino S. Michaelis anno supradicto, capiente utroque per septimanam 12d. Et de 16s. 8d. solutis eisdem presbiteris pro quarterlegiis suis termino predicto, capiente utroque per quarterium 8s. 4d.," and the same sums to the same persons in the Christmas, and in the Easter terms, but in the Midsummer term, as there were 16 weeks in it, £1. 12s. for cotidians. "Et de 20s. solutis pro obitu domini Ottonis de Grandissono tenendo in ecclesia semel in anno." On the chanter's roll for 1438, the solutio obituum is "Solutum Ministro ecclesie in obitu Sibylle matris fundatoris, cum 2s. 6d. distributis inter pauperes, £1. 0s. 7d. Et in obitu domine Agnetis Northwode et Johannis filii eiusdem £1. 6s. 8d. Et in obitu domini Johannis pape cum 2s. 6d. inter pauperes distributis, 7s. 2d. Et in obitu Petri Patteshull et Thome Patteshull 13s. 4d. Et in obitu Katarine de Monteacuto 13s. 4d. Et in obitu domini Petri Prenestrini cum 2s. 6d. distributis inter pauperes, 7s. 2d. Et in obitu Willielmi patris fundatoris cum 2s. 6d. inter pauperes £1. 0s. 3d. Et in obitu Johannis fundatoris nostri cum 8s. 4d. distributis inter pauperes 17s. 8d. Summa £6. 6s. 2d." On the Sacrist's Roll for 1483 are entered "in obitibus, in primis 25 die Novembris in obitu Johannis Prestcote, juridici et quondam senescalli curiarum de Otery, et Margerie uxoris ejus de quatuor ferlingis terrae apud Otery, quos quatuor ferlingos jam tenet Johannes Ware ibidem, 11s. 3½d. Canonico 10d. Item, tercio die Decembris in obitu Thome Bryntingham, canonico 1s. 4d. In toto 19s. 4d. Item, in obitu Sibylle Mylmede (? Malemayne, the maiden family name of the wife of Sir Otho Graunson, p. 37) decimo die mensis Aprilis, canonico 8d.—8s. 8d. Summa obituum £1. 19s. 3½d." Under Northam outgoings, "in obitu domini Othonis de Grandissono, qui providit nobis de beneficio Northam, 17s. 2d." Under Wynford Ryvers, in Somersetshire, outgoings, £2. 13s. 4d., "soluta octo vicariis pro missa celebrata cotidie ad altare Sancte Katarine pro anima domini Petri Curtenay et aliorum benefactorum. Item, pro obitu Petri Curtenay et domini Tenefeld et omnium benefactorum cum 1s. 4d. inter pauperes 13s. 4d. Canonico 10d."

John Bothe, archdeacon of Richmond, Prebendary of St Paul's, 14 March, 1464, was provided to the see of Exeter and consecrated Bishop, 23 February, 1466: he died 5 April, 1478, and was buried at Horsley in Surrey; he also had an Obit at Ottery. But as this was subsequent to John Excestre's time (p. 5) it naturally was not entered in his MS. It was endowed from two furlongs of land at Mettlecombe in Ottery.

lxxiiij. *De pulsacione pro mortuis.*76^m ca^m

INSUPER statuimus, quod¹ classicum pulsetur pro mortuis parum antequam incipitur *Placebo*, quousque inchoetur *Dirige*; et similiter ante Missam dum dicuntur commendaciones. Ita viz. quod tam in obitibus, quam eciam quando corpus presens habetur, secundum dignitatem persone breuius, uel longius, predictis semper temporibus, pulsetur cum maioribus et pluribus, uel minoribus et paucioribus campanis. Set inhibemus, ne nimis prolixè pulsantur, nec iterum post officium, uel in aurora, sicut fieri solet Exonie, quia nichil prodest animabus *aes sonans, aut cymbalum tinniens*; et tamen multum nocet auribus, et fabrice ac campanis.

Nota hic
fantasiam
Johannis
episcopi.

¹ "Infra primam pulsacionem ad uesperas in obitibus," Winton inserts after "quod."

lxxiiij. "Si linguis hominum loquar et angelorum, charitatem autem non habeam, factus sum velut *aes sonans, aut cymbalum tinniens*," 1 Cor. xiii. 1. In Stat. xv (p. 142) Bishop Grandisson had ordered that the bell which tolled for the daily Lady Mass "tinniat octo vel decem ictibus continuis"; and at Exeter also "in classicis pro mortuis, ante eorum suscepciones, fieri solent quedam tintinnationes signorum, quasi ad adiutorium vocandum, quod tamen in aliis classicis nullo modo fit; ut sic habeatur eorum notitia et differentia—exceptis illis que primo fiunt pro Episcopis et Canonicis in ipso eorum obitu." The sixth of the orders for the Bell-ringing there in the Exon. MS. 3625, fo. 106—which is in the handwriting of the first half of the fifteenth century, and printed *Ordinale Exon.*, 537, 538, and probably represents the use of Bishop Grandisson's time—lays down, "Classica pro mortuis hoc modo fiunt. Cum Episcopus ecclesie aut Decanus mortuus fuerit, statim pulsari debent tria classica pro eo, quacunque hora diei hoc denunciatum fuerit, cum universis signis hoc modo: uno et eodem ictu et subito simul omnes (decem) incipiant pulsari, et aliquamdiu pulsacionem continuent; et terminato classico, due mediocres campane sine cessatione sonent dum alie pausant. Iterum fiat classicum ut prius; et denuo, continuata media pulsacione, tercium, et sic finiat. Similiter fit in obitu ejuslibet Canonici, excepto eo quod media pulsacio fit cum duobus de minoribus signis. Quando vero corpus Episcopi Decani vel Canonici de domo sua ad ecclesiam deferatur, semper ab exitu domus ejus continue pulsetur classicum quousque in chorum ecclesie perducatur. Simili modo fit in crastino dum ejus commendacio dicitur, ab incepcone psalmi *Legem pone* (cxviii. 33) usque ad finem commendacionis. Similiter quoque fit post Missam, ab ea hora qua corpus elevatur ut ad tumulum deferatur, quousque sepulture compleatur officium. In anniversariis Episcoporum ecclesie classica fiunt cum omnibus signis, et ad Vesperas et ad commendacionem. In anniversariis vero aliorum fiunt classica cum omnibus minoribus et uno magno nisi sint aliqui quibus fit aliqua specialis gracia, et exceptis illis qui habent solempne officium, ut rex Athelstanus, decanus Serlo, Archidiaconus Simon, Ysaac, Eustachius et alii secundum quod in Martilogio continetur. In exequiis Vicariorum defunctorum, post Vesperas chorus vadit, et interim pulsatur classicum cum omnibus signis. Similiter in crastino ad recepcionem corporis ante Missam, et post Missam ad tumulacionem; cum omnibus quidem aliis dispensatur, secundum gradus et dignitates tam clericis quam laicis. Ita semper quod inter Primam et Terciam tantum pulsatur classicum pro illis; et quod post Completorium non pulsetur nec ante Vesperas nisi pro predictis personis. Pro Episcopis vero et Regibus, quia major Missa pro eis celebratur inter Terciam et Sextam fit eorum commendatio, et classicum cum ea ut supradictum est. Pro famulis Canonicorum fiunt classica, sed non adeo magna, scilicet cum tot signis sicut pro ipsis Canonicis. Et nota, quod in classicis pro mortuis ante eorum suscepciones fieri solent quedam tintinnationes signorum, quasi ad adiutorium vocandum; quod tamen in aliis classicis nullo modo fit; ut sic habeatur eorum notitia et differentia: exceptis illis que primo fiunt pro episcopis et canonicis in ipso eorum obitu ut supradictum est." It would almost seem, therefore, that the ringings "post officium, uel in aurora" which the Bishop refers to in the present Statute were over and beyond what was really required by these ordinances at Exeter. In his will, dated 8 September, 1368, he gives directions that at his own funeral there each ringer should receive the same as every secondary and chantry priest present, and twice as much as each chorister; they were to have "Custores ad pulsandum, ita quod breves pulsaciones fiant et non longe, quilibet xii d." *Reg.* 1550.

77^m ca^mlxxv. *De observacione Ordinalis et aliorum.*37^m fo.
p. 207.

ITEM, statuimus quod ubicunque Ordinale, uel Consuetudinarium, uel Statuta nostra non sufficiant forte in multis faciendis per totum annum, quod tunc recurratur ad ordinale et consuetudinarium Sarum, ita tamen, quod semper omnia per nos disposita firmiter observentur. Nolumus tamen, quod allegent uel dicant, unquam se usum tenere Sarum; set magis Exonie, uel ut uerius dicant, usum per nos eis traditum proprium et specialem.

lxxv. "There are numberless variations which constitute the Use, and distinguish the services of one church from those of another: viz. different prayers; different arrangements of them; different ceremonies to be observed in the administration of the Sacraments. If, for instance, a part of the offices of Sarum, and a part of Hereford, and a part of York, were taken and rearranged, with an observance of this one and an omission of another; this would constitute a new Use." Maskell, *The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England*, 1882, p. vii. "The Consuetudinary, as its name implies, contains a code of customs; and with regard to its relation to the Ordinal, the most plain point of contrast between them lies in their origin. The Consuetudinary is a book for the Chapter House; it is a part of the common regulations of the body politic. The Ordinal is essentially a service book for choir use. From one point of view it may be said to contain the application in detail of the general liturgical and ceremonial principles laid down in the Consuetudinary. From another point of view it may be called a guide-book to the rest of the service books. In early days, the various parts of any service were contained in various books; and these contained little or no rubric; it was therefore very necessary to have a guide, (i) to show how the different parts were to be pieced together, and (ii) to prescribe the manner of conducting the service. The Consuetudinary is mainly concerned with defining the duty of persons in connexion with services, the Ordinal consists of (i) a list of the cues of each part of the services themselves, together with (ii) the rubrics directing the method of performance. In practice the distinction between the two tended to become obliterated. The Ordinals came to incorporate large portions of the Consuetudinary." W. H. Frere, *Introduction to the Use of Sarum*, 1898, I, p. xii. In the *Ordinale Exon.*, issued by Bishop Grandisson in 1337, three years before these present Statutes, the first twenty-two pages are occupied with a Consuetudinarium of the Church of Exeter, the concluding words of which are, "cetera quecumque pertinent ad Consuetudinarium officii reperientur in serie Ordinalis sequentis," and the former begins "premissis igitur generalibus ecclesie Exon. consuetudinibus jam de Ordinali specialiter est agendum."

The majority of the present Statutes have reference to Ottery Customs, rather than to variations in the component parts of the service to be used there: but Statutes xv, xvij, lxxiij and lxxvij, 27 are concerned with the more special objects of an Ordinal. The Bishop refers to both in Statutes vij, xxv, and xxxv.

78^m ca^mlxxvj. *De exhibicione Ordinacionis et Statutorum; in uisitacione facienda.*

ITEM, in fine omnium, ne forte presencia Statuta processu temporum, ut communiter assolent, omnia primum bene disposita per negligenciam et desidiam, uel per maliciam aliquorum propriam uoluntatem magis quam dei honorem uel commune bonum querencium, in abusum uel non usum possint deduci, aut subduci, aut in parte uel totaliter pretermitti, statuimus, et in uirtute sancte obediencie mandamus, quod sub pena excommunicationis custos et alij canonici nec non uicarij, tam primam Ordinacionem collegij sigillatam, quam presencia Statuta, in qualibet uisitacione episcopi, ei et suis commissarijs exhibeant, et ostendant. Ita quod secundum ea possint defectus et negligencie corrigi et reparari; ne intencio et pia uoluntas nostra in aliquo defraudetur.

Explicit secunda pars istius libri de statutis.

lxxvj. The Warden, and each Canon, and all the Vicars, were to have a copy of the Statutes. Stat. i. All were to be produced at the Bishop's visitation. As the Statutes bear date 29 September, 1339, the prima Ordinacio here mentioned would seem to be the more lengthy and original draft, of which now only

fragments remain in the Register (pp. 127–132), which was “sealed” by the Bishop, and by the Dean and Chapter of Exeter. This in the preamble to the Statutes he terms *prima Ordinacio* (p. 133), as here: and then in the second Statute goes on to speak of the *Ordinacio primaria*, which, however, was “duly sealed” by the Ottery Chapter, 22 January, 1338 (p. 112), though it did not receive Papal confirmation till 27 June, 1342 (p. 115), and of this there were two copies kept at Ottery, one by the Chapter and the other by the Vicars.

Three days after issuing these Statutes the Bishop visited the Collegiate Church of Ottery St Mary 2 October, 1339, by his commissary, Master William de Nassington, Canon of Exeter,—“ubi certa correccione et reformacione digna fuerunt comperta; super quibus, postea, patentes litere emanarunt, sub tenoribus infrascriptis:

i. Johannes, etc., dilectis filiis Custodi et Canonicis ecclesie nostre collegiate sancte Marie de Otery, nostrorum fundacionis, patronatus, et diocesis, salutem etc.—Cum nuper in dicta ecclesia Visitacionis officio fungeremur, nos consulere studuistis quatinus, cum dicta ecclesia onus supportacionis decanatus ruralis agnoscere debeat, prout consuevit hactenus cursu suo, numquid totum Collegium an aliqua ipsius singularis persona onus ipsum supportare debeat, cum inde in Ordinacione fundacionis nostre predictae non fiat mentio specialis (i.e. in Ord. ix), declarare expressius dignaremur. Ad nostre igitur consideracionis intuitum reducentes quod ad Ministrum dicte ecclesie, utpote curam animarum habentem, ex sollicitudine cure sibi commisse, que correccione et reformacione in sua parochia digna fuerint, suis superioribus deferre dinoscitur pertinere (Ord. xiv); decernimus et declaramus eundem Ministrum congruencius oneri agnicionis dicti officii subjacere; oblati tamen sibi a Collegio post devolutum et ab eo agnitum ipsum officium triginta solidis sterlingorum (the Canon-Minister received 60 shillings, Ord. viij), quos annis singulis medii temporis, usque ad duos solidos, de bonis communibus reservari volumus et reponi, in usum hujusmodi et nullum alium convertendos. Rursus, consultacioni vestre in quodam alio respondentes, statuimus et censemus quod cressetum de nocte et lampadem de die (Stat. lxxvij, 2) teneamini sumptibus communibus supportare. Per premissa quoque non intendimus Statutis nostris contentis in fundacione nostra predicta in aliquo derogare. Data apud Chuddeleghe, primo die Decembris, anno supradicto.

ii. Johannes, etc., Custodi etc. (ut supra).—Nuper in dicta ecclesia Visitacionis officium exercentes, inter cetera comperimus quod Willelmus, Capellanus Parochialis ejusdem ecclesie, sprete Ordinacione nostra inde facta (Ord. xxv, p. 112) juramentum prestare, juxta ejusdem Ordinacionis exigenciam, recusavit et adhuc eciam ad id per nos legitime monitus atque jussus indebite contradicit. Propter quod ipsum a dicta ecclesia decrevimus amovendum, et alium idoneum, qui id facere voluerit, subrogandum (i.e. by the Canon-Minister, Ord. v, p. 93); et nichilominus pro tante transgressionis nota de stipendio preterito dicti capellani dimidiam marcam subtrahendam (i.e. a month's pay, Ord. ix), et in fabricam predictae ecclesie convertendam (one half of the fines for absence from choir went to the Steward's account, Ord. xiiij, Stat. lxxvj). Et, ne delictum vel culpa persone valeat in dampnum ecclesie redundare, quia percepimus dictam ecclesiam et totum Collegium per culpas, negligencias, et incurias, dolos et malicias vestras, necnon magistri Radulphi Poer (Fifth Prebendary, p. 96), dominorum Johannis de Borastone (Seventh Prebendary) et Ricardi de Hatheseleghe (Precentor) concanonicorum vestrorum, dampno et jacture non modice subjacere, vos et eorum quemlibet, pro modo et qualitate culpe, juxta debite moderacionis temperiem decrevimus puniendos, vosque (i.e. the Warden) in tribus, Radulphum eciam in tribus, Johannem in duabus cum dimidia, et Ricardum predictos in duabus cum dimidia marcis, mulctandos, et tantam pecunie summam de vestra et eorum porcionibus subtrahendam,—(the Warden was fined £2 out of his porcio of £5, Ralph £2, the whole of his porcio, John 28s. 4d. out of his £2 porcio, and Richard 28s. 4d. out of his porcio of £3. 10s. In modern money the whole fine would amount to nearly £140)—et in usus pios pro nostro arbitrio convertendam (like other fines levied from Canons, Ord. xiiij, Stat. lxxvj). Quocirca vobis committimus et mandamus quatinus decreta nostra predicta faciatis per vos et alios, execucioni debite demandari, pecuniarumque summas predictas de porcionibus tam vobis quam dictis vestris concanonicis obventuris subtrahi et levare. Ad hec, quia dictus magister Radulphus, per duos menses et amplius in dicta ecclesia fite et sophistice residendo, distribuciones suas cotidianas in solidum percepit (about £1, Ord. viij), ac si vere et in forma debita resedisset, eundem hac vice à percepcione distribucionum hujusmodi factarum per mensem integrum privari volumus et jubemus. Quoad cetera personalia aliquos de dicto collegio contingencia, adhuc processum nostrum suspendentes, alias quod cum Deo faciendum fuerit faciemus. Diem vero recepcionis presencium, etc., nobis infra xv. dies, etc. Data apud Chuddeleghe, secundo die Decembris, A.D. MCCC. tricesimo nono, et consecracionis nostre tercio decimo.” Reg. 118–120. A further admonition, relating to the irregularities of the Choristers, the

Secondaries, and the Vicars (apparently referred to in the last clause of the preceding), was issued by the Bishop 9 December (pp. 181, 2). But the reference may be to something else, and there are good reasons for dating it twelve months earlier, 1338. Sixteen years later came the Bishop's Inhibition: "Ne celebretur in capella sancti Salvatoris de Otery, preterquam certis temporibus,—Johannes, etc., dilectis in Christo filiis, Custodi et Collegio ecclesie nostre collegiate sancte Marie de Otery, salutem etc.—Docente nos Apostolo, in quo Christus loquebatur, didicimus angelos *Sathane sepe se in lucis angelos transfigurare* (2 Cor. xi. 14), ut sub specie boni animas decipiat imperitorum, eas subtilius in erroris *foveam* deducendo (St Matt. xv. 14; St Luke vi. 39) dum per colorem indiscrete, vel potius fide et fatue, devocionis a cultu vere et ecclesiastice institutionis subtrahat; ad quod malignius perficiendum mentes eciam ministrorum ecclesie pro lucro temporali inficit et inducit. Unde, licet in locis dumtaxat rite Deo per pontifices consecratis divina debeant tractari ministeria, nec locus alius ad hoc congruere valeat sine evidenti et necessaria causa; nonnulli tamen fide, proh dolor! instabiles ecclesiis collegiatis vel parochialibus derelictis, ad capellas sepe seu oratoria prophana, nedum pro divinis audiendis set quod dampnabilius est ecclesiasticis sacramentis tractandis, hiis temporibus quod displicenter didicimus, nimis voluntarie se convertunt, prout in nostra diocesi locis variis experti sumus sepius contigisse; propter quod quasdam capellas nostre diocesis nobis insciis fabricatas suspendi fecimus et aliquas funditus demoliri. Volentes igitur in quantum possumus precavere ne consimilis error in Capella quam super Pontem de Otery noviter erigi fecimus invalescat, aut quod juri vel honori matricis ecclesie loci, occasione eiusdem capelle in aliquo futuris temporibus derogetur, aut ipsius ecclesie parochiani ab ordinata devocione quam habere tenentur ad eandem quomodolibet retrahantur; vobis inhibemus ne in dicta capella Missam cum nota, nisi in eandem cum processione vos oporteat declinare, nec sine nota nisi in ebdomada semel aliqua die feriata, non in dominica vel festo, faciatis aut permittatis imposterum celebrari. Per hoc tamen non intendimus prohibere quin Christi fideles universi, volentes ex devocionis fervore ad dictam capellam auctoritate nostra episcopali constructam, et in hoc a capellis aliis prophanis differentem, ita quod temporibus debitis ab ipsorum ecclesie matricibus per hoc nullatenus avocentur, nec honor subtrahatur earundem, personaliter valeant declinare, et ad laudem et honorem sancti Salvatoris eandem, prout eis devotum fuerit, honorare. Has vero literas quas sigilli nostri appensione fecimus communiri inter Ordinationes et Statuta ecclesie nostre supradicte, ad perpetuam rei memoriam, volumus et precipimus custodiri. Data in manerio nostro de Chuddeleghe, primo die mensis Junii, A.D. M.CCC. quinquagesimo quinto, et consecracionis nostre vicesimo octavo." *Reg.* 1157. Cp. note under Stat. xlj.

That the services at St Saviour's were popular is shown by comparing the amounts of the offerings collected there, and at the Parish Church. [It is however uncertain whether the offerings de pixide Salvatoris were those collected there, or at the altar in the north transept (p. 48).] In the Sacrist's account for 1383, there were received "de pixide parochie £6. 10s. 5½d., de pixide Salvatoris £3. 12s. 5d., de pixide Sancte Marie £1. 6s. 1½d." In 1414 there was entered "54s. recepti de exitu pixidis parochialis hoc anno, £4. 11s. 4d. recepti de exitu pixidis sancti Salvatoris, et 3s. 8d. recepti de exitu pixidis beate Marie hoc anno." In 1438 the recepcio pyxidum stands, "£2. 5s. 9½d. de pyxide parochiali: £2. 13s. 1½d. de pyxide sancti Salvatoris: et 1s. 3½d. de pyxide beate Marie ad altare matutinale." (Stat. xvj.)

The additional Statute, regarding the entertainment of guests, which Bishop Grandisson made 1 July, 1354, is printed on pp. 106, 7: and his monition regarding unseemly pastimes, 10 December, 1360, on p. 182. The indulgences to be granted to those who contributed towards or who visited the Church of St Mary Ottery on pilgrimage, were as follows: "Johannes, etc., dilectis in Christo filiis, officiali nostro principali, singulisque Archidiaconis in Ecclesia nostra cathedrali Exonie, et eorum officialibus, salutem, etc.—Licet quamplura et varia loca ubi ecclesie in honore beatissime semper virginis et matris patrocina sunt petenda et speranda, ubi ejus laudes et preconia constat devocius, festivius, et frequencius exerceri; unde bone memorie dominus Papa Clemens sextus, volens ejusdem gloriosissime virginis ecclesiam, scilicet sancte Marie de Otery, nostre Exon. dio., quam cum dominico tocius ville beatus Edwardus Rex, ac Christi Confessor, eidem benedictissime virgini pro peccatorum suorum contulit remissione, prout ejusdem sancti regis carta sigillata testatur, ibidem integre reservata a devoto populo eidem Dei genetrici specialiter affecto, spiritualiter honorari, omnibus Christi fidelibus ad dictam ecclesiam in festis ejusdem virginis, et per Octavas, ac dedicationis ejusdem ecclesie, necnon in festo predicti sancti Edwardi regis, causa peregrinationis accedentibus, et etiam benefactoribus dicte ecclesie et ministrorum suorum non modicas concessit Indulgencias, per literas Apostolicas bullatas, quarum tenores inferius per ordinem describuntur,—Clemens Episcopus, Servus servorum Dei, universis Christi fidelibus presentes literas inspecturis, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

Licet Is de cujus munere venit ut sibi a fidelibus suis digne ac laudabiliter serviatur, de abundancia pietatis sue, que merita supplicum excedit, et vota bene servantibus ac pie tribuentibus propria multa maiora retribuat quam valeant promereri; nihilominus tamen desiderantes reddere Domino populum acceptabilem ac beatorum operum sectatorem, fideles Christi ad complacendum et quasi quibusdam allectivis muneribus, Indulgentiis videlicet et remissionibus, invitamus, ut exinde reddantur divine gratie apciores. Cupientes itaque ut ecclesia sancte Marie de Otery, Exon. dio., que sub vocabulo prefate beate Marie ac ejusdem reverencia et honore, necnon beati Edwardi Confessoris, est constructa, congruis favoribus prosequatur, et ut a Christi fidelibus eo libencius eidem ecclesie ipsiusque sequitoribus caritativa subsidia largiantur, quo uberius dono celestis gracie ibidem conspexerint se refectos, de omnipotentis Dei misericordia, et beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum ejus auctoritate confisi, omnibus vere penitentibus et confessis, qui ecclesie prefate, seu ministris eius, de bonis sibi a Deo collatis manus suas porrexerint adiutrices, subsidia caritatis eisdem conferendo, unum annum et unam quadragenam de injunctis eis penitentiis misericorditer relaxamus. Presentes autem literas mitti per questuarios districeius inhiibemus; eas, si secus actum fuerit, carere viribus decernentes. Data apud Villam novam, Avinionensis diocesis, ii. Nonas Julii, pontificatus nostri anno secundo.' (6 July, 1343.)—'Clemens Episcopus, Servus servorum Dei, etc.—Splendor paterne glorie, que sua mundum illuminat ineffabili claritate, pia vota fidelium de clementissima Ipsius majestate speranda tunc precipue benigno favore prosequitur cum devota ipsorum humilitas sanctorum precibus et meritis adjuvatur. Cupientes igitur ut ecclesia sancte Marie de Otery, Exon. dio., que sub vocabulo prefate beate Marie ac ejusdem reverencia et honore, necnon beati Edwardi Confessoris est constructa, congruis honoribus frequentetur, et ut Christi fideles eo libencius causa devocionis confluant ad eandem quo ibidem uberius dono celestis gracie conspexerint se refectos, de omnipotentis Dei misericordia et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum ejus auctoritate confisi, omnibus vere penitentibus et confessis, qui in singulis beate Marie virginis ac beati Edwardi Confessoris predictis, necnon dedicacionis ejusdem ecclesie festivitatibus, centum; illis vero qui per octavas festivatum ipsarum prefatam ecclesiam, causa devocionis, visitaverint annuatim, quadraginta dies de injunctis sibi penitentiis; singulis videlicet festivatum et octavarum ipsarum diebus, quibus ecclesiam ipsam devote visitaverint, ut prefertur, misericorditer relaxamus. Data apud Villam novam, Avinionensis dio., Pontificatus nostri anno secundo.'—Nos igitur ad ea libenter intendentes que ad animarum salutem, potissime populi nobis commisi, et ad prefate ecclesie collegiate Sancte Marie de Otery, que de nostra fundacione existit, honoris et commodi cedere poterunt incrementum, de Dei omnipotentis gracia ejusque immensa misericordia, ac beate et gloriose semper virginis Marie, genitricis sue, necnon Petri et Pauli apostolorum ejus, patronorum nostrorum, Omniumque Sanctorum meritis et precibus confidentes, omnibus parochianis nostris, et aliis quorum dioecesani hanc nostram Indulgentiam ratam habuerint pariter et acceptam, de peccatis suis vere penitentibus et confessis, qui ecclesiam nostram collegiatam predictam, temporibus suprascriptis, peregrinacionis causa devote visitaverint, aut eidem ecclesie vel ejus ministris caritativa subsidia contulerint, quadraginta dies de injunctis sibi penitentiis, auctore domino, concedimus per presentes. Et quia per divulgacionem Indulgentiarum hujusmodi animarum salutem salubriter procurari putamus, vobis et vestrum singulis injungimus firmiter et mandamus, quatinus vos, officialis noster principalis, sollempniter in consistorio nostro Exoniensi; vos vero Archidiaconi, vestrive officiales, in singulis capitulis, sessionibus et congregacionibus vestris per vos proximo celebrandis, publice et vulgariter presens mandatum nostrum, Indulgentias, et cetera contenta in eodem adeo clare et seriose exponatis, quod ad noticiam publicam valeant et debeant rationabiliter devenire; vobis Archidiaconis, vestrisve officialibus, nichilominus demandantes quatinus vestrum quilibet in ecclesiis Collegiatis et parochialibus infra Archidiaconatus sui ambitum constitutis, per locorum curatos, easdem Indulgentias, dominicis et aliis diebus festivis, intra missarum sollempnia, citra instans festum Assumpeionis beate Marie (15 August) publicari et intelligibiliter exponi faciat in vulgari. De die vero recepcionis presencium et quid in premissis feceritis, nos citra idem festum Assumpeionis beate Marie certificetis per vestras, et certificet quilibet vestrum per suas patentes literas, harum seriem ac modum et formam execucionis earundem dilucide continentes. Proviso quod quis vestrum, etc. Datum in manerio nostro de Chuddeleghe, vicesimo tercio die mensis Julii, A.D. M.CCC.lvi. et consecrationis nostre vicesimo nono." *Reg.* 1188-90.

On 10 June, 1334, Bishop Grandisson wrote to Pierre Roger de Maumont, translated from the bishopric of Sens 14 December, 1330, to that of Rouen (elected Pope, 7 May, 1342, as Clement VI), an old and intimate personal friend, begging him as Archbishop to further the then proposed purchase by the Bishop from the Chapter at Rouen of the manor and advowson of Ottery; and he also wrote to the Chapter themselves at the same date asking them what they wished him to do. *Reg.* 272. Having heard they were willing to sell,

he wrote to the Archbishop again and to the Chapter 18 August, 1334, and sent William de Nassington, Canon of Exeter, to negotiate matters connected with the sale. *Reg.* 281. His messenger returned with their answer, and the price demanded seemed excessive to the Bishop; but as he had obtained the King's Charter, he did not like to withdraw, and so sent his proctor to conclude the matter 1 December, 1334. And afterwards sent Oliver de Farsy, William de Nassington, and Richard de Gomersale with the same object. *Reg.* 288. King Edward III's licence to the Dean and Chapter of Rouen, who held the manor of Ottery St Mary, and the advowson of the church in frankalmoigne of the King-in-chief, and the said church as appropriated to them, to grant the manor and advowson to Bishop Grandisson and his heirs is dated 25 September, 1334. Then on 26 May, 1335, he obtained a further licence to alienate in mortmain the manor to the Dean and Chapter of Exeter, but not the advowson or church. On 26 August, 1335, he obtained licence to alienate the latter to the Prior and Hospital of St John at Exeter, and to appropriate the church for their use. Then 15 December, 1337, a licence from Edward III to found a monastery or collegiate church at Ottery, and to endow it with the manor, church and advowson. Then followed what is stated p. 12, and on 18 February, 1338, a licence from King Edward to Bishop Grandisson to alienate to the Warden and Canons of Ottery the advowsons of Bridestowe, Bratton, and Ilsington, and to appropriate the churches to their use. But again the Bishop seems to have changed his mind, and on 2 October, 1338, obtained licence to alienate Bridestowe to the Prior and Convent of Plympton, Bratton to the Dean and Chapter of Exeter, and Ilsington to Ottery.

37^m fo. v*Hic incipit tercia pars de statutis, de Luminaribus ecclesie.*1^m ca^mlxxvij. 1. *De exhibicione cereorum et luminarium.*

LUMINARIA igitur ecclesie sancte Marie de Otery, expensis capituli eiusdem, ministrabit Sacrista, viz. ceram, oleum, cepum, necnon et alia ad cultum diuinum spectancia, scilicet, panem et uinum pro sacramento altaris conficiendo, carbones et incensum, et similia, viz. vnum morterium siue crassetum, ardens omni nocte, et vnam lampadem ardentem omni die; mattas eciam pro stallis semel in anno, scilicet in festo omnium sanctorum, carbones, et thus liberum pro toto anno; exceptis illis, que parochianis et clericis aquebaiulis ab antiquo incumbunt, quos, ab aliquibus oneribus, ad que de consuetudine hactenus tenebantur, non intendimus exonerare. Illud uero, quod in Ordinacione ponitur¹ de "fabrica ecclesie sump-tibus collegij reparanda," taliter declaramus quod collegium quicquid est de fabrica ecclesie a magna cruce et supra, cum capella beate Marie, una cum uno campanili, in quo sunt maiores campane, cum omnibus pertinencijs sustinere et reficere teneatur. Item², quod parochiani nauem ecclesie cum alio campanili et "necessarijs" debeant perpetuo reparare. Ne ergo luminaria, per nos ad honorem Dei, et matris lucis eterne ordinata, aliquo tempore, quod absit, per incuriam uel maliciam, aut proprium commodum eorum, qui ut *filij tenebrarum*, pocius *querunt sua, quam que Ihesu Christi*, subtrahantur, uel in aliquo diminuantur, ea presentibus duximus inserenda. Si uero³ aliqui a Deo inspirati et gracia eius preuenienti ipsa luminaria augmentauerint, Lumen eis hic et in celo Deus addat, et *Lux perpetua luceat eis*. Qui autem subtraxerint, *tenebras exteriores, ubi est fletus et stridor dencium*, nisi cicuius resipuerint, incurrant.

¹ Exon. reads "prout" for "ponitur."² "Et" for "item," Winton.³ "Autem" for "uero," "respirati" for "inspirati," and "eterno" for "celo." Exon.38^m fo.
p. 209.

lxxvij. 1. The Canon-Sacrist's duties are described in Statutes xliij, xlv, xlvij, lxij, lxix. The items enumerated in the present Statute that he has to supply are almost identical word for word with those laid down in *Sarum Customs* for the Treasurer, as quoted p. 173. At Ottery they were to be provided "at the expense of the Chapter"; elsewhere a special endowment was attached to the office of Sacrist, e.g. the church of St Probus in Cornwall for the Treasurer at Exeter, *Ord. Exon.*, p. 4, the church of St Colan for

the Sacrist at Glasney. *Reg.* 754. The cost of these articles at Crediton about this period was estimated by Bishop Grandisson (1 July, 1334) "ad onera chori annis singulis subportanda, viz. pro pane et vino ad celebrandum, pro Canonis et Vicariis xiii s.; pro incenso et carbonibus, v s.; pro cera xl s.; pro sepo ad mortariolum ardens continue xiii s. iv d.; pro reparacione librorum, v s.; pro ablucione et reparacione vestimentorum chori, iv s." *Reg.* 753. Roger Perom, Canon-Sacrist and Steward at Ottery, in 1384, enters on his roll for that year, "de expensis sacriste £5. 12s. 2d."; John Hamond, Canon-Sacrist in 1414, enters "soluti pro potu et spicis in cena domini hoc anno 19d., pro duobus seris cum clavibus ostii campanilis 7d., pro una catena empta ad pendendum unum librum in choro 8d., pro compositione trium aubes 14d. (Stat. xliij), pro scirpis (rushes) per totum annum 14d., pro emendacione organorum per manus cantoris 3s. 4d.; pro 140 libris cere ad opus ecclesie de Otery £3. 2s. 6d.; pro 400 libris cepi 34s., precium le centum 8s. 6d.; pro vino empto hoc anno diversis vicibus ad opus ecclesie 17s.; in pane ad celebranda divina sacramenta hoc anno 4s. 6d.; pro mattes hoc anno in choro 14d. obolum; in expensis ad faciendam ceram hoc anno, viz., in cibo et potu 2s. 1d.; pro tribus cordulis emptis ad campanas pulsandas 16d.; pro emendacione campanarum per duos dies 8d.; pro duobus gymeis emptis pro ostio campanilis 6d.; pro rosyn empto ad faciendum ceram hoc anno 3d.; pro lichno (λύχνος) empto pro eisdem cereis 12d.; pro cepo empto pro campanis 3d.; pro uno tintinnabulo empto 8d.; pro emendacione et ligacione librorum 10d.; pro emendacione vestimentorum diversis vicibus quando laventur, 8d.; pro tribus diebus ad mundandum ecclesiam et ad lavandum fenestras in choro, 16d. (Stat. xlvij); pro clavibus emptis ad emendandum campanile 2d.; pro lavacione vestimentorum per annum 2s." Henry Swayne, Chanter and Steward, enters on his roll 1438, "soluciones necessariorum ecclesie, in pane ad celebrationem divinarum 6s.; et in vino ad idem opus 19s.; et in 400 libris cepi pro candelis et mortariolis £1. 12s.; in lichnis emptis 3s.; et in scirpis emptis 2s.; pro reparacione librorum in choro 4d.; pro reparacione campanarum in campanili 10d.; pro factura manutergiorum et tualium 12d. (Stat. xlv); pro reparacione organorum 8d.; plumbario per octo dies laboranti 2s. 8d., et pro prandio ejusdem per idem tempus 1s. 4d., pro novem libris de sowdre 1s. 10d.; pro tribus cordis quarum due erant pro campanis 2s. 10d.; pro custodia horologii 3s. 4d.; pro factura cereorum et torticiorum 4s.; pro prandio operanti per idem tempus 2s.; pro lotrice 2s.; pro factura candelarum cepi 1s. 8d.; pro ligatura unius Antiphonarum 2s.; pro reparacione vestimentorum 12d.; pro reparacione facta in camera presbiteri matutinalis 1s. 10d.; pro factura campane in domo capitulari 15s. 6d.; pro decem virgatis panni linei pro rydelis 5s. 8d.; et pro cera hoc anno £3. Summa £8. 12s. 6d."

In monastic establishments the altar breads were made with the most consummate care. The whole process from the time when each grain of wheat to be used in the flour was selected and picked for its excellence, the taking these to the mill, the grinding, bringing home, the bolting, kneading, and baking, during which certain psalms and prayers were to be said, is fully described in the *Customary of St Augustine's*, i, 119. In secular churches the obleys were prepared from the best wheaten bread and stamped with the houseling irons. "Thus liberum" is "frank incense," the special meaning of the adjective in this combination seems to be "of high quality." *N. E. D.* iv, 512.

The "necessary things," as far as the furniture and ornaments of the church are concerned, which the parishioners had to supply are described p. 169. There was a precise and full list drawn up by Archbishop Winchelsey in 1305, "ne inter rectores et parochianos ambiguitas pro temporibus successivis generetur"; amongst other items are "campanas cum chordis, candelabrum pro cereo paschali, reparacionem navis ecclesie interius et exterius, tam in imaginibus quam in fenestris vitreis, reparacionem librorum et vestimentorum quodcumque contigerit eadem reparacionibus indigere. Cetera autem omnia, tam in reparacione cancelli interius et exterius quam in aliis non hic expressis, secundum diversas ordinaciones et consuetudines approbatas, a locorum rectoribus et vicariis debent in omnibus reparari sumptibus eorum." Wilkins, ii, 280.

In Ord. xxij Bishop Grandisson had ordered that in the fortnight following Easter the Stewards at Ottery were to provide "fabricam ecclesie collegiate sumptibus collegii quotiens oportuerit reparari." By this he now explains that he meant the College portion only, but that as the North Tower (Stat. xv) and Transept belonged to the parish, and the Nave of the church from the Rood screen Westward, the parish was to be responsible for the upkeep of these portions. The wooden roof that still supports the lead spire on the North Tower is of fourteenth century work, and very good. The similar spire on the North Tower at Exeter was removed 25 April, 1752.

Our Lady is styled the Mother of the Eternal Light (p. 146). "Ex te enim ortus est sol justicie Christus Deus noster, qui solvens malediccionem dedit benediccionem, et confundens mortem donavit nobis vitam sempiternam." This is the Anthem at first Evensong, and also the fifth Respond at Mattins, on the feast of

her Nativity, *Sar. Brev.* III, 770, 775, and was quoted by Bishop Grandisson when he signed his will on that day in 1368. *Reg.* 1557. The same words were the Offertory at the mass on the vigil of the Assumption. "Felix namque es sacra virgo Maria et omni laude dignissima, quia ex te ortus est sol justicie Christus Deus noster." In the Sequence on the 8th September she is also addressed as "juxta Filium posita sedes in dextra, Virtus Lampas et Sophia." Cp. the proper Preface for each of her festivals. *Sar. Missale*, 607.

At the blessing of the Lights at Candlemas their symbolism of Christ as the Light of the World was naturally much dwelt upon: e.g. in the *Liber Evesham*, H.B.S. p. 58, in the six collects there given for use on that occasion. In the first the Almighty is invoked as "qui salutare tuum ante faciem omnium populorum esse lumen gentibus et gloriam plebi tue Israel prophetico spiritu Symeonem docuisti, te quesumus domine ut benedicere digneris lumen istud, et omnibus in manibus gestantibus hoc, verum lumen tue majestatis concede." In the second, "benediccionis tue gratiam super hos cereos et candelas benignus infunde, quatinus sic nobis administrent lumen exterius, ut te donante lumen spiritus tui in nostris non desit mentibus interius." In the third, "Domine Jhesu Christe, qui illuminas omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum (St John i. 9), effunde benedictionem tuam super hos cereos, et sanctifica eos lumine gracie tue, et concede propitius ut, sicut hec luminaria igne visibili accensa nocturnas depellunt tenebras, ita corda nostra invisibili igne, id est sancti spiritus splendore illustrata sint, ut omni viciorum cecitate careant, et purgato mentis oculo ea cernere semper possimus que tibi sunt placita et nostre saluti utilia, quatinus per hujus seculi caliginosa discrimina ad lucem indeficientem pervenire mereamur." And again, "Domine deus, pater luminum indeficiens (St James i. 17), qui es conditor omnium luminum, benedic hoc lumen, et ut lumine tue claritatis accendamus et illuminemur propicius concedere digneris; et veluti eodem igne quondam illuminasti Moysen famulum tuum (Exod. iii. 2), ita illumina corda nostra et sensus nostros, ut ad visionem eterne claritatis pervenire mereamur." Similar collects for the same rite are given in *Sar. Miss.*, 702. At the blessing of the new fire and incense on Easter Eve, *ibidem* 335, the prayer "Celesti lumine quesumus Domine semper hic et ubique nos preveni, ut mysterium cujus nos participes esse voluisti, et puro cernamus intuitu et digno percipiamus effectum" is one of the oldest in the Liturgy, being found as a Post-common for the Epiphany in the Gelasian Sacramentary, and also in the Leofric missal at Exeter, p. 68, and as an Easter Post-common in the Gregorian Sacramentary. *Missale Westm.*, H.B.S., III, 1433, 1511.

Filii tenebrarum. "Hoc est autem judicium quia lux venit in mundum, et dilexerunt homines magis tenebras quam lucem; erant enim eorum mala opera. Omnis enim qui male egit odit lucem, et non venit ad lucem, ut non arguantur opera ejus: qui autem facit veritatem venit ad lucem, ut manifestentur opera ejus quia in deo sunt facta. (St John iii. 19-21.) Justorum semita, quasi lux splendens, procedit et crescit usque ad perfectam diem; via impiorum tenebrosa, nesciunt ubi corruant. (Prov. iv. 18.) Iterum ergo locutus est eis Jhesus dicens, Ego sum lux mundi; qui sequitur me non ambulat in tenebris, sed habebit lumen vite. (St John viii. 12.) Adhuc modicum lumen in vobis est; ambulate dum lucem habetis, ut non vos tenebrae comprehendant; qui ambulat in tenebris nescit quo vadat. Dum lucem habetis credite in lucem, ut filii lucis sitis. (xii. 35, 36.) Ego lux in mundum veni ut omnis qui credit in me in tenebris non maneat. (46.)"

The carelessness, ill-will, and niggardliness of the lovers of darkness are described by Bishop Grandisson in St Paul's words, from Phil. ii. 21, and 1 Cor. xiii. 5.

Hic et in celo. "Lux orta est justo, et rectis corde letitia," Ps. xvi. 11. "Dominus illuminatio mea," Ps. xxvi. 1. "Erit tibi Dominus in lucem sempiternam, et Deus tuus in gloriam tuam," Isai. lx. 19. "Emitte lucem tuam et veritatem tuam: ipsa me deduxerunt et adduxerunt in montem sanctum tuum et in tabernacula tua," Ps. xlii. 3. "Quoniam apud Te est fons vite, et in lumine tuo videbimus lumen," Ps. xxxv. 10. "Civitas non eget sole neque luna ut luceant in ea, nam claritas Dei illuminavit eam, et lucerna ejus est Agnus," Apoc. xxi. 23.

"Lux perpetua lucebit sanctis tuis, et eternitas temporum, Alleluia" was the Anthem before the Psalms at first Evensong, before the *Benedictus* at Lauds, and before the *Magnificat* at second Evensong in the Common of Apostles and Evangelists between Ascension Day and Whitsunday. *Sar. Brev.* II, 358; *Ord. Exon.* 281.

The warning as to the outer darkness occurs four times in St Matthew, viii. 12, xiii. 42, xxii. 13, xxv. 30.

The delight felt by pious souls in that age for the full blaze of candle-light at midday is well shown in the account (probably by Adam de Murymouth, Canon of Exeter under Bishop Grandisson, and afterwards of St Paul's) of the visit paid by Cardinal Peter of Spain in the last days of Edward I when he was away in Scotland, to the tomb of his dearly loved Queen Eleanor of Castile in Westminster Abbey, 22 May, 1307.

The great King himself died the following 7 July. The Cardinal "ne in vanum cucurrisse videretur, venit Londoniis; et in crastino octavarum Pentecostes celebravit missam solempnem apud Westmonasterium ob favorem regis, pro anima consortis ejus Alienorae reginae et filiae regis Hispaniae. Fecit autem accendi circa tumulum illius reginae xl. et viii. quadros cereos, unumquemque pondo sedecim librarum, et viginti quatuor ejusdem formae circa tumulum regis Henrici (i.e. Henry III adjoining on the west side) et duodecim cereolos quemlibet pondo unius librae circa feretrum sancti Edwardi. Fecitque locari trabes a columpna marmorea usque ad columpnam ex utraque parte feretri usque ad finem chori, et cereos ejusdem mensure infigi et accendi; spatium inter quemlibet cereum unius pedis et semis erat. Singuli monachi et omnes fratres religiosi de civitate Londoniae, et omnes clerici et laici qui missae intererant, cereolos aequalis mensure in manibus suis gestabant. Pauperibus vero et mendicis omnibus in ecclesia existentibus distribuebantur candelae, unde fulgor radiantium luminarium quasi celum stellatum animos inspicientium jocunditate pervalida exhilaravit." *Annales Paulini*, Rolls Series, p. 256. 245 lbs. of wax were thus expended at her anniversary, cost £6. 18s. 6d. Rock, III, 82. But the heat, the smell, and the mess of the wax over everything must have been prodigious. Five hundred years later another much revered Englishman writes, "What a splendid decoration lighted candles make to a church! I mean the long thin ones that we see abroad. I saw it first at Vienna in the church of the Franciscans; then at Rome in the convent chapel of the French nuns, again at Loretto last week; and now at Naples. There may be from 80 to 150 lights—all the back of the altar is formed of them; and the long thin soft white vertical lines of the candles, and their golden flames have a grace and splendour about them unspeakably beautiful in themselves, and suggestive of all that one connects with light and glory. And like gold, they harmonize with everything, and are effective in sunlight no less than in twilight or darkness." *Life of Sir George Grove*, by C. L. Graves, Macmillan, 1903, p. 183.

2. *De lampade, morterio siue crasseto, continue per noctem ardentibus.*

2^m ca^m

STATUIMUS itaque et ordinamus, quod continue ardeat de die una lampas olei, et de nocte unum morterium, siue crassetum, quod non ita faciliter ut lampas extinguitur; in loco apto et conueniente, ob reuerenciam corporis Christi, ac eciam pro causis ignem requirentibus de die, et pro securitate ecclesie de nocte, ita quod ianue ecclesie non aperiantur de 38^m fo.^v nocte pro igne querendo, aut alia causa, ante incepcionem secunde pulsacionis ad matutinas. In incepcione uero ultime pulsacionis ad matutinas quando de nocte dicuntur, vnus de clericis ecclesie unam candelam in sconsa uel buetta accensam ponat super gradum chori, cum libro Uenitario; ita quod ante incepcionem Inuitatorij lumen sit ibi semper paratum, unde possint accendi alie eciam candeles pro choro.

2. The mortar was a broad bowl of brass, latten, or copper, either with a pricket for a thick lighted taper, or else filled with a mixture of perfumed wax and oil in which a broad wick was kept burning. The cresset was a cup usually of stone or earthenware to hold *crassa* "grease" (hence its name, Ducange), tallow, or other oleaginous stuff, with a wick floating about on a small circle of cork. A square block of stone would sometimes have four, five, or more hemispherical cavities worked in it, each to contain grease and a wick. There is one such still *in situ* in Lewannick Church near Launceston: and one with nine holes at Furness Abbey. Cresset-stones are also said to be found at Wool and Wareham in Dorset, Dearham in Cumberland, Carlisle, Monmouth, York, North Wingfield in Derbyshire, Waverley Abbey, Romsey Abbey, and Parwich. Cp. *English Church Furniture*, Methuen. *Rites of Durham*, Surtees Soc. 1903, p. 195. At the east end of the church at Durham there was in St Katherine's window, "a frame of iron, wherein did stand nine very fine cressetts of earthen mettall filled with tallow, which everye night was lighted when the day was gone to give light to the nine altars and St Cuthbert's feriture in that part and over all the church besides, and did burne unto the next morninge that the day was broken," *ibidem*, p. 3; cp. *Archaeological Journal*, 1882, xxxix, 390, 396. This is the light referred to in Bishop Grandisson's monition, 1 December, 1339 (p. 225). The Lamp to burn all night in the Sanctuary was one of the oldest institutions, 1 Sam. iii. 3, Exod. xxvii. 21, "from evening to morning before the Lord, it shall be due for ever throughout their generations on behalf of the children of Israel," 2 Chron. xiii. 11. Similarly, Walter de Cantilupe of Worcester ordered, 1240 A.D.

"in ecclesiis autem saltem, quarum amplae sunt facultates, continue lampas ardeat, die videlicet et nocte, coram redemptionis nostrae pignore, i.e. Eucharistia." Wilkins, I, 667. At Exeter in the winter half, from All Saints' Day to Easter, two mortars instead of lamps were to burn, one before the High Altar night and day, and the other before the Rood at night only. *Ordinale Exon.*, 539. Bishop Grandisson preferred the mortar or cresset for continuous burning rather than a lamp because "they did not go out so readily," as the latter were wont to do through the carelessness of attendants in not observing when the wick and oil required renewal. In an open mortar or cresset this would be visible to the most careless; in a lamp, where the oil was often enclosed and not open to view, the careless might let it remain too long without replenishing or trimming, and the result would be similar to that which befell the "quinque virgines fatuae quarum lampades media nocte extinguuntur." St Matt. xxv. 8.

The doors of the church were not to be opened before the second toll to Mattins began. There were four tolls before Mattins and Evensong as at Exeter, and each lasted for about ten minutes (Stat. xv, p. 142). The weight of the eight Otery bells is given (p. 51), four in each tower. The way the tolls were sounded varied according to the dignity of the day. In the present Statute everything is ordered to be done with the greatest deliberation at Otery. The clerks who had slept in the church as custodes (p. 49), when they perceived from the clock in the south transept that it was time, were to sound the first toll. Then one of them would begin the second toll, and the other would unlock the doors. Before the beginning of the last toll "when Mattins were said at night" (i.e. in the winter half of the year from the 15th September to Easter: Stat. vj, pp. 135, 143), one of the church clerks was to set a taper either on a sconce, a moveable candlestick of brass, latten, or other metal (at Exeter they were of silver), or else in a closed boîte or lantern (Stat. xlv) on the gradus chori, or floor of the third or middle bay of the choir (p. 56), together with the Venitary book, for the use of the leader more than for the secondaries and boys, as the Invitatories were to be all known by heart (Stat. xj), so that they might be able to sing them without light if need be (Stat. xij); and even all the Psalms at Mattins and Evensong in the same way (Stat. lvij). On the same lectern as the Venitary book would be set the Anthem-book and the Grail before Mass (Stat. xxx). The church clerks and water-clerks were also to take out, "extrahere," at this time from book-presses, and set out in the stalls whatever other books were wanted for the approaching Service (Stats. xxx and xlv, p. 174). The other candles to be lit would be three at least on either side of the choir, and the tapers on the altar-iron and in the basons suspended from the roof, the number of which varied according to the dignity of the day.

3^m ca^m

3. *De pulsacione cum auxilio famulorum.*

IN duplicibus autem festis, maxime in maioribus, custos, minister, cantor, et sacrista, quilibet eorum, unum¹ famulum fidelem, ad pulsandum cum clericis in eorum adiutorium, si oportuerit, transmittant, uel cum eis faciant pernoctare. ¶ Cerei uero circa altare, et alij in locis suis, incipiantur accendi, dum pulsatur ultima uice; tam ad uesperas quam ad matutinas. ¶ Ad missam uero ceroferaria circa finem hore precedentis, quando chorus non regitur, accendantur; ut sint parata ad introitum misse. Quando autem chorus regitur, dum officium primo canitur, ceroferaria deinde alia luminaria debita ante *Gloria patri* accendantur.

39^m fo.
p. 211.

¹ Winton reads "unum," Exon. "suum."

3. On double, and greater, feast days more bells, and in a more elaborate manner than on ordinary days, were to be tolled for service. The Warden, and three senior canons, Minister, Chanter, and Sacrist, would generally have two servants at least apiece: cp. Canon-Sacrist Waterslade's will (*Bishop Both's Reg.*, fo. lxy). Four of these were to be sent across from the Canon's camerae to the church to sound the four college bells, and the two church clerks, and the two water-clerks would toll the four parish bells, when all eight were used on the same day. In mediaeval times bells could not be rung up, or set with their mouths upward, as they were not hung with whole wheels; *pulsatio* therefore means striking only, "tolling" or "knolling." At most they could only be swung up to what is called stock level, with the portion of a wheel then in use. This resulted in *depulsatio*, when the clapper struck first one side and then the other side of the bell as it swung, and the two strokes were produced for every pull of the rope. This was called "ringing out," e.g. "the great bell of St Andrews was to be knolled for so many strokes and then rongen out."

Simpulsatio was when the bell was left hanging mouth downwards, and the clapper was simply moved against the side for one stroke: *compulsatio* was when several bells were rung together; if they were sounded in succession one after the other, it was a *classicum*, or chiming; if "uno et eodem ictu et subito simul," in sign of terror or mourning, it was a *classum*, or clash. When change-ringing was introduced early in the seventeenth century, it led to a complete revolution in the art of bell-founding, as well as of bell-hanging, and whole wheels were necessitated in place of the old half-wheel or three-quarter "dead rope" arrangement. At Exeter in Bishop Grandisson's time there were ten bells. There on greater doubles at Mattins and Evensong two medium-sized bells were used for the first toll, two great ones for the second toll, two still heavier bells for the third toll, and for the fourth toll all ten in succession, "simul omnes campane ad classicum sunt pulsande." At Tierce one of the great bells, "et ad initium misse classicum," and the same at the conclusion of Mass on such high days. On lesser doubles two of the smaller bells were used for the first toll, two of the middle-sized for the second toll, and for the third two of the great bells, and for the fourth a chime of these. Exeter Chapter MS. 3625, fols. 104, 105, printed in *Ordinale Exon.*, p. 535. At Ottery the extra hands would be required as provided in the present Statute for these occasions. But on simple feasts and ordinary week-days their help would be dispensed with, for then the church-clerks and water-clerks could do all that was wanted. At Exeter on simple feasts at Mattins and Evensong the first toll was made with one small bell, the second toll with a larger, the third with two, and the fourth with all, "absque magnis." At Ottery, therefore, only with the four, the quotidiane quatuor, in the North Tower. Stat. xv. On ordinary week-days at Exeter for Mattins and Evensong the first toll was with one of the lesser bells, the second toll with one next in size, the third with one a little larger, and the fourth with the two last mentioned bells, "copulatis." When the last toll was being rung (at Exeter, post primam pulsacionem) all the wax tapers around but not on the altar, and elsewhere ordered for that day, according to its rank and dignity, as subsequently defined, were to be duly lit for Mattins or Evensong. Before Mass on ordinary week-days the two taperers were to have their serges lit before the preceding day-hour was ended in choir. The hour that was being said before Mass would vary; it might be in the case of our Lady's Mass at Ottery, Lauds (Stat. xv), or it might be Prime, Tierce, Sext, or even sometimes None in Lent, but generally it would be Tierce. The taperers were then to be ready to carry their serges in at once with the officiating priest at the Introit, which was on ordinary days "*Ant. Introibo ad altare Dei. Ps. Judica me Deus et discerne. Totus Psalmus (i.e. xlii.) dicitur cum Gloria Patri. Deinde dicitur antiphona Introibo ad altare Dei, ad Deum qui letificat juventutem meam.*" *Sarum Missale*, 579. But when the choir was ruled (that is, when leaders or conductors were required for the more elaborate music) on Sundays and double feasts, and all such as had nine lessons throughout the year, and some few that had three lessons in Eastertide, the taperers were to be ready when the Officium, or special Introit for such Mass, was chanted for the first time (*i.e.* at its opening, not at its repeat). The Officium was the anthem, which varied with the Feastday or the Mass, and usually consisted of two verses of Scripture, the second always the verse of a Psalm, concluding with *Gloria Patri*, after which the first verse was repeated again. The Officium, Collect, Epistle, Grail, Gospel, Offertory, Secret, and Post-common are given for every Sunday, feastday, or special Mass.

4. *De pelui ante magnum altare cum uno cereo pendente.*

4^m ca^m

IMPRIMIS itaque, sit una peluis pendens coram magno altari, ad primum uel secundum gradum eiusdem, quasi inter stacionem diaconi et subdiaconi, cum uno cereo tantum. ¶ Item, sint due columpne eree, cum duobus angelis supstantibus, et duos cereos tenentibus, hinc inde contra altaris cornua, a longe aliquantulum stantes, terre infixæ, habentes ab utraque parte altaris in seipsis cum gracili ferro duas curtinas¹ dependentes. Ex transverso autem ab utraque parte procedant de ipsis ereis columpnis due trabes ferree usque ad columpnas lapideas ecclesie in presbiterio, et supra illas trabes ferreas sint ad minus candelabra 6 ex uno latere, et alia 6 ex alio latere; pro 12^{cim} cereis imponendis.

¹ Winton, "cortinas."

4. The exact position of this bason-serge is clearly marked in the church to this day (p. 62), and the arrangement of the iron beams as clearly traceable (p. 62). Each taper on either beam would have been

distant less than ten inches from its neighbour, as the iron beams on either side from each angel pillar to the choir aisle would be five feet long. The arrangement of the altar irons at Ottery would appear to have been adopted from that which prevailed at the mother church of Rouen, where the high altar at the end of the seventeenth century is said to have been one of the noblest in France. "It was detached from the wall, as the *Rituale* of Rouen directs. The table of the altar was one of the largest that I have ever seen. It had a frontal before it and another above it, before the reredos. Of the same height are four large riddells hung upon four large columns, made of copper, of excellent workmanship, upon which are four angels, also of copper, who carry candles that are lit on double and triple feasts. There are no candles on the altar or retable. Above the retable is an angel kneeling, which holds in its two hands the pix for the Sacrament, hung under a little canopy." *Voyages liturgiques de France*, by De Moleon, Paris, 1718, p. 275, quoted by Dr J. Wickham Legg, on the June sheet of the *English Churchman's Kalendar*, A.D. 1903. The frontispiece of the second volume of Rock's *Church of our Fathers*, 1849, is a copy from Richard II's *Book of Hours* in Brit. Museum, Cotton MSS., Domitian xvii, representing the interior of a collegiate church. At the altar corners standing on the head of the riddell-poles are angels, each holding a pricket for candle in his hands. The illustration may perhaps be intended for the interior of the first St George's Chapel, Windsor. The Canons, twelve in number, all have amesses either on their heads or hanging at the side of the stalls in which they sit. A Bishop in cope and mitre with staff is giving the blessing to a reader from the Dean's stall, apparently himself reading the Ninth Lesson. There is also an engraving at the head of the first chapter of Mabillon's *de liturgia Gallicana*, Paris, 1685, showing the high altar in a large church under a baldachin, with four lofty pillars in front; on the top of each of these stands a huge angel, two of whom are censuring, and a third carries a large cross. On either side of the three steps that lead up to the altar are two lamps burning, supported on four ceroferaria or stands, each of which is another angel, set on the floor of the church. Above them two lights in basons are hanging from the roof, one on either side. There are no candles on the altar, which is spread with a white cloth hanging full, above a plain coloured altar frontal. In the semicircular reredos behind the altar stand five images in as many niches. The pix in the shape of a dove from which light is radiating under a small canopy is suspended in the dome of the baldachin a considerable height above the altar. For further notice of the angel pillars at Ottery, cp. Stat. xlviii, p. 178. In the inventory of the contents of the church made 1545 comprising such things as "be reserved to the Kinges Majesties use," occurs "the yeron in the quere beryng the leightes ther and of the dores prayseed at X.s." At Durham "at the east end of St Cuthbert's feretorie there was wrought uppon the height of the irons towards the Nine altars very fine candlesticks of iron like unto socketts which had lights sett in them before day that everye monk might have the more light to see to read uppon their bookes at the said nine altars, when they said masse, and also to give light to all others that came thither to heare and see the divine service." *Rites of Durham*, p. 6. "At either end of the high altar was a wand of iron fastened in the wall, whereon did hang curtaines or hanginges of white silke dayly." *Ibid.*, p. 7. Cp. Frontispiece of *Sarum Gradual*, 1532, in Rock (1903), I, 48.

5^m ca^m

5. *De duobus ceroferarijs; et pueris ea deferentibus.*

ITEM, sint semper duo ceroferaria, a pueris portanda, super¹ gradum altaris stancia, hinc inde in locis congruis; ne fortuito deiciantur.

¹ Exon, "infra."

5. At Exeter there were four large candlesticks of silver standing "ante altare"; similarly at Ottery Bishop Grandisson appears to wish that the two candelabra usually carried by the two taperers should stand "semper," when not actually carried about, on the floor of the altar step, that is, in the second bay of the presbytery, the one eastward of and one step higher than the gradus chori, and westward of and three steps lower than the altar (p. 56). Here, too, they would, of course, be always set down during the greater portion of the service of the Mass by the boys who brought them in. The candelabra themselves may have been figures of taperers, or angels as in Mabillon's vignette. Care was to be taken that they were not overturned by the boys, or others, when moving about censuring, or raising the torches at the elevation, or otherwise ministering or serving, until the time came for them to be carried out again in procession.

6. *De alia pelui ad gradum chori; pro uno cereo.*6^m ca^m

ITEM, sit ad gradum chori inferius dependens una alia peluis, pro uno cereo imponendo; 39^m fo.^v et sic in choro habeantur in toto 16 ad minus cerei, quando plures simul sunt, in toto anno; exceptis ceroferarijs. Et semper obseruentur, quod quociens aliquis uel aliqui cereus uel¹ cerei accenduntur ex uno latere super trabem, tociens eciam ex opposito tot² pares eisdem ex alio latere accendantur, ita quod semper quantum poterunt, tam in loco et numero, quam in longitudine equaliter et pariter¹ expendantur.

¹ Winton omits "cereus uel" and "pariter."² Winton reads "ut" for "tot."

6. This bason with serge would hang immediately over the lectern that stood in the centre of the gradus chori, and would come down somewhat lower, "inferius," than the other that was in front of the high altar behind the officiating priest (p. 62). The hole in the ribs of the vaulting, through which the chain descended for carrying it, is clearly visible (p. 56). It would thus correspond to the corona, which hung in a similar position at Exeter. When all the serges in choir were lighted there would be at least sixteen on high days; twelve, that is, on the iron rods, two held by the angels on the pillars, and two suspended in basons from the roof. After 1361, when the rectory of Northam was appropriated to the College by Bishop Grandisson, a third bason light, hanging in the very centre of the choir (p. 63), was to be lit on all Sundays and feastdays when the choir was ruled: this would bring up the number of the central bason lights at Ottery to the same number as those that were hanging in that position at Exeter. The Vicar of Ilsington also was bound "unam lampadem ardentem cum oleo de die et mortarium cum cepo de nocte per totum annum in ecclesia Sancte Marie de Otery suis sumptibus exhibere vel ad idem opus unam marcam sterlingorum dicto collegio solvere annuatim." 12 May, 1340. *Reg.* 1335. All the serges were to be watched, "obseruentur," lest when the number that were lighted varied according to the rank of the day, an unequal number be lit on either side the iron rods, and that the tapers set up be always of the same length; otherwise the symmetry of appearance so carefully desired by the Bishop would be spoiled. Cp. *Stats.* xxx, xlij, lxviiij. It is to be observed that only the tapers of honour are thus counted. The taperers' two lights are expressly excluded, and the two of wax set on the altar at Mass time are not mentioned: neither are the candles of tallow for use in the choir, three at least on either side, nor those used by the canons for themselves in the upper stalls. The holes in the roof for the suspension of three of these latter on the Decani side, and two on the Cantoris side are still visible. At Exeter the canons' lights seem to have been hung in similar wise above their seats. At a subsequent period to this Statute two other lights at the eastern end of the gradus chori were suspended one on either side; these may have been the Ilsington and Newenham lights (p. 63). In that position, as marked on the plan of the church, they would have served for the better convenience of the leaders of the choir, and of the player on the pair of organs which were found to have stood there when the inventory of 1545 was made. There was besides these only one other light in the choir, and that hung in front of the westernmost of the three seats in the sedilia. This may possibly have been Bishop Grandisson's own extra light as at Exeter, p. 214.

7. *De uno cereo; in omnibus maioribus duplicibus.*7^m ca^m

ITEM, in omnibus maioribus duplicibus festis, unus ad minus cereus coram altari in capella beate Marie ad matutinas et uesperas de die accendatur. ¶ Preterea duo ad minus cerei sint hinc inde ad altare beate uirginis, et similiter in quolibet altari unus cereus; pro missis ibidem celebrandis. Qui duo ad altare beate Marie, omni die ad missam eiusdem gloriose uirginis, et ad eius Antiphonam post completorium accendantur. Singuli uero alij cerei, ad alia altaria, in missis ibidem dicendis quotidie, et in festis sanctorum, in quorum honore 40^m fo. dedicantur, ad uesperas, matutinas, et missam, que in choro dicuntur, continue accendantur. P. 213.

¶ Item, sit unus cereus ex opposito magne crucis pendens uel fixus uersus populum.

7. Ad altare is "at the altar," in altari "on the altar," coram altari "in front of the altar," hinc inde "on either side" of the altar. The holes from which the two lights, one on either side of the altar, were suspended in the vaulting of the Lady Chapel are no longer traceable since its "restoration" (p. 72). But those for the lights, one on either side of the other altars in the church, are clearly visible (p. 172). At Mass one taper at least was to be on the altar (Stat. xlij), and very often there was no other. *Alcuin Club Collections*, II, 1899. Bishop Grandisson in his will ordered that of the tapers used at his obsequies, each of which was to be of a pound weight, a pair were to be set on each altar throughout the Cathedral, and "let one of them there remain, and the others be distributed among the parish churches in the city." *Reg.* 1511. The ordinance as to the lighting up of the tapers for the altars of the saints in whose honour they were dedicated whenever on their feastdays Evensong, Mattins, or Mass was being said in choir at Ottery, is different from what prevailed at Exeter. There, besides the other lights of honour, "super duo altaria lateralalia (i.e. of St Stephen on the north, and St John the Evangelist on the south side of the high altar) duo de minoribus cereis, scilicet de una libra, sunt ponendi. In utroque festo sancte Crucis super altare Crucis (in the North Tower) duo; et in passione sancti Thome martiris super altare eius (in the second bay from the present west end of the nave) duo cerei. Ad alia altaria ecclesie nunquam ponitur aliquis cereus, nisi quando Processio ecclesie illuc vadit; tunc enim cerei quos portant ceroferrarii ante Processionem super altare ponantur, quamdiu ibi moratur Processio, et in recessu suo secum eos reportant." *Exon. Chapter MS.* 3625, fo. 108; *Ordinale Exon.*, p. 540.

The Light before the Rood hung to the westward of the Rood screen (p. 55), where it could be well seen by the people in the nave.

The arrangements made by Bishop Grandisson for the Lights at Glasney are illustrative of those he made for Ottery. Bishop Bronescombe, 7 September, 1276, appropriated the rectory of St Colan to the collegiate church at Glasney, "proinde celebrem memoriam summi celestis curie paranymphii et humane reparacionis nuncii, sancti Gabrielis archangeli, secunda feria intrantis Septembris mensis, devoto et sollempni obsequio annuatim et perpetuo celebrari cupiens." *Cp. Stat.* xvij, p. 144. From the income of this living the sacrist and his successors were for all time to pay to each of the priest-vicars at Glasney ten shillings every year; "et ad instar novem ordinum Angelorum singulis Canoniceis singulis annis, predictae sollempnitatis suam personalem presenciam exhibentibus, singulos novem denarios, ac singulis vicariis die memorato presentibus singulis quinque denarios; et sollempnia luminaria ad utrasque Vesperas, Matutinas, Horas, et Missam, sicut in die Natalis Domini, durante obsequio memorato, de fructibus ecclesie predictae, sine diminutione qualibet, distribuent et prestabunt imperpetuum; et singulis annis die sollempnitatis predictae singulos sexaginta solidos in panibus pauperibus egenis, pro anima nostra, successorum et benefactorum nostrorum perpetualiter erogabunt." *Reg. Bronescombe*, 244. Bishop Grandisson confirmed this appropriation 1 July, 1334; and after stating that the "laudanda devocio predecessoris nostri basilicam apud Glasney in honorem beati Thome Martiris gloriosi, ab humentibus admodum paludibus erexit et construxit insignem, ibidemque statuit certum canonicorum numerum," but that "fundator ille eximius carnis morte preventus" had never completed what he designed for the sacristan's duties there, proceeded to define what these were. "Idem sacrista, et ejus successores imperpetuum, invenire teneantur unum clericum de secunda forma, habitum in choro deferentem preter alios ante hec tempora in dicta ecclesia servientes, qui ad pulsandum campanas ecclesie et portas clausi ejusdem, debitis temporibus, claudendum et aperiendum oneretur; ita tamen quod claves portarum earundem post ignitegium de nocte in custodia sacriste hujusmodi sive Prepositi qui pro tempore fuerit, remanebunt. Item, quod idem Sacrista consimiliter teneatur invenire panem et vinum pro Eucharistia, ceram et torticias, in forma que sequitur: videlicet, in omnibus Majoribus Duplicibus festis per annum septem cereos ardentem in choro, quorum quatuor sint positi circa altare prout melius poterunt ordinari, et duo ceroferraria coram altare super gradum, et unus pendens in pelvi vel corona inter chorum et altare; et post pelvim sive coronam unam lampadem ardentem de nocte et de die, quando cereus in pelvi vel corona est extinctus, ob reverenciam corporis Christi. Sint etiam exabundanti duo cerei positi, hinc inde, juxta magnam Crucem. Et in Natali Domini, Epiphania, Pascha, et Pentecoste, necnon Assumpcione beate virginis, Gabrielis archangeli et utroque festo gloriosi martiris Thome, sex cerei vel candelae, circulariter positi in parvis candelabris fixis in extremitatibus pelvis vel corone, illuminandi prout patet inferius. In octo igitur predictis Majoribus Duplicibus festis sollempnioribus, ad utrasque Vesperas et ad Missam, omnes septem cerei illuminentur, ad Completiorum extunc ceroferraria ardeant tres; ad Matutinas post secundam pulsacionem accendantur statim ille cereus in pelvi vel corona; et dum pulsatur ultimo accendantur quatuor juxta altare, et alii duo juxta Crucem. Et dum *Gloria Patri* cantatur in ultimo

Responsorio accendantur duo ceroferaria, et extunc ardeant usque ad finem Matutinarum. In die tamen Natalis et Epiphanie, ad utrasque Vesperas propter tardam horam et tempus obscurum, duo juxta Crucem accendantur. In prima Missa in nocte Natalis et Laudibus sequentibus, ac etiam in Laudibus Epiphanie, Pasche, Pentecostes, utroque festo beati Thome et Assumpcionis beate Marie, accendantur omnes cerei sive candelæ in pelvi vel corona. Ad Primam, Terciam, Sextam, et Nonam accendantur unus in medio pelvis sive corone. In aliis Majoribus festis Duplicibus, minus tamen solempnioribus, ad Vesperas et Matutinas quinque tantum accendantur, usque ad ultimum versum Ympni ad Vesperas, et ad Matutinas usque ad *Gloria Patri* noni Responsorii; et tunc primo accendantur ceroferaria usque finitum *Benedicamus*. Cetera ut supra, exceptis cereis in pelvi sive corona. Et sciendum quod, quando unus cereus accenditur, semper sit ille in pelvi sive corona. In omnibus Minoribus festis Duplicibus solempnioribus, quia antiquius institutis, ad Vesperas et ad Matutinas primo quatuor ad *Magnificat* et *Benedictus* ceroferaria, ad Missam duo ceroferaria et duo superius, cum uno in medio pelvis sive corone. In aliis vero festis Minoribus Duplicibus, noviter institutis, ad Vesperas et ad Matutinas, tres primo ad *Magnificat* et *Benedictus* ceroferaria: ad Missam ceroferaria cum duobus aliis, et ad Completorium duo. In festis vero quando Invitorium a tribus cantatur, et sexto die Natalis Domini, et festo sancti Silvestri, feria quinta et sexta et sabbato Pasche et Pentecostes, dominica prima in Adventu, et in Ramis Palmarum, et per totas Octabas Assumpcionis beate Marie, ad Vesperas et ad Matutinas in principio duo et ceroferarium tempore consueto; ad Missam omnes quatuor, scilicet duo ceroferaria cum aliis duobus. In ceteris festis novem lectionum, vel trium cum regimine chori, per totum annum, ad Vesperas, Completorium et Matutinas, unus solus in pelvi vel corona; set ad *Magnificat* et *Benedictus* et Missam addantur ceroferaria. In festis trium Leccionum sine regimine chori, et feriis, per totas Vesperas, Completorium et Matutinas, tam de die quam de sancta Maria, unus solus in pelvi sive corona. Ad antiphonam tamen de sancta Maria post Completorium semper duo de cetero, vel plures, juxta devocionem offerre volencium, accendantur. Teneatur insuper idem Sacrista et sui successores imperpetuum invenire suis sumptibus incensum liberum, carbones, mattas et stramenta pro tota ecclesia, et cordas etiam campanarum. Habebunt insuper idem Sacrista et successores sui custodiam librorum, vasorum, vestimentorum, et omnium aliorum ornamentorum ecclesie predictæ et emendacionem eorundem, ipsis per dictos Prepositum et Capitulum semel prius sufficienter et decenter reparatis, nisi de novo fuerint construenda. Idem etiam et sui successores, una cum Preposito ecclesie collegiate antedictæ et suis successoribus, curam diligenter impendant quod silentium ibidem in choro firmiter observetur, et in cantando et psalmodizando pausacio et punctuacio rite teneantur, cum cohercione Canonica, auctoritate nostra in non observantibus exercenda." The sacrist was to receive six marks, and all the wax offered in the church, as additional income, and to take a corporal oath on the gospels, "de corporali et continua, vera et non ficta, residencia infra clausum Glasneye facienda." *Reg.* 755, 6. This residence the Bishop afterwards explained was to be "residencia continua vel interpolata per tres partes anni, annum in quatuor dividendo: presertim cum in ea parte intelligenda est civilis condicio, etiam si minime apponatur." And he was to be in residence at the "Majora Duplicia festa, nisi justa et rationabilis corporis necessitas aut evidens ecclesie utilitas eum abinde excusaret." 21 July, 1336. *Reg.* 821.

8. De torticijs pro magna missa; pro corporis Christi elevatione.

8^m ca^m

ITEM, semper habeantur duo magna torticia, pro magna missa, et alia duo similia, pro missa beate Marie, que quotidie accendantur ad elevationem. ¶ Et¹ in nocte natiuitatis domini ad primam missam, ab elevatione usque ad finem tocius misse ardeant, et teneantur hinc inde iuxta altare a longe, propter distillationem super uestimenta cauendam, et asportentur tunc in fine misse ante sacerdotem.

¹ Winton inserts "duo" before "in nocte" and omits "tocius."

8. The serges usually set on the altars at Exeter were each 1 lb. in weight, and if they were one inch in diameter would then be 3 ft. in length. The cerei grossiores or torches of wax weighed 6 lbs., 4 lbs., and 3 lbs. Four such were to be in daily use at Ottery for a few minutes at the High Mass in Choir, and at our Lady's Mass in her chapel. *Stats.* xv and xx. They would be lit when the Priest in the Canon of the Mass came to the words *Hanc igitur*, and reared aloft when he elevated the Host after the words of institution; they remained lighted till he replaced the chalice on the corporal, and as he proceeded with *Unde et memores*

they were extinguished. Their lifting up was thus in manner of a salute, and also the practical effect would be that the light from them would render the Priest's action more clearly visible to the worshippers in the choir or church at a distance. Means were also taken to render the Host more visible by spreading sometimes a black cloth about 1 ft. square immediately behind it as a background, which was hung upon a little cord above the altar. The deacon, or one of the attendants at a sign from him, drew the curtain to the middle of the altar when the large serges were lighted, and when they were put out the curtain was drawn back. J. Wickham Legg, *Tracts on the Mass*, H.B.S., 1904, p. 235.

The practice itself of elevating the Host after the words of institution only began in France in the latter part of the eleventh century, in consequence of the controversy stirred by Berengar of Tours, a pupil of Erigena, as to the nature of the Real Presence: he died 1088, and his great opponent, Archbishop Lanfranc, died 1089. The custom spread by slow degrees throughout the West, till by the thirteenth century it had become universal in the Latin Church. Honorius III, A.D. 1219, seems to have been the first pope to give it formal recognition, "sacerdos quilibet frequenter doceat plebem suam, ut, quum in celebratione missarum elevatur hostia salutaris, quilibet se reverenter inclinet." *Decretal Gregor. IX*, lib. III, tit. xli, c. 10. Archbishop Langton is the first to mention it authoritatively in England, at the Council of Oxford, 1222 A.D. "Frequenter moneantur laici, ut ubicunque videant corpus domini deferri, statim genua flectant, tanquam creatori et redemptori suo, et junctis manibus, quousque transierit, orent humiliter, et hoc maxime fiat tempore consecrationis in elevatione hostiae, quum panis in verum corpus Christi transformatur." Wilkins, I, 594. Since the words of the Canon were said "tacita et humili voce ita quod a circumstantibus seu interessentibus missae non audiantur," but nevertheless "plane distincte secrete et reverenter," some signal would very soon have been found useful to call the attention of the worshippers to the moment of elevation, lest it should pass without their observing it. This was done by the sacring bell, which was either suspended on the rood screen or rung by hand. Walter de Cantilupe, Bishop of Worcester, ordered, 1240 A.D., "Cum in celebratione missae corpus Domini per manus sacerdotum in altum erigitur, campanella pulsetur, ut per hoc devotio torpencium excitetur, ac aliorum charitas fortius inflammetur. Quod autem a religiosis illis quoad elevationem, ut videri possit ab astantibus, observari precipimus, qui non servaverunt, ut dicitur, hactenus hoc statutum." Wilkins, I, 667. In 1281 A.D. Archbishop Peckham ordered that not only the sacring bell inside the church, but also the sanctus bell hung over the chancel gable, or others in the belfry, should also be rung. "In elevatione ipsius corporis domini pulsetur campana in uno latere (i.e. simpulsatio, p. 233) ut populares, quibus celebrationi missarum non vacat quotidie interesse, ubicunque fuerint, seu in agris, seu in domibus, flectant genua, indulgentias concessas a pluribus Episcopis habituri." Wilkins, II, 52. Lyndwood, lib. III, tit. 23, p. 231, "genua, saltem cordis." The prayer to be said was "Ave verum corpus natum Ex Maria virgine, Vere passum immolatum In cruce pro homine; Cuius latus perforatum Vero fluxit sanguine, Esto nobis pregustatum Mortis in examine. O clemens, o pie, O dulcis Jesu fili Marie nobis peccatoribus quesumus miserere." "Ubi enim sunt duo vel tres congregati in nomine meo, ibi sum in medio illorum." St Matt. xviii. 20. Bishop Quivil of Exeter, 1287 A.D., ordered "in elevatione ter tangatur campana maior." He also required a hand sacring bell to be found by every parish in his diocese (p. 169) and hoped for the two torches as well. "De parochianorum eleemosynis sacerdotes procurent duos fieri torticios in canone missae ardentes, prout in ecclesiis multis hactenus fieri consuevit. Ut autem ad idem efficiamus subditorum animos promptiores, omnibus parochianis nostris contritis et confessis, qui in hac parte manus porrexerint adjutrices, xv. dies de penitentia sibi injuncta misericorditer relaxamus." Wilkins, II, 132. It is not impossible that Bishop Grandisson, who was not over-fond of the sound of bells (Stat. lxxiv), may have designed the torches to be used daily at Otery instead of the sacring bell: otherwise they would be in addition to that ceremony.

On Christmas day there would be three masses. The first was sung usually by the Bishop, or some high dignitary, immediately after *Te deum* at Mattins with particular ceremonies. *Use of Sarum*, I, 129. "Si Episcopus debet dicere ultimam missam, dicat istam primam decanus, nisi forte Episcopus ex devotione voluerit eam dicere. Nam dominus papa Romanus dicit omnes tres, si commode possit." *Ordinale Exon.*, p. 66. Lauds immediately followed, and then the second mass, which was taken by the Chancellor. Prime, Tierce, and Sext were said directly afterwards, and after Procession came the third mass, with the same ceremonies as the first. There were more than the usual number of attendants before the altar in rear of the officiating priest at the first mass; hence Bishop Grandisson's caution to the taperers to be careful how they carried the torches, and to stand away on either side clear of the group lest the dripping wax should soil their vestments (cp. Stats. xxxiv, xxxv), especially as on this Christmas morn they were not as usual to be

put out at *Unde et memores*, but held steadily up until the end of the Mass, and then be borne before the priest as he left the altar.

On Easter morn, when the Host and Cross were taken from the sepulchre on the north side of the altar (p. 57) where they had been placed on Good Friday, the Procession "*fiet ad resurreccionem ante Matutinas in aurora.*" "In die Pasche in aurora diei ante pulsacionem campanarum, et ante eciam Matutinas, convenient clerici omnes et laici ad ecclesiam et accendantur omnia luminaria per ecclesiam. Episcopus et Decanus, vel alie duo digniores persone presentes, in superpelliceis cum ceroferariis et thuribulariis albis indutis ad Sepulcrum, una cum toto choro circumstante, accedant; et facta devota genuflexione, incensatoque prius sepulcro, cum magna veneracione corpus dominicum accipientes privatim super altare deponant. Item accipientes cum genuflexione crucem de sepulcro inchoent Episcopus et Decanus si adsint, sin autem, Decanus cum alia excellentiore persona, alta voce hanc Antiphonam *Christus resurgens*, cum qua antiphona eat processio, choro canente totam antiphonam, cum versu [*Ex mortuis jam non moritur: mors illi ultra non dominabitur: quod enim vivit, vivit Deo.* Rom. vi. 9, 10. *Alleluia. Alleluia* cum suo versu. *Dicant nunc Judei, quomodo milites custodientes sepulcrum perdidierunt regem ad lapidis positionem: quare non servabant petram justicie? aut sepulcrum reddant: aut resurgentem adorent nobiscum dicentes, Alleluia. Alleluia*]. Et tunc pulsentur omnes campane in classicum; et sic cum magna veneracione deportetur crux solempniter inter eos super brachia, et thuribulariis et ceroferariis precedentibus per hostium australe presbiterii incedentes et circumeundo per medium chori regredientes, choro sequente habitu non mutato, scilicet in capis nigris, ad locum ubi provisum fuerit, excellentioribus personis precedentibus. Finita antiphona cum suo versu a toto choro, dicat excellentior persona in ipsa stacione ante altare ad clerum conversus hunc versum, *Surrexit dominus de sepulcro. Resp. Qui pro nobis pependit in ligno. Alleluia*; cum oracione *Deus qui pro nobis [Filius tuum crucis patibulum subire voluisti, ut inimici a nobis expelleres potestatem: concede nobis famulis tuis ut in resurreccionis eius gaudiis semper vivamus]*. Nec precedat nec subsequatur *Dominus vobiscum*, set finiatur per *Christum dominum nostrum*. Finita oracione omnes cum gaudio genua flectant ibidem, et ipsam crucem adorent, in primis a dignioribus personis. Interim pulsetur ad Matutinas. Hiis itaque peractis eant clerici in choro et orando secrete expectent quousque inchoentur Matutine post debitam campanarum pulsacionem." *Ordinale Exon.*, p. 139. Cp. *Use of Sarum*, I, 153; *Sarum Processionale*, 92.

9. De die pasche; et festorum distincione.

9^m ca^m

IN die eciam Pasche ad resurreccionem ardeant usque post tunc processionem. Ad maiorem uero evidenciam sequencium luminarium accendendorum, Primo est sciendum quod aliqua de festis maioribus duplicibus dicuntur principalia [maiora¹] duplicia, Alia [secundaria¹] maiora duplicia. ¶ Item, de minoribus duplicibus festis, aliqua uocantur media duplicia, quia non sunt de maioribus duplicibus, nec eciam de minoribus duplicibus. Alia eciam sunt, que dicuntur minora duplicia simpliciter.

¹ Winton omits "maiora" and "secundaria."

De festis semiduplicibus et nominacione aliorum.

ITEM, alia dicuntur semiduplicia, que habent Inuitatorium triplex. Item, alia dominicalia, 40^m fo.^v uel simplicia festa dicuntur; quociens scilicet chorus regitur. Cetera uero festa sine regimine chori ferialia nuncupantur.

9. At Sarum, "Festum dividitur in festum duplex, et in festum simplex. Festum duplex dividitur in Principale duplex, in Majus duplex, in Minus duplex, in Inferius duplex. Festum simplex dividitur in Invitatorium triplex, Invitatorium duplex, Invitatorium simplex." *Sar. Brev.*, II, 462-3. On all these the choir was "ruled," i.e. led by conductors. There were four rulers on double feasts, and two (the hebdomadary priests) on simples. *Use of Sarum*, I, 32. Simple feasts of three lessons without rulers were "ferialia," and the service was as on ordinary week-days. *Ibid.*, 195. Invitatorium triplex was sung by three persons, duplex by two, simplex by one person. On double feasts it was sung by four. On all the majora

duplicia there was always a procession, and the anthem to the *Magnificat* at first Evensong was doubled, and there was elaborate censing at Evensong and Mattins, and silk copes were worn for the seventh, eighth, and ninth lessons. There were also other special arrangements for service on double feasts. *Use of Sarum*, I, 291.

"In Exoniensi ecclesia distinguuntur festa, seu officia divina, per septem gradus, videlicet per majora duplicia, media duplicia, minora duplicia, semiduplicia que dicuntur Invitatorium triplex, ac simplicia profesta et ferialia." *Ordinale*, pp. 15, 463.

10^m ca^m

10. *De festis principalibus.*

In principalibus itaque duplicibus festis maioribus¹, (que sunt hec, prima dies Natalis domini, Epiphania, dies Pasche, Pentecostes, dies Assumpcionis beate Marie, et Omnium Sanctorum,) quando classicum breue pulsabitur in primo signo ad Matutinas, ita quod due campane medie perseuerent alijs cessantibus, tunc in primis, et secundis Uesperis, et ad Missam accendantur continue 8 ad minus cerei, circa altare, viz., ille in pelui coram altari magno, et alius in pelui ad gradum, et tres in candelabris² ferreis ex uno latere, et alij tres ex alia parte super trabes stantes. Ad Matutinas uero in predictis festis superaddantur³ predictis cereis duo hinc, et duo inde super easdem trabes. In fine eciam ultimi Responsorij superaddantur alij duo super trabes ferreas. Qui omnes deinde, usque ad finem Matutinarum, ardendo perseuerent. Et in nocte Natalis domini eciam omnes illi per totam primam Missam accendantur. Ad Primam tunc in choro, et ad alias horas diei, ardeat solus ille in pelui ante altare, nisi in die Pentecostes ad Terciam, tunc uero septem, id est, tres hinc et alij tres inde super trabes, cum illo in pelui coram altare. Ad Completorium uero per totum annum, tot ardeant luminaria, quot ad Uesperas, exceptis ceroferarijs.

De matutinis.

De lumine
natalis
domini in
nocte.

41^m fo.

p. 215.

De prima et
alijs horis.

¹ Winton omits "maioribus."

² Winton reads "super trabes ferreas."

³ Winton omits "superaddantur" and inserts "octo."

10. At Exeter, "Majora duplicia et principalia, que habent in prima pulsacione ad Matutinas classicum et luminaria in deambulatorijs (i.e. either in the triforium, sometimes called an ambulatory, or on the parapets of the trellised gallery which runs along the bases of the clerestory windows above it, and forms one of the most striking features of the cathedral), et ad Invitatorium quatuor canonicos, et ad regendum chorum duos canonicos et duos vicarios, sunt hec—dies Natalis Domini, Pasche, Ascensionis, Pentecostes, Corporis Christi, apostolorum Petri et Pauli, Assumpcionis beate Marie, Gabrielis archangeli." *Ordinale Exon.*, p. 15, to which is added Dedicacionis ecclesie, fo. 102. The last but one of these feasts was altogether peculiar to Exeter (p. 144). SS. Peter and Paul was the Patronal feast, 29 June. At Ottery the Assumption, 15 August, St Edward's Day, 13 October, and All Saints' Day, 1 November, might each be regarded as a patronal feast (p. 12).

At Sarum, the Principal doubles were Christmas Day, the Epiphany, Easter Day, Ascension Day, Whitsunday (not Corporis Christi), the Assumption, and the festum loci et festum dedicationis. *Sar. Brev.*, II, 462; *Use of Sarum*, I, 29. At Exeter, Ascension Day was a Principal double, but not at Ottery, where the Epiphany has this honour instead, which it had not at Exeter.

As to the Bells, at Exeter there were four peals before service (p. 233), each ordinarily of about ten minutes' duration (p. 142). "In maioribus duplicibus festis utreque Uespere et Matutine in pulsacione consonant. Primo enim [sonitu] due mediocres, secundo due magne, tercio due maiores, si habeantur, et quarto simul omnes campane ad classicum sunt pulsande. Sunt tamen quedam festa privilegiata, que habent ad initium primi sonitus Matutinarum quoddam magnum classicum (this was to be "breve" at Ottery according to present Statute) eque magnum quarto; videlicet primus dies Natalis, primus dies Pasche, dies apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et dies assumpcionis beate Virginis." *Exon. MS.* 3625, fo. 104; *Ordinale Exon.*, p. 535. At Ottery, as there were more lights to be seen to on these Principal doubles, they were to begin lighting up earlier than on ordinary days, when it was sufficient if they did so during the last toll. *Stat. lxxvij*, 2, 3 (p. 232, 3). The iron beams and the central bason light are described p. 234. These iron beams with the two angels would carry fourteen lights, or twice as many as were the septem lampades

dependentes ante altare at Exeter, which were in use there, apparently in lieu of the seven-branched candlestick, of the thirteenth century, which at best was an inconvenient thing on the floor of the sanctuary. The bason serge at the choir step is described p. 235. The additional lights to be kindled at the last Respond were in honour of the Gospel then read.

As to the lights at Exeter, "In omni maiori duplici festo ad utrasque Uesperas cum Completorio, et ad Matutinas cum Laudibus, et ad Missam ardebunt decem lampades (of oil), scilicet septem ante altare, et tres ante crucem (the Rood). Et accendende sunt lampades omni die per annum, sive festum sit duplex sive non, post primum sonitum Uesperarum, et Matutinarum, et in inicio Missarum dum cantatur hora ante Missam, quibus completis extinguende sunt. Post sonitum vero tertium Uesperarum et Matutinarum accendendi sunt omnes cerei (the wax serges) ante classicum (the last peal) et similiter ante classicum Misse dum hora preambula cantatur. Ad Matutinas tamen quinque cerei, qui ponendi sunt in corona chori, accensis lampadibus, statim illuminandi sunt post primam pulsacionem. In talibus ergo festis ultra altare inter feretra (containing the Relics, *Leofric Missal*, F. E. Warren, 1883, lxi, 3-5, which probably stood in the large broad niches in Bishop Stapledon's magnificent altar screen erected 1322 A.D. and resembled those at Ottery) erunt decem cerei, et ante altare super quatuor candelabra (of silver, standing two on either side of the altar step) quatuor grossiores, preter illum qui semper ardet in bacino. (This was supplied by the Dean, and hung immediately behind the celebrant in the centre.) Super duo altaria lateralibus (St Stephen's on the north side of the sanctuary and St John the Evangelist's on the south) duo de minoribus, scilicet de una libra, sunt ponendi. Preterea ad Matutinas tantum ponende sunt in omni maiore duplici festo octo grosse candelae super trabem Crucis, et accendende sunt post secundum sonitum. In nocte vero Natalis Domini, et in die Pasche, et in die Pentecostes, et in passione apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et in Assumpcione beate Marie, ad Matutinas ponende sunt in singulis fenestris superioribus due candelae grosse, que tantum ad ipsas Matutinas ardebunt a principio ad finem. (These are those referred to above, in deambulatoriis; two on the balustrade in front of each of the fourteen windows in the clerestory of the choir would thus diffuse most effectively a bright light upwards over all the carved and coloured vaulting of the church.) Ad Primam, accendendi sunt tres cerei tantum, scilicet unus ultra altare, et duo ante; et isti vel alii eorum loco, ardebunt sine intermissione usque ad complecionem horarum post Missam, nisi forte servicium inter Primam et Terciam, vel inter Terciam et Missam per aliqua placita vel etiam sermonem differatur: tunc enim de necessitate non ardebunt. Ad Processiones vero que fiunt ad Uesperas in die Natali Domini et tribus diebus sequentibus, dum Processio vadit ad altare beate Uirginis vel circa chorum, ponendi sunt et illuminandi quinque cerei in corona, et octo candelae super trabem Crucis (over Rood loft) sicut ad Matutinas, et ardebunt usque ad finem Completorii." "Per quinque dies Natalis, ut in primo, sex cerei inter feretra, tres super magnum altare (one, that is, before the figures of our Lord and blessed Mary in the centre, *Ordinale*, p. 64, in whose honour the altar was dedicated, p. 65 *n. supra*, and one each before the statues of St Peter and St Paul that stood on either side the same, *Ordinale*, p. 24: Bishop Grandisson's ivory triptych in the British Museum, if not an exact reproduction of the imagery above the high altar at Exeter, gives at any rate a fair representation of it, p. 68), ante illud altare quatuor cerei, ad duo altaria duo cerei. In corona quinque, super trabem crucis octo grosse candelae, decem lampades, si oleum habetur. Et talis est ordo in Epiphania, et in Purificatione beate Marie, et in quatuor diebus Pasche, et in die Ascensionis, et in die Reliquiarum (at Exeter, the Monday after Ascension day, *Ordinale*, 164), et in quatuor diebus Pentecostes, et in die Trinitatis, et in die sanctorum Petri et Pauli, et in Assumpcione sancte Marie, et in die sancti Petri ad vincula, et in die omnium sanctorum." Exon. MS. 3625. *Ordinale Exon.*, pp. 539-542. The lighting up of the great churches at this period was a work of fine art, and the effect that would be produced was carefully thought out in detail as to the subdued but penetrating lustre of the wax lights and oil, disposed singly or in masses where required, on the ground, or in mid air, or aloft in the clerestory, just in the same way as the effect of a fresco or an embroidery, or a stained-glass window or a piece of mosaic was carefully studied and elaborated; and for dignity and devotion was as superior to the modern gas-jets in a nave, and the German Christmas-tree-like bedizenment of the altar now in vogue, as the old frescoes and needlework and glass are better than ours. Archbishop Temple, who was Bishop Grandisson's successor at Exeter, 1869 to 1885, speaking at Sarum, 11 July, 1898, said: "Whenever people come here to worship they feel the beauty and the magnificence around them to be offerings of deep devotion and of real affection. Here, we lift up our hearts, and the very building seems to bid us do it. We are drawn towards heavenly things, and whilst our hearts are kindled, our imaginations are lifted up to the very throne of God. The power of beauty which thus elevates and attracts, we desire to dedicate to Him to whom we owe all things. Whatever is beautiful, be it music or be it architecture,

God has appointed to do its work in our souls, and we use these things in the hope that so our own souls may be the better attuned to the worship of the Father."

In ordering eight wax serges at least about the altar on these days at Ottery, Bishop Grandisson follows the Sarum rather than the Exeter custom. At Sarum there were at both the Evensongs, at Mattins, and at Mass eight serges each of one pound weight at least "circa altare, et duos cereos coram imaginem beate Marie. Et preterea sex alios in eminencia coram reliquiis et crucifixo et imaginibus ibi constitutis, et in corona ante altare sex," each of half a lb. weight at least. *Use of Sarum*, I, 4. Though these eight were used not only on the principal but on all greater doubles as well, whereas at Ottery the Bishop requires but six only on these last. This is another instance of what he lays down in Stat. vij and lxxv.

For the first Mass on Christmas Day cp. p. 238. On Whitsunday, "Finito Capitulo, ante Processionem, ad Terciam post aspersionem aque benedicte statim totus chorus in capis sericis induatur, et accedant septem de excellentioribus personis ad gradum chori cum suis capis sericis, et ibi incipiatur *Deus in adiutorium* ab excellentiore persona, qui stat in medio. Deinde dum chorus dicit *Domine ad adiuvandum me festina*, etc., procedant ad gradum altaris et ibi incipiant omnes illi septem simul hunc ymnum *Ueni creator spiritus*, cum genuflexione osculantes gradum altaris. Totus chorus surgendo in quolibet versu prosequatur simul, et interim thurificent altare septem simul osculantes in fine altare. Modo predicto omnes versus a senioribus incipiantur et similiter a toto choro simul percantentur hac die tantum." *Ord. Exon.*, p. 168. *Sar. Brev.*, I, mviii. Similarly on that day the Bishop if he celebrated High Mass had seven deacons, and seven subdeacons to assist (*Use of Sarum*, I, 62), as a memorial of the sevenfold gifts of the Holy Spirit. *Isai. xi. 2, 3.* Tierce on this day was accentuated, because of the descent of the Holy Spirit "hora diei tertia." *Acts ii. 15.* The seven lights before the altar at Ottery at this hour were apparently not used either at Exeter or Sarum. Bishop Grandisson would think of the "septem lampades ardentes ante thronum, qui sunt septem spiritus dei." *Apoc. iv. 5; cp. i. 4; iii. 1; v. 6.*

11^m ca^m

11. *De festis secundarijs maioribus duplicibus.*

IN ceteris uero secundarijs¹ maioribus duplicibus festis¹ (scilicet, Purificacionis, Annunciacionis, Ascensionis, Trinitatis, Corporis Christi, Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, Natiuitatis beate Marie, Sancti Edwardi regis et confessoris, et Dedicacionis ecclesie), ad utrasque Uesperas, accendantur continue 6 cerei, scilicet ille in pelui ante altare magnum et alius in pelui ad gradum chori, et 4^{uor} alij iuxta altare super trabes ferreas; hinc inde. ¶ Ad De matutinis. Matutinas uero et ad *Te Deum laudamus* et *Benedictus*, et per totam magnam Missam, duo ceroferaria cum eisdem 6 cereis semper accendantur. Ad Matutinas uero in eisdem festis 41^m fo.^v alij 4^{uor} ultra illos sex de Uesperis super trabes ferreas hinc inde superaddantur. ¶ In fine uero ultimi Responsorij illi eciam in manibus angelorum accendantur. Ad alias autem horas, excepto Completorio, ardeat ille unus in pelui tantum coram magno altari.

¹ Winton omits "secundarijs" and "festis."

11. At Exeter, A.D. 1337, "alia maiora festa duplicia sunt ista, sine tamen classico et sine luminariis in deambulatoriis, Epiphania domini, Purificacio, cathedra sancti Petri (22 February), Annunciacio, festum Reliquiarum (Monday after Ascension Day), festum Trinitatis, ad vincula Sancti Petri (1 August), octava Assumpcionis (22 August), nativitas beate Marie (8 September), omnium Sanctorum, festum dedicacionis (18 December, p. 65 n.)." *Ordinale Exon.*, p. 15. "Hec autem sunt festa maiora duplicia in quibus ad primas Uesperas tantum, antiphona super psalmum *Magnificat* tota cantabitur antiphona ante psalmi intonacionem, et altare maius, cum duobus aliis in choro existentibus, ab executore officii cum alio consocio incensabuntur, dum psalmus *Magnificat* cum sua antiphona canitur. Et tunc semper omnes lecciones in capis sericis legantur, et sua Responsoria similiter in capis sericis cantentur, ac in ipsis festis semper fiat Processio, in quacunque feria contigerint, videlicet, primus dies Natalis Domini, dies Epiphanie, Purificacio, Cathedra sancti Petri, dies Annunciacionis beate Marie, Ascensionis Domini, festum reliquiarum, primus dies Pentecostes, sancte Trinitatis, dies solemnitis Corporis Christi, apostolorum Petri et Pauli, dies sancti Petri ad vincula, Assumpcionis et Nativitatis beate Marie, sancti Gabrielis, omnium sanctorum, et dedicacionis ecclesie. Tunc executor officii, assumpto secum uno alio, in capis sericis accedant ad maius altare et illud simul

incensent; deinde unus incenset unum altare in presbiterio a latere dextero, et alius aliud a sinistro; deinde ambo vadant ad altare beate Marie et illud similiter incensent. Et sic unus ex parte australi et alius ex parte boreali intrent chorum, et in locis suis se recipiant et a pueris thuribulariis incensentur; et postea rectores et chorus hinc inde more solito. Iste modus observetur per totum annum in festis maioribus predictis." *Ord. Exon.*, p. 62. The lights in use at Exeter on these greater doubles are enumerated in the preceding note; and the extra lights ordered by Bishop Grandisson, 1338, for the octave of the Assumption, for St Edward's Day, and for the translation of St Thomas the Martyr on p. 215. At Ottery the older dedication by Bishop Bronescombe was on 4 December (p. 11), but there may have been another subsequently when the dedication crosses on the present church were used (pp. 20-22). St Edward the Confessor died 5 January, and his translation was on 13 October. "Translacio sancti Edwardi regis et confessoris duplex festum medium. Et sciendum est quod iste sanctus Edwardus fuit nepos illius qui vocatur Martir, et hic Confessor; qui decessit Londonie in vigilia Epiphanie, sed quia eiusdem festum non potest tunc commode fieri, fit hic solempnus, quia ipse sedem Exonie Episcopalem constituit, Leofricum ipsemet cathedrando." *Ordinale Exon.*, p. 267. Bishop Grandisson obtained, 1343, indulgences for all visiting Ottery St Mary, on the festivals of the blessed Virgin, of St Edward the Confessor, of the Dedication, and during their octaves (p. 227). St Edward had a special aisle and altar at Ottery (p. 37), and the wish to honour him there had moved Bishop Grandisson to the erection of the collegiate church at the place of his old manor (p. 86). Further arrangements to be observed on the greater doubles at Ottery are specified, Stat. xxv, xxxv, xl, lxxvij, 3, 7.

12. De uigilijs pasche et pentecostes.

12^m ca^m

IN uigilijs uero Pasche et Pentecostes, ad officium ante *Kyrie*, et *Confiteor*, duo ceroferaria cum illo in pelui accendantur. Ita tamen, quod in uigilia Pasche iuxta Ordinale omnes excepto illo in hasta extinguantur, ante benedictionem cerei paschalis; et postea infra benedictionem, tam ille quam alij 4^{uor} circa altare cum ceroferarijs, accendantur. Et in uigilia Pentecostes ad *Kyrie*¹, totidem sex accendantur.

¹ Winton omits "ad Kyrie," and reads "septem" for "sex."

12. On Easter Eve Mattins and Lauds would have been said with Tenebrae, and afterwards been followed by Prime and the Chapter Service. Tierce, Sext, and None were said before Mass with its special and peculiar adaptations on this day.

This was preparatory to the hallowing of the new fire and light about to take place; and at the same time every spark of fire not only in the church but in the houses was this day extinguished until rekindled by that blessed in church and carried home thence by the faithful for all the cold hearths in the village or town. A very natural symbolism led to the adoption of these ceremonies at this time of year taken over from pre-Christian Celtic ancestry. "The death of Christ followed quickly by His resurrection, found an expressive image in the fire, candle, or lamp, which, being extinguished, can be lit again. We know what importance is still attached in our days to the ceremony of the new fire in the Easter ritual of the Greek Church at Jerusalem. In the East however this ceremony does not extend beyond the Holy City. It is not found in the ordinary Byzantine ritual. In the West we learn from the legend of St Patrick (433 A.D.) that it was customary for the Irish, as early as the fifth century, at latest, to kindle great fires at nightfall on Easter Eve: they were lighted not from other fires but from flints; and so were really new fires." (The Spring equinox was the beginning of the New Year to them, and of old they then did reverence to the mystery of light and heat in Nature, "the fire whereby the blood beats, and the blossom blows, and the sea rolls, and all the world is warmed.") "This custom appears to have been peculiar to the British or Irish and to have been conveyed, through the Anglo-Saxons, to the continent by St Boniface of Crediton and other missionaries of the eighth century. There is no trace of it in the ancient Merovingian books. It was not known moreover at Rome. The custom furthermore of solemnly blessing the Easter candle, and the lights of the church generally at the beginning of the holy night, was one foreign to Rome. Outside Rome (that is, in Northern Italy, Gaul, and Spain), the blessing of the Paschal candle was an ancient custom. The same may be said perhaps of Africa also." Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, p. 250. To bring down fire from heaven direct from the sun was the work of priests in several nations to impress the worshippers with the sacred character of their sacrifices. The practice was found by the Spaniards among the Peruvians.

"A fire was kindled by means of a concave mirror of polished metal which, collecting the rays of the sun into a focus upon a quantity of dried litter, speedily set it on fire. It was the expedient on like occasions in ancient Rome, at least under the reign of the pious Numa. When the sky was overcast, and the face of the good deity was hidden, which was esteemed a bad omen, fire was kindled by means of friction." "Striking stones and taking fire out of them they offered sacrifice." Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, 1874, I, 99, 106. Cp. 2 Mac. x. 3.

"Hac die (juxta *Ordinale*, 1337) mane ornetur ecclesia per omnia, excepto quod ymages et cruces non discooperiuntur usque post Completorium (usque ad Matutinas diei Pasche, *Sarum*). Hore diei, scilicet Prima, Tercia, Sexta et Nona privatim dicantur sicut in die Parasceues." *Ordinale Exon.*, p. 138. ("Nona tardius cantetur solito modo, ut ita officium servicii protrahatur quatinus citra vesperum Missa dicatur." *Sar.* 144.) Mass and Evensong combined were then said, in which certain archaic features were preserved. But first the holy fire was fetched. *Ord. Ex.*, p. 322. "Congregatis clericis in choro, dictisque horis omnibus prout supra sexta feria, executor officii in vestibis sacerdotalibus, videlicet alba et amictu cum stola et manipulo cum capa serica candida (rubea, *Sar.*), diaconus dalmatica, subdiaconus tunica eiusdem coloris serici solempniter induantur. Ceteris ministris aliis albis cum amictibus tantum indutis—(in hac missa omnes qui legant vel ad gradum chori cantent in albis esse debent ad instar angelorum qui in albis apparuisse leguntur, *Sarum*)—sine lumine in cereis, et sine cruce et sine igne in thuribulo (vacuo, *Ebor.*) quodam eciam de secunda forma—(de prima forma accolitus, *Sarum*)—in superpelliceo unum cereum extinctum super hastam deferente—(de tribus candelis tortis in unum in ima parte conjunctis, et insuper ab invicem divisis, *Sarum*)—et processionem precedente post portitorem aque benedictæ ex parte australi chori—(per medium chori et per ostium occidentale ad quandam columpnam ecclesie ex parte australi, *Sarum*)—et ad fontes et ad novum ignem benedicendum eant processionaliter, choro eos sequente habitu non mutato, excellentioribus precedentibus exeundo, et ad columpnam ex parte australi ignem novum benedicat. In eundo vero dicatur iste psalmus *Dominus illuminatio mea* sine nota et sine *Gloria patri*." (If it was a fine afternoon the fire was kindled by using a concave burning glass or mirror, on tow. At Sarum and York a crystal beryl was thus employed to draw down the sun's light into fire, but if the day was cloudy then fire was elicited by friction of a flint, and a pan of wood or charcoal kindled thereby was set down beside the Priest. Chaucer, in the *Parson's Tale*, 548, appears to refer to this kindling of fire, "as fyr is drawn out of flintes with steel, so rancour whan it is ones conceyved in the hertes of som men, certein, it wol lasten peraventure from oon Estre-day unto another Estre-day.") "Deinde sequatur benediccio ignis a sacerdote dicente *Dominus vobiscum*. *Oremus*. '*Domine deus noster* [Pater omnipotens, lumen indeficiens, conditor omnium luminum, exaudi nos famulos tuos et benedic hunc ignem qui tua sanctificatione ac benedictione consecratur; tu illuminans omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum, illumina consciencias cordis nostri igne tue charitatis, ut tuo igne igniti, tuo lumine illuminati, expulsi a cordibus nostris peccatorum tenebris, ad vitam, Te illustrante, pervenire mereamur eternam: et sicut illuminasti ignem Moysi famulo tuo per columnam ignis ambulantem in mari rubro, ita illustra nostrum lumen, ut candela que de eo fuerit accensa in honore maiestatis tue semper perseveret benedicta, ut quicumque lumen de ea portaverit sit illuminatus misericordia gracie spiritalis, per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum filium qui Tecum vivit et regnat Deus per omnia secula seculorum']. Hic aspergatur aqua benedicta super ignem. *Dominus vobiscum* sequatur. *Oremus*. '*Domine sancte Pater* [omnipotens eterne deus benedicere et sanctificare digneris istum ignem, quem nos indigni per invocationem unigeniti filii tui domini nostri Jesu Christi benedicere presumimus. Tu clementissime Pater eum tua benedictione sanctifica, et ad profectum humani generis provenire concede, per eundem']. Item, *Oremus*. '*Celesti lumine* [quesumus domine semper hic et ubique nos preveni, ut misterium cuius nos participes esse voluisti, et puro cernamus intuitu et digno percipiamus effectum, per dominum]'" (At York, instead of the first and longer of these prayers a shorter one was used with distinct reference to the manner by which the fire had been kindled from flint. "Deus qui filium tuum, angularem scilicet lapidem, caritatis ignem, fidelibus contulisti; productum ex silice, nostris profuturum usibus, novum ignem sanctifica, et concede nobis per hec festa paschalia, celestibus desideriis inflammari, ut ad perpetua festa purgatis mentibus pertingere valeamus." Then followed the blessing of the incense. "*Oremus*. 'Veniat, omnipotens deus, super hoc incensum larga tue benedictionis infusio, huiusque thimiamatis creaturam, invisibilis regnator, intende; ut non solum sacrificium, quod hac nocte litatum est, arcana luminis tui admixtione refulgeat, sed in quocumque loco aliquid ex huius sanctificationis fuerit misterio deportatum, explosa omni diabolice fraudis nequitia, virtus tue maiestatis assistat, per dominum.'" *York Manual*, 112.) But at Exeter and Sarum the longer form "*Exorcizo te immundissime spiritus* [et omne phantasma inimici, in nomine dei patris omnipotentis et in nomine Jesu

Christi filii eius et in virtute spiritus sancti, ut ex eas et recedas ab hac creatura thimiamatis sive incensi cum omni fallacia et nequitia tua, ut sit hec creatura sanctificata in nomine domini nostri Jesu Christi; ut omnes gustantes, tangentes, sive odorantes eam, virtutem et auxilium percipiant spiritus sancti; ita ut ubicunque hoc incensum vel thimiam fuerit, ibidem nullatenus appropinquare audeas nec adversa inferre presumas; sed quicunque, spiritus immunde, es, cum omni versutia tua procul inde fugias atque discedas, adjuratus per nomen et virtutem dei Patris omnipotentis et filii eius domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui venturus est in Spiritu sancto judicare vivos et mortuos et te prevaricatorem et seculum per ignem]. Oratio *'Eternam ac justissimam* [pietatem tuam deprecamur, domine sanctissime, pater omnipotens, eterne Deus, ut benedicere digneris hanc thimiamatis vel incensi speciem; ut sit incensum majestati tue in odorem suavitatis acceptum; sit a te species hec benedicta, sit per invocacionem sancti nominis tui sanctificata; ita ut ubicunque fumus eius pervenerit, extricetur et effugetur omne genus demoniorum, sicut incensum jecoris piscis quem Raphael archangelus Thobiam famulum tuum docuit, cum ascendit ad Sare liberacionem, per Christum dominum nostrum]. Oratio *'Descendat benedictio* [tua, domine, super hanc speciem incensi et thimiamatis, sicut in illo de quo David propheta tuus cecinit, dicens *Dirigatur oratio mea sicut incensum in conspectu tuo; sit nobis odor consolacionis, suavitatis et gracie; ut fumo isto effugetur omne phantasma inimici mentis et corporis, ut simus, Pauli apostoli voce, bonus odor deo. Effugiat a facie incensi huius sive thimiamatis omnis demonum incursus, sicut pulvis a facie venti et sicut fumus a facie ignis; et presta hoc, piissime Pater, boni odoris incensum ad opus ecclesie tue ob causam religionis jugiter permanere, ut mystica nobis significacione spiritualium virtutum fragrans ostendat odor suavitatem. Tua ergo quesumus, omnipotens Deus, immense majestatis dextera hanc creaturam benedicere, ex diversarum rerum commixtione confectam dignare; ut in virtute sancti nominis tui omnes immundorum spirituum phantasticos incursus efigare, omnesque morbos reddita sanitate expellere, ubicunque fumus aromatum eius afflaverit, mirabiliter possit, atque in odore fragrantissimo tibi perpetua suavitate redolere, per dominum].” Then the new fire was censed therewith. “Postea, ceteris luminaribus ecclesie prius extinctis, accendatur cereus predictus super hastam predictam de novo igne—[that is, the heads of the three tapers that had been twisted serpent-wise round the lance-like staff, which issued from the mouth of a transfixed serpent’s head, thereby symbolizing the triumph of light over darkness and of the serpent’s curse. Gen. iii. 15. ‘Inimicitias ponam inter te et mulierem, et semen tuum et semen illius, ipsa conteret caput tuum,’ and with this threefold flame of holy fire borne aloft]—redeat processio more solito in chorum. In redeundo duo pueri in albis—(duo clerici de secunda forma in superpelliceis post sacerdotem incidentes, *Sarum*)—cantent hos versus sequentes *Inventor rutili, duæ bone luminis. Chorus, Inventor. Pueri, Quamvis innumero sidere regiam*, et sic de ceteris versibus sequentibus. Postea sequatur benedictio cerei [Paschalis] que fiet ab ipso diacono induto ad processionem [ad borealem converso ad gradum presbyterii, ceroferariis diacono assistantibus uno a dextris reliquo a sinistris ad eum conversis, cereis extinctis, nisi cereus in hasta]. Petita benedictione a sacerdote, qui eum benedicendo dicat *In nomine patris*, sacerdos interim stet in stallo presbyterali; [and the deacon chants] *Exullet jam angelica turba celorum*.” [He begins in a sort of Invitatory to announce the beginning of the great festival, then adopting the tone and style of the Eucharistic prayer *Sursum corda, Vere dignum et iustum*, he calls for the divine blessing on that luminous pillar which was about to shed its radiance on the mysteries of the Christian Passover, as in like manner of old the pillar of fire had gone before the children of Israel to guide them in their wanderings in the desert.] “Ad istud verbum *Quod tibi in hac cerei oblatione* ponatur incensum a diacono in cereum, sive in candelabrum, in modum crucis. Ad istud verbum *Qui licet divisus* accendatur cereus, et cetera luminaria per ecclesiam.” At Ottery the seven specified in the present Statute. [“*Flammæ eius Lucifer matutinus inveniatur, ille inquam Lucifer qui nescit occasum: ille qui regressus ab inferis humano generi serenus illuxit. Precamur ergo te Domine ut nos famulos tuos, omnem clerum et devotissimum populum una cum patre nostro papa N. atque rege nostro N. necnon et episcopo nostro N., quiete temporum concessa, in hiis paschalibus gaudiis conservare digneris. Qui semper vivis, regnas, imperas, necnon et gloriaris, solus deus, solus altissimus, Jesu Christe cum sancto spiritu, in gloria dei patris. Amen.*” So ends this magnificent prose hymn of prayer and blessing, and the music to which it was chanted is universally acknowledged to be the finest specimen of plain song we possess.] The rite of the blessing of the Paschal candle is unquestionably as old as the time of St Jerome, and in 384 A.D. was widely spread throughout the Christian world.*

Then the officiating priest and his attendants went to the vestry—at Sarum a red chasuble, sed mediocris, was brought to him at the altar—“et induat se casula quadragesimali violacea, diacono et subdiacono in albis tantum, et accedentes ad altare dicat secreto oracionem dominicalem, et vadat sedere,” while the four lessons, Gen. i.-ii. 2, Exod. xiv. 24-xv. 3, Isai. iv., Deut. xxxi. 22-30, were read from the choir

step by dignitaries in silken copes—(in albes only, *Sarum*)—each was followed by a collect which in the case of the three last was preceded by a Tract. They were concluded with a fourth Tract, *Sicut cervus desiderat*, and two more collects. "This part of the service is a survival of the most primitive form of vigil preserved here without substantial change from the very earliest Christian ages." Batiffol, *Histoire du Bréviaire*, 114.

Then the priest laid aside his chasuble—('et super altare reponat,' *Sar.*)—"et accipiat albam capam sericam primam—(rubeam, adhuc stando ante altare, *Sarum*)—diaconus et subdiaconus sint in albis tantum. Deinde sequatur Septiformis Letania, que a septem pueris in superpelliceis dicatur in medio chori. *Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison*. Finita hac letania, statim incipiat Quinquepartita Letania, que a quinque diaconis de secunda forma similiter in medio chori in capis sericis—(in superpelliceis, *Sarum*)—inchoetur, usque ad prolacionem *Sancta Maria ora pro nobis*. Et tunc eat processio ad fontes benedicendos" chanting the rest of the Litany as they went. The font and water were blessed with an Eucharistic prayer in which *Sursum Corda* and *Vere dignum et iustum* again were employed as in the *Exultet* at the Consecration of the Paschal Candle. "Consecratis fontibus non infundetur oleum neque crisma, nisi sit aliquis baptizandus." (Originally Easter Eve and Whitsun Eve had been the two seasons in the year for baptizing the catechumens.) "Completo fontium misterio, tres clerici de superiore gradu in capis sericis albis in medio processionis canant hos versus qui sequuntur, in revertendo *Rex sanctorum angelorum totum mundum adiuva*. Chorus *idem*. Clerici versum *Ora primum*, et sic de ceteris versibus." *Ord. Exon.*, p. 323.

"Hiis finitis, incipiat Missa a Cantore in stallo, hoc modo *Kyrieleyson*." [It was at this point in the service, the beginning of the Mass proper, that the three lights specified in this Statute were lit at Ottery; the others that had been alight during the blessing of the Paschal candle had previously been extinguished, as this was a mass 'sine regimine chori.'] "Interim vero accepta casula candida, diacono et subdiacono eiusdem secte, accedens sacerdos ad altare dicat *Confiteor* et cetera pertinentia ad introitum misse, non dando tamen hic pacis osculum. Deinde thurificet altare more solito. Finito ultimo *Kyrieleyson* incipiat sacerdos *Gloria in excelsis*" (which was originally sung only on the Nativity, and had not now been sung from Septuagesima until this eve). The Introit, the Offertory, and the Anthem of the Communion (which were introduced at the end of the fourth century) were omitted: so was the *Agnus dei* (which was not introduced till the seventh century). The only other chants occurring in this first Easter Mass—the Gradual and the *Sanctus*—go back to the earliest times. (Duchesne, 257.) "Tunc omnes genuflectant, osculantes formulas, exuentes capas nigras—(et in superpelliceis appareant, *Sar.*)—et tunc pulsantur omnes campane in classicum, choro canente *Et in terra pax hominibus*." (At *Sarum* the priest here laid aside his "mediocris casula" and put on "festivam casulam, ceterique ministri festive induantur.")—"Deinde dicat sacerdos *Dominus vobiscum*. Or. *Deus qui hanc sacratissimam*. Epistola *Si consurrexistis*, et legatur in pulpito. Qua lecta, duo clerici de superiore gradu in capis sericis ibidem (i.e. the Rood-loft) dicant *Alleluia*. Chorus *idem* repetat *¶. Confitemini domino*. Sequatur Tractus *Laudate dominum omnes gentes*. *¶. Quoniam confirmata*. Qui duo versus dicantur a duobus clericis de secunda forma capis nigris ad gradum chori. (At Hereford, while the *Alleluia* was being sung 'omnes capas nigras deponant, et post *Alleluia* resumant.') "Interim procedat diaconus cum subdiacono more solito sine cruce ad legendum Evangelium, precedentibus duobus ceroferariis cum duobus cereis extinctis. Evangelium *Vespere autem sabbati*. Et legatur in pulpito more simplicis festi. Quo finito, sequatur *Dominus vobiscum* a sacerdote ad populum converso. Deinde *Oremus*. Non dicatur Offertorium. Prefacio *Et te quidem omni tempore sed in hac potissimum nocte*. Infra Canonem *Communicantes et noctem sacratissimam*. Hanc igitur. Hac die *Sanctus* solemniter dicatur. Sacerdote vero dicente *Pax domini*, et choro respondente *Et cum spiritu tuo*. Non dicitur *Agnus Dei* nec pax detur, sed facto intervallo dum se communicat sacerdos, incipiantur *Vespere festive*, sine regimine chori, et sine *Deus in adiutorium*, a seniore [canonico alta voce in superiore gradu], hoc modo. Ant. *Alleluia*. Ps. *Laudate dominum omnes gentes*. Finito psalmo tota dicatur antiphona—(cum magna veneratione et exultatione sine neupma, *Sarum*). Qua finita, sacerdos executor incipiat antiphonam *Vespere autem sabbati*. Ps. *Magnificat*. Finito psalmo cum *Gloria patri*, tota dicatur antiphona *Vespere*. Finita hac antiphona ad complendum omne servicium Misse et Vesperarum vertat se sacerdos ad populum et dicat *Dominus vobiscum*, et Post-communionem [vice collecte] cum *Oremus* more solito [versus ad altare]. *Spiritum nobis domine tue charitatis infunde, ut quos sacramentis Paschalibus satiasti tua facias pietate concordēs. per dominum. in unitate eiusdem*. Diaconus *Ite, missa est*. Et sic Missa et Vespere simul finiantur." *Ordinale Exon.*, pp. 138, 322–324. Cp. *Sarum Processionale*, 74–90; *Missale*, 334–358; *Use of Sarum*, I, 144–153; *Westminster Missal*, II, 573–589; III, 1429, 1430, 1433, 1470.

Preceding the Mass proper on Whitsun Eve, the long lessons or prophecies were read as on Easter Eve, and the two Litanies then sung were again used, and there was a similar Procession to bless the Font and Water. "Omnes hore diei dicantur ante Missam in vigilia Penthecostes." "Post Nonam cantatam accedat sacerdos ad altare cum diacono et subdiacono, qui secundum morem ecclesie Exoniensis erunt induti sicut in vigilia Pasche, et ceteri ministri altaris in albis tantum usque principium misse. Et dicta secrete oracione dominica ad gradum altaris vadat ad sedendum. Et interim legatur, a digniore persona ad gradum chori in superpelliceo, sine titulo leccio prima *Temptavit Deus Abraham* (Gen. xxii. 1-19). Et sic fiat de aliis leccionibus sequentibus. Oracio *Deus Abrahe*. Et dicantur omnes oraciones sine *Dominus vobiscum* sed tantum cum *Oremus*. Leccio secunda *Scriptis Moyses* (Deut. xxxi. 22-30). Gradale *Attende Coelum*. Omnes Tractus dicantur a choro alternatim preter ultimum, scilicet Tractus *Laudate dominum omnes gentes*," and they were the same as on Easter Eve. "Oracio *Deus qui es glorificacio*. Leccio tertia *Apprehendent septem mulieres* (Isai. iv.). Tractus *Vinea facta est*. Oracio *Deus qui nos ad celebrandum*. Leccio quarta *Audi Israel verba* (Baruch. iii. 9-38). Post hanc leccionem non dicatur Tractus. Oracio *Deus qui nobis per prophetarum ora*. Post hanc oracionem [non] dicatur leccio, sed Tractus *Sicut cervus* (Ps. xli. 2-4). Sequantur due oraciones que dicantur sub uno *per dominum nostrum*. Oracio *Concede quesumus*. Oracio *Omnipotens sempiterne deus...per dominum nostrum*. Deinde exuant se sacerdos diaconus et subdiaconus, et sacerdos induat se capa rubea, aliis in albis tantum remanentibus. Sequantur Letanie et benedictio fontium sicut in vigilia Pasche [eodem modo et ordine tam in eundo quam redeundo et in stacione excepto quod non deferatur cereus super hastam]. In revertendo tres clerici cantent versum *Rex sanctorum angelorum*. Quibus finitis, incipiatur a cantore in stallo Missa cum *Kyrielyson*." At this point at Ottery the seven lights specified in this Statute were lit. "Et interim indutus casula rubea, cum diacono et subdiacono eiusdem secte tunica et dalmatica, dicat sacerdos *Confiteor*, etc., more solito. Sequatur *Gloria in excelsis* ut in vigilia Pasche. [Omnes clerici genuflectent exuentes capas nigras et in superpelliceis appareant, et pulsantur omnes campane. *Sarum*.] Oracio *Presta quesumus omnipotens deus*." The Epistle, Acts xix. 1-8, was read from the Rood-loft, with *Alleluia*, and the same Verse and Tract as on Easter Eve. The latter was sung by two Secondaries in black copes at the choir step. The Gospel, St John xiv. 15-21, was read from the Rood-loft, "more simplicis festi. Offertorium *Emitte spiritum*. Prefacio quotidiana dicatur. *Sanctus* et *Agnus* solempniter cantentur. Communio *Ultimo festivitatis die*." *Ordinale Exon.*, p. 330.

13. *De medijs duplicibus festis.*

13^m ca^m

IN medijs uero duplicibus festis (viz. sancti Stephani, sancti Johannis apostoli, sancti Thome martiris, et Circumcisionis domini, et secundis ferijs Pasche et Pentecostes, Inuencionis sancte crucis, Natiuitatis sancti Johannis Baptiste, octaua die Assumpcionis beate Marie, sancti Michaelis in fine Septembris, sancti Andree, et Concepcionis beate Marie uirginis), ad primas uesperas, ad matutinas et ad missam, 4^{uor} cerei hinc inde super trabes ferreas, continue accendantur; et postea loco et tempore suo duo eciam ceroferaria. Ad laudes uero, addantur ille in pelui ante altare; et alius in alia pelui. Ad horas uero nullus cereus, 42^m fo. p. 217
set tantum lampas accendantur.

13. "Media duplicia que habent quadruplex Invitatorium, et quatuor rectores chori vicarios, sunt ista—sanctorum Stephani, Iohannis euuangeliste, Innocencium, Thome martiris, Circumcisionis domini et Conversionis sancti Pauli, feria secunda, tertia, et quarta Pasche et Pentecostes, Inuencio sancte crucis, Natiuitas sancti Iohannis Baptiste, Translacio sancti Thome martiris, Michaelis in mense Septembris, Translacio sancti Edwardi regis et confessoris, et sancti Andree, Concepcio sancte Marie, Commemoracio eciam animarum que est anormala." *Ordinale Exon.*, p. 15. On fo. 102 Innocents' Day is omitted as here, and Dominica in albis added. The lampas is the mortar of Section 2.

14. *De minoribus duplicibus festis.*

14^m ca^m

IN ceteris uero minoribus duplicibus festis—(viz. sanctorum Innocencium, Conuersionis sancti Pauli, Cathedre sancti Petri, Mathie apostoli, sancti Gregorij pape, 3^a et 4^a feria

Pasche, et Pentecostes, dominica in albis, sanctorum Ambrosij, Marci euangeliste, Apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi, Johannis ante portam Latinam, Translacionis sancti Thome martiris, sancti Jacobi apostoli, Ad uincula sancti Petri, sancti Bartholomei, sancti Augustini doctoris, Exaltacionis sancte crucis, sanctorum Mathei apostoli et euangeliste, Ieronimi presbiteri, Luce euangeliste, Simonis et Jude, et Thome apostoli,—ad utrasque uesperas, et ad matutinas accendantur tres cerei, viz. ille in pelui ante altare, et duo hinc inde super trabes ferreas; cum ceroferarijs tempore oportuno. Et ad laudes addatur vnus tantum cereus in pelui, ad gradum chori.

14. "Minora duplicia que habent Inuitatorium a tribus, cum quatuor tamen rectoribus, sunt ista—Mathie Apostoli, Gregorii, Ambrosii doctorum, Marci Euuangeliste, Philippi et Jacobi, Johannis ante portam Latinam, Augustini Anglorum, Barnabe Apostoli, Commemoracio beati Pauli, Jacobi Apostoli, Bartholomei, Augustini magni doctoris, Exaltacio sancte crucis, Mathei Apostoli et Euuangeliste, Ieronimi doctoris, Luce Euuangeliste, Symonis et Iude, Katherine uirginis et martiris, Nicholai et Thome Apostoli." *Ordinale Exon.*, p. 15. "In minoribus duplicibus, quatuor lampades ante altare, et due ante crucem ardebunt ad Uesperas, Matutinas et Missam tantum. Aliis quoque horis ardebunt tres ante altare et una ante crucem tam de nocte quam de die, nisi cum duo mortaria loco duarum lampadum, ut supra in duplicibus, ardere debent in hyeme. Et accendende sunt lampades in minoribus sicut dictum est in maioribus. Similiter et cerei loco suo, licet non tot in istis sicut in illis. In hiis enim festis non sunt ponendi nisi quatuor candelabra stagna ante altare, preter cereum bacinni, qui ardebunt ad Uesperas, Matutinas et Missam; et ad Matutinas in corona tantum tres. De quatuor ante altare duo seruient ad alias horas sicut in maioribus: set inter Primam et Terciam unus ardebit tantum." *Exon. MS. 3625, fo. 114^b. Ord. Exon.*, p. 541.

15^m ca^m15. *De commemoracione animarum.*42^m fo. v

IN commemoracione animarum ad matutinas tres cerei communiter ardeant, sine ceroferarijs, scilicet, ille in pelui coram altari et duo hinc et inde super trabes. ¶ Similiter fiat in obitu Johannis pape, et domini patris et matris nostre, et in obitu nostro, et domini Petri Penestrini cardinalis.

15. These were the five chief Obits at Ottery. *Ord. xvij, p. 103, Stat. lxxij, p. 214*, all to be kept as lesser double feasts, p. 216. All Souls' Day had the same lights as a lesser double, except that apparently the tapers on the altar step were omitted.

16^m ca^m16. *De dominica prima aduentus Domini.*

DOMINICA prima in aduentu domini, et sexta die infra octabam Natiuitatis domini, et in festo sancti Siluestri, et in dominica in ramis palmarum, et in feria 5^a et 6^a et sabbato Pasche, et Pentecostes, et dominicis infra octabas Assumpcionis et Natiuitatis beate Marie, ac dedicacionis, duo cerei super trabes ferreas, hinc inde ad utrasque uesperas, et ad matutinas et ad magnam missam accendantur; et preterea ad *Magnificat*, et *Benedictus*, usque in finem officij, et per totam missam duo eciam ceroferaria superaddantur; sicut et semper quando chorus regitur et incensatur.

17^m ca^m17. *De festis semiduplicibus.*

IN festis uero semiduplicibus quando Inuitatorium a tribus cantatur, et uersiculi, ac 3^m, 6^m, et 9^m Responsorium a duobus cantantur,—(scilicet, in festo sancti Nicholai, 8^{ua} die Epiphanie, 8^{ua} die Ascensionis, sancti Augustini anglorum, sancti Barnabe apostoli, 8^{ua} die Corporis Christi, Commemoracionis sancti Pauli, et 8^{ua} apostolorum Petri et Pauli, sancte

Marie Magdalene, sancti Laurencij, Decollacionis sancti Johannis, 8^{ua} die Natiuitatis beate Marie, sancti Michaelis in monte tumba, sancti Martini, sancti Edmundi¹ confessoris, et sancte Katerine uirginis)—tunc accendantur luminaria ut supra “dominica prima in aduentu domini” dictum est. Ita tamen quod a 9^{no} Responsorio per totas Laudes usque in finem, cereus in pelui ante altare tantum superaddatur.

43^m fo.
p. 219.

¹ Winton adds “archiepiscopi et.”

17. “Semiduplicia festa, que eciam dicuntur et habent Inuitatorium triplex cum uersiculis, et Responsorii tercio sexto et nono, et primo *Benedicamus* a duobus, sunt hec—Octaua Epiphanie, Augustini Anglorum Episcopi, octaua Ascensionis et Corporis Christi, octaua Dedicacionis, octaua Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, Magdalene, Laurencij, decollacio sancti Johannis, octaua Natiuitatis beate Marie, Michaelis in monte tumba, Martini confessoris, Edmundi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi. Similiter feria quinta sexta et sabbato Pasche et Penthecostes, licet tunc Inuitatorium dicatur a duobus rectoribus, tamen uersiculi et omnia Responsoria et ambo *Benedicamus* debent dici a duobus. Ita tamen quod omnia Responsoria in superiori gradu cantentur.” *Ordinale Exon.*, pp. 15, 16. “Ita quod primum et secundum Responsorium in secunda forma et tercium in superiori gradu cantatur a duobus,” *Exon. MS. 3625, fo. 102^b*.

18. *De omnibus dominicis exceptis et ceteris.*

18^m ca^m

IN ceteris omnibus dominicis, exceptis predictis per totum annum, et in omnibus alijs festis, quando chorus regitur, que in dominica contingunt, uel que propriam habent historiam, ardeat vnus cereus tantum in pelui; usque in finem ultimi Responsorij, et tunc in Laudibus addatur vnus cereus in pelui ad gradum chori, scilicet, a *Gloria patri* in ultimo Responsorij, usque ad finem matutinarum, cum ceroferarijs eciam ad *Magnificat*, et ad *Benedictus*; more consueto.

18. “In dominicis et singulis festis cum regimine chori tam ad Matutinas quam ad Vesperas in choro continue arsurum ultra luminaria consueta unum cereum ordinamus,” in memory of Sir Otho Grandisson, after A.D. 1361 (pp. 63, 267) out of Northam.

19. *De omnibus festis simplicibus.*

19^m ca^m

IN omnibus uero alijs festis simplicibus, cum historia de communi sanctorum extra dominicam, et per octabas, et in commemoracionibus beate Marie, et quodcumque alias chorus regitur, ad uesperas, ad completorium, et ad matutinas et ad missam, cereus tantum in pelui pendens continue ardeat; et ad *Magnificat*, et ad *Benedictus*, et per totam missam^{43^m fo.} duo ceroferaria similiter cum predicto cereo accendantur. Que scilicet ceroferaria, quando incensatur ad *Magnificat* et *Benedictus*, et quando sacerdos cum ministris ad missam intrat et exit, et quando calix cum corporalibus et sudario defertur¹ a pueris deportentur. In omnibus uero alijs horis diei nullum tunc cereum oportet accendi. Set tamen uolumus et precipimus districte, ut prediximus, quod semper in lampade, uel crasseto, ignis in omnem euentum habeatur. Absit enim ut talis ecclesia umquam sine igne reperiatur.

¹ Winton adds “et refertur.”

19. “Simplicia festa cum regimine chori, quedam habent novem lecciones, quedam tres lecciones, prout in Ordinali continetur, et semper a duobus chorus regitur. Et Inuitatorium et ultimum Responsorium dicitur ab ipsis duobus rectoribus in capis suis sericis...et sunt hec”—then enumerated. “In omnibus eciam commemoracionibus beate Marie uirginis (on Saturday in every week, except in Advent and Lent) et apostolorum Petri et Pauli (once a week at Exeter as patron saints of that church) chorus semper regitur.” *Ordinale Exon.*, p. 16. “In communibus simplicibus festis idem currit ordo in luminaribus, ut in minoribus duplicibus, scilicet

tres lampades ante altare ad Missam et Uesperas et Matutinas, ante crucem due, dum non cantatur ante crucem, una. Ad Uesperas scilicet in festis novem leccionum et per totam noctem duo cerei ante altare, et unus in corona ad Matutinas, et unus de duobus ardebit ad horas minores, et inter Primam et Missam. In festis trium leccionum una lampas semper ardebit per noctem ante crucem, a festo Pasche usque ad festum sancti Michaelis, et deinde loco lampadum ardebit unum mortarium." Exon. MS. 3625, fo. 114^b. *Ord. Exon.*, p. 542.

Bishop Grandisson provided for this continuous light in Section 2 of this Statute, p. 231. The cresset stone, or mortar, at Lewannick church in Cornwall is circular, one foot and a half in diameter and eight inches thick. It now stands free on an octagonal pedestal, about one foot high, in the nave near the south door. On the level top seven round holes are sculptured, one in the centre and six around it. Each hole is two and a half inches in diameter and three inches deep. These of course were for the oil or tallow. If one of these wicks was extinguished by chance or accident, the others would burn on till the attendant arrived to trim the light. Thus the sacred fire would glow continuously from Easter to Easter. "Nec ignis alius quam qui de celo descendit, vel in lucernis sanctis ardere vel in altari deo debet accendi." Bede, *De Tabernaculo*, III, 1, quoted Rock, IV, 109 (1904). Cp. p. 244.

20^m ca^m20. *De feria 4^{ta} 4^{uor} temporum in aduentu.*

ITEM, feria 4^{ta} 4^{uor} temporum in aduentu, ad pronunciacionem euangelij *Missus est Gabriel angelus* et cetera, et ad *Magnificat*, et ex quo incipiuntur *O* ad uesperas ad *Magnificat*, et in uigilia Natalis domini ad *Benedictus*, et ad uesperas 4^{ta} feria ante Pascha ad *Magnificat*, licet tunc non incensetur, ceroferaria accendantur. Ille uero cereus ex opposito crucis, uel coram cruce, ardeat ad uesperas et ad matutinas, et ad missam in utroque festo sancte crucis, et in omnibus eciam processionibus que fiunt ante crucem; quousque ipsa processio finiatur.

44^m fo.
p. 221.

20. On Wednesday in Ember week in Advent, "in fine Nocturni diaconus cum subdiacono cum stola et manipulo, albis vestitus, exeat de vestibulo spirulam palme in manu portans cum turibulo et ceroferario precedentibus, et incenset altare; et sic procedat per medium chori ad pulpitem ad pronunciandum solemniter Euuangelium *Missus est angelus*," which with its homily was the first lesson at Mattins that day, *Ord. Exon.*, p. 54. At Sarum on Wednesday in Holy Week at Evensong the tapers were not to be lighted. *Brev.*, I, de clxxii.

On December 16 the special anthem for the *Magnificat* began with *O sapientia*, p. 168. The festival in honour of the Finding of the Cross by St Helena was on 3 May: that of the Exaltation on 14 September, when remembrance was made of its appearance in the sky to Constantine, A.D. 335, and subsequently of its recovery by Heraclius from Chosroes, and triumphant restoration to Jerusalem in A.D. 629.

21^m ca^m21. *De festis trium leccionum et ferijs.*

IN omnibus autem festis trium leccionum, et ferijs, quando chorus non regitur, ille tantum cereus in pelui coram magno altari continue ardeat, ad matutinas et ad uesperas. Set et tunc ad missam semper duo ceroferaria accendantur; alio in pelui extincto. ¶ Eodem modo fiat in die Parasceues, ad officium; et deinceps ad sepulcrum usque ad resurreccionem in die Pasche ardeat unus cereus, nisi dum paschalis cereus ardet, quod erit ex quo benedicatur, usque post magnam missam in die Pasche; ut infra dicitur.

21. At Exeter, "in feriis omnibus per annum, due lampades ante altare, sive cantetur sive non, et una per noctem tantum ante crucem; ad Uesperas et Matutinas unus cereus ante altare et duo ad Missam, et in corona unus ad Matutinas." Exon. MS. 3625, fo. 115. *Ord. Exon.*, p. 542. "Profesta vero dicuntur illa festa trium leccionum in quibus chorus non regitur, quorum quedam habent Invitatorium duplex, quedam simplex cum *Te deum laudamus*, quedam cum nocturno sine *Te deum*, prout infra notatur"—and then proceeds to enumerate them. *Ord. Exon.*, pp. 16, 17.

The whole office for Maundy Thursday is fully described *Ord. Exon.*, pp. 317–319. Immediately after None had been sung the Bishop or Dean went to the door of the church to reconcile the Penitents who were standing there where they had been put out for public penance on Ash Wednesday. After they had been brought in with special psalms and prayers, the Mass began. The Epistle was 1 Cor. xi. 20–32, and the Gospel St John xiii. 1–15. Three Hosts were consecrated by the Priest, two of which were to be reserved till the morrow, one of these to be then consumed by the Priest, and the other to be placed with the cross in the sepulchre. (In the middle of the consecration prayer the Bishop hallowed the oils and chrism for the diocese, p. 176.) After the Mass, Evensong at once began “festive.” There were five Psalms and five anthems. The first Psalm was cxvi. 10–16, P.B.V., the twelfth verse being the anthem; then Ps. cxx., with fifth and sixth verses for anthem; Ps. cxl., with second half of first verse as anthem; Ps. cxli., anthem being v. 10; Ps. cxlii., anthem being v. 4. *Magnificat* followed with anthem, St Matt. xxvi. 26; then the Post Common was read as Collect, and Mass and Evensong both finished together, as on Easter Eve. After supper the clerks, with two dignitaries as priests, went into the church to wash the altars and do Maundy. They began at the high altar, and then took the other altars in order. At each proper verses and collects were read. *Sarum Missal*, 309. All engaged in this service wore albs with amices. This done, they went to the Chapter House. The deacon read the Gospel from the Mass. “Deinde si placet fiat sermo.” Then the two priests (the dignitaries who had been in the church for the altar-washing) washed the feet of all present, beginning with the seniors, one taking those who sat on one side of the chapter house, and the other those who sat on the other side, and each of the two washed the other’s feet at the end. Meanwhile, the choir, as they sat, sang the Anthem *Mandatum novum* and Ps. lxvii., P.B.V., with the Anthem repeated after every verse; Ps. cxxxiii. followed, with Ant. 1 St John iv. 7. Then Ps. li. with Ant. St Luke vii. 37, 38; Ps. cxix. 1 Ant. St John xii. 3; Ps. xlix. Ant. St John xiii. 5. The washing being over, the senior of the two priests read certain prayers and afterwards St John xiii. While this latter was being read the brethren passed round the loving-cup, and at the concluding words of the Gospel, “Arise, let us go hence,” “ita recedant in nomine domini.”

On Good Friday, “summo mane ornetur sepulchrum a sinistra parte altaris, et ammoueat eadem hora in feria sexta sequente.” (At Exeter therefore it would appear that the Sepulchre was a temporary structure. The tomb of Bishop Grandisson’s murdered predecessor, Bishop Stapledon, occupied the position any permanent erection for this purpose would have filled, such, for instance, as the vaulted enclosure richly carved at Lincoln. At Ottery probably the Sepulchre was a constituent part of the fabric, and the remains of it appear to have been worked up in John Haydon’s tomb, pp. 57, 62. The altar tomb of Christopher Urswick, Dean of Windsor, 1521, which was against the north chancel wall of Hackney old church, was, like other altar tombs in the same position, probably used for the Sepulchre to be erected thereon on Good Friday, to which an allusion may be intended in the words of his inscription: “hic sepultus carnis resurrectionem in adventu Christi expectat.”) “Itaque circa horam diei nonam, dictis prius, quasi legendo sine nota in uno tono cum pausa in medio uersuum (p. 140) omnibus horis de die, procedat sacerdos ad altare indutus uestibus sacerdotalibus et casula purpurea cum diacono et subdiacono et ceteris ministris altaris, qui omnes sint albis cum amictibus, uidelicet pueri in superpelliceis simpliciter more solito, induti; et stans ad gradum altaris dicat secrete *Pater noster*, et postea uadat ad sedendum.” (This is the beginning of the ‘officium’ for Good Friday referred to in the present 21st Section.) “Statimque procedat accolitus alba indutus ad legendam hanc leccionem sine titulo ad gradum chori hoc modo. Leccio *In tribulatione sua* (Hosea vi. 1–6). Tractus *Domine audiui* (Habak. iii. 2, 3) a choro alternatim cantetur. Deinde sequatur oracio sine *Dominus vobiscum* sed tantum cum *Oremus* et *Flectamus genua*. Oracio *Deus a quo et Judas*. Subdiaconus statim postea ad gradum altaris in medio presbiterii legat leccionem hanc sine titulo. Leccio *Dixit dominus ad Moysen* (Exod. xii. 1–11). Tractus *Eripe me domine* (Ps. cxxxix. 1–9, 13) et cantetur a toto choro hinc inde ut supra proximam. Sequatur Passio secundum Johannem (xviii., xix.) que sine titulo legatur hoc modo *Egressus est Ihesus*. Sequantur oraciones solemnes (nine Good Friday collects) et ad unamquamque illarum dicatur *Flectamus genua* nisi ad illam que pro Judeis orat. Finitis oracionibus, exuat sacerdos casulam, et secreta calciamenta, nisi sint in locis nocturnalibus, et in sede sua cum suo diacono et subdiacono discalciatus expectet. Interim uero duo presbiterii albis cum amictibus et stolis induti, tenentes crucem solempniter inter eos in brachiis, et super humeros si magna sit, ante magnum altare in dextera parte canant hos uersus (the Reproaches) *Popule meus* (Mic. vi. 3, 4). Duo diaconi ad gradum chori in capis nigris dicant *Agios Otheos*. Chorus cum genuflexione osculando formulas tribus uicibus in una responsione dicant *Sanctus deus* et cetera. Iidem sacerdotes, loco non mutato, dicant uersum *Quid ultra debui*. Diaconi *Agios Otheos*.

Chorus Sanctus." (The verses of the 'Reproaches,' with the Greek refrain after each verse, were sung by the deacons, and the Latin equivalent of the same by the choir. *Sarum Missale*, 327.) "Sacerdotes discooperientes crucem eodem loco dicant *Ecce lignum*. Chorus cum genuflexione dicat *Crucem tuam*. Ps. *Deus misereatur*; totus dicatur psalmus, et post unumquemque versum repetatur cum genuflexione. Interim uero procedant discalciati, in memoriam uulnerum pedum crucifixi, ad crucem adorandam, incipiendo a maioribus. Ne pudeat aut tedeat aliquem nudis hic pedibus incedere, qui per totum annum lasciuiis et strictis calciamentis usus est, et vias illicitas sepius ambulauit. Predicti duo sacerdotes iterum sedeant super gradum altaris, unus ex una parte Crucifixi et alter ex alia. Finito psalmo cum Antiphona, sequatur ymnus a predictis sacerdotibus interim sedentibus *Cruz fidelis*. Chorus respondeat *Cruz fidelis*, et post unumquemque uersum repetant primum uersum ymni, qui totus dicatur. Sacerdotes uersum *Pange lingua gloriosi*, et sic de ceteris uersibus. Tunc deportetur crux per medium chori, a predictis duobus sacerdotibus tantum, ante aliquod altare ubi a populo adoretur, et interim hec Antiphona cum suo uersu, a choro loco nec habitu mutato cantetur. Ant. *Dum fabricator*. V. *O admirabile*." (At Ottery the Cross was carried down into the Nave for veneration before the Parish altar on these three days. "Lego collegio de Ottery meum album coopertorium ad prosternendum coram summo altari in festis solemnibus ad honorem dei, et meum secundum carpetum ad supponendum cruci ad honorem Crucifixi quolibet anno in die parasceues, quando Crux prefertur in navem ecclesie, et sic per duos dies sequentes." Precentor Holcombe's Will, A.D. 1449, *Reg. Redmayne*, fo. 27.) "Postea conueniant omnes clerici chori coram altari, et se induat sacerdos casula nigra et accedat ad gradum altaris et dicat *Confiteor* etc., que dici solent in ceteris diebus. Ita tamen quod hic non detur pacis osculum diacono uel subdiacono, sed sacrificio super altare more solito disposito et thurificato, cum uini et aque effusione in calicem, et dicto cum humilitate *In spiritu humilitatis*, dicat humili uoce et submissa cantando, cum *Oremus*, *Preceptis salutaribus moniti* cum oratione dominicali, scilicet *Pater noster*. Deinde oratio *Libera nos quesumus domine*. In qua oratione frangat corpus domini (the Host consecrated on Thursday) sicut fieri solet ceteris diebus. Postea modesta uoce dicat *per omnia secula seculorum*. Chorus respondeat *Amen*. Deinde mittat in calicem sicut solet partem hostie. Non dicatur *Pax domini* nec *Agnus dei* neque pax detur. Sed statim communicat se sacerdos dicendo *Corpus et sanguis*, nulla oratione precedente. Deinde dicant priuatim *Uesperas* bini et bini, quas in cena domini in choro alta uoce dixerant, hoc modo incipientes ps. *Credidi*. Post antiphonam super *Magnificat* sequitur *Pater noster*, cum psalmo *Miserere*. Finito psalmo in secreto, dicat sacerdos Post-communionem uice Collecte, ad altare conuersus in audientia, sed sine nota et sine *Dominus vobiscum*, et sine *Oremus*, hoc modo *Respice quesumus domine*, sine *qui tecum*. Et sic Missa et *Uespere* simul finiantur sine *Benedicamus* et sine *Ite missa est*. Deinde exuat sacerdos casulam tantum, et in alba assistens assumat unum de prelati in superpelliceo et reponat crucem pariter cum corpore dominico (the third Host of Thursday's Mass) in sepulcro, incipiens hoc Responsorium, *Aestimatus sum* (Ps. lxxxvii. 4, 6). Chorus prosequatur *Cum descendentibus* etc. Deinde incensato sepulcro et clauso hostio eiusdem, incipiat ipse sacerdos R. *Sepulto domino*, chorus prosequatur *Signatum est monumentum*, etc. Item, idem sacerdos incipiat antiphonam *In pace in id ipsum*. Chorus *Dormiam*. Idem sacerdos incipiat Ant. *In pace factus est*. Chorus *Locus eius*. Item, sacerdos Ant. *Caro mea*. Chorus *Requiescat in spe*. Tunc omnes cum deuotione genuflectant, et adorata cruce recedant." "Uespere etiam priuatim dicantur in fine officii ante sepulturam dominicam, congregatis omnibus ante altare." *Ordinale Exon.*, pp. 320, 321, 136. Thus the Exeter ceremonies, and consequently those at Ottery, connected with the service of Good Friday, varied in a few details from those observed at Sarum. *Sar. Missale*, 316-333. *Sarum Processionale*, 69-73. Frere's *Ordinale Sarum*, 165; cp. Rock, iv, 99-106. Duchesne, 248. *Rites of Durham*, 11, 12, 204. Feasey, *Ancient English Holy Week Ceremonial*, 114-178.

The "Creeping on Knees," or humble approach to and veneration of the Cross, on Good Friday in the midst of the most solemn service of that day is not mediaeval in origin, but was practised at Jerusalem in the fourth century, and was attended with great devotion by Christians from all parts of the world. Duchesne, 564. *Holy Week in Jerusalem in the fourth century*, S.P.C.K., 1905. So too on Easter morn, when it was taken out of the sepulchre, it was again thus revered, *Piers Plowman* (Skeat's Edit. i, 549; ii, 265). "The day dawede, men rang to the resurreccioun, and with that ich awakede, and kallyd Kytte my wyf and Kalote my doughter, 'Arys, and go reverence godes resurreccioun, and creep on kneos to the croys and cusse hit for a juwel, and ryghtfullokest a relyk non riccher on erthe. For godes blesside bodi hit bar for oure bote.'" Cp. on Section 8 of this Statute, p. 239.

The burial of the figure of our Lord upon the Cross in the sepulchre dates from the seventh century, with the Host wrapped in a corporal, or enclosed in an aperture in the breast of the figure, from the ninth,

and prevailed in England continuously from St Dunstan's time to the reign of Edward VI. *Archaeologia*, XLII, 263-308. Cromwell's Injunctions in 1536 ordered that "from henceforth no candells or tapers be sett afore any image or picture, but only the light that comenlye goythe acrossse the church by the Rood lofte, and the light before the sacrament of th' altare, and the light about the sepulchre, which for th' adorninge of the church and devyne service ye shall suffer to remeyne." Wilkins, III, 816. And in the Rites and Ceremonies approved by Convocation and the King's majesty in the same year, "creeping to the cross and humbling ourselves to Christ on Good Friday, and kissing of it in memory of our redemption by Christ made upon the cross, setting up the sepulchre of Christ whose body after His death was buried, be not to be contemned and cast away, but to be used and to be continued as things good and laudable to put us in remembrance of those spiritual things that they do signify, nor suffering them to be forgotten or to be put in oblivion, but renewing them in their memories from time to time." Wilkins, III, 822. Inasmuch as English folk are now generally shy in evincing devotional feelings at all, these customs may appear to us now too formal or theatrical, yet they appealed most powerfully to the devotion and affection of our Christian forefathers, as their hearts were stirred within them by hymns and scripture singing to the reality and solemnity of this most sorrowful day. They were wont to adorn fondly the sepulchre in country village churches, like the tomb of a dear friend, with spring flowers and early greenery, and tend it night and day in watches carefully till Easter dawn. Bequests to provide a light "afore the sepulchre, never to be put forth from Good Friday," and for candles to be lighted "afore the sepulchre, unto the resurrection on Easter daie in the morning," were exceedingly frequent, and often too the wish was expressed that when buried on the north side of the chancel their tomb should be made of a convenient height that the sepulchre at Easter time might stand upon it. For a great number of examples of such moveable sepulchres, see Feasey, 137-177. One such, no doubt, stood on, or close to, the tomb of Edward IV on the north side of the high altar at St George's, Windsor.

22. *De provisione lucis pro tribus noctibus ante pascha.*

22^m ca^m

ITEM, provideantur 24 grosse candeles, uel totidem parui cerei, qui sufficiant pro matutinis in tenebris, tribus noctibus ante Pascha. Item, fiat cereus paschalis, qui contineat ad minus 12 libras cere, excepto Judace. Ardeatque ille cereus paschalis, ex quo benedicitur, usque post missam in die Pasche continue, et eadem die Pasche ad uesperas, et ad completorium, et deinceps ad missam, per totam ebdomadam Pasche, et in omnibus festis duplicibus, et dominicis usque ad Ascensionem domini. In ipsa uero die Ascensionis, ad primas 44^m fo.^v uesperas et ad matutinas ardeat, et postquam processio ante missam exierit, antequam redeat, amoveatur.

22. Besides the particular arrangement of the Mass, with its special insertions and omissions, and its combination with evensong on the three days before Easter, the Mattins and Lauds also of these three most solemn days were specially characterized (*Sar. Brev.*, I, dcclxxiii to dccc) by what is usually known as the Tenebrae; so named because of the darkness which gradually enshrouded the church as each light was extinguished as the service advanced, till towards the middle of Lauds all had been put out, to mark the deep mourning in which the Christian community was plunged. At all hours of these days, just as in the Office for the Dead, there was a complete omission of the usual opening sentences, "O Lord, open Thou our lips. O God, make speed to save us," also of the Invitatory, of the Hymn, and of the *Gloria patri* after the Psalms, "propter solempnitatem Cene." At Mattins, "statim post oracionem dominicam incipiatur antiphona, videlicet ab decano, et similiter in duobus diebus sequentibus secundum usum antiquum ab executeore officii, et in eodem gradu omnes antiphone discurrant per ordinem usque ad Laudes sine genuflexione." There were three Nocturns each with its three Psalms, three Lessons, and Responds. "Psalmi dimissius more solito dicantur. Versiculi hiis tribus noctibus sine neupma ab executeore officii dicantur et finiantur sicut clausule Evangelii in festis duplicibus, sed paulo bassius." The Psalms and their anthems were different each day: the three lessons of the first Nocturn were from the Lamentations of Jeremiah, successive portions of the first two chapters being sung on successive days by three boys in a pathetic tone (*Use of Sarum*, II, 66), and each of the three lessons concluded in turn with the words, "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, return unto the Lord thy God." The three lessons of the second Nocturn were from St Augustine's treatise on Ps. 64, the readings each day having a special bearing upon the event commemorated. The three lessons of the

third Nocturn were 1 Cor. xi. 20-32 on Thursday, Heb. iv. 11-v. 4 on Friday, and from a Homily of Venerable Bede on Saturday. "It is an evidence of the high antiquity of the Responds that they employ the older Italic version, which preceded St Jerome's Vulgate, even in quotations from the Prophets." Thurston, *Lent and Holy Week*, 1904, p. 257. The instructions as to the provision of the twenty-four lights are the same in the *Ordinale Sarum* (A.D. 1210), 66, and in the *Ordinale Exon.* (A.D. 1337), 132. "Feria quinta in Cena domini ad Matutinas viginti quatuor candelae ante altare preparentur iuxta numerum duodecim prophetarum et duodecim apostolorum; et ante Matutinas accendantur, quarum singulae ad inceptiōem uniuscuiusque Antiphonae et Responsorii extinguantur, qui totidem sunt candelae quot Antiphonae et Responsorii, et signant crudelitatem Judaeorum in Prophetis et in Apostolis. Similiter fiat in sexta feria et in Sabbato."

This ceremony was of Frankish not Roman origin, and, like the benediction of the new fire, and the Paschal candle, came from France to Rome after the eighth century. Batiffol, *History of Roman Breviary*, 1898, pp. 124-7. It was introduced into England before 1000 A.D. Every parish church was to be provided with a "tenebrae hearse," hercia ad tenebras, for carrying these tapers on the last three days of Holy Week, as well as with a candelabrum paschale for the Paschal light. Bishop Quivil, A.D. 1287. Wilkins, II, 139. The former was of brass, iron, latten, or wood, and in the form of an upstanding triangle, on the two upper converging sides of which were prickets for the twenty-four candles, twelve on either ascending side. The spiky points of the pricket gave it the appearance of a harrow, hercia. The base or third side of the triangle was fixed on an upright pillar or stand in front of the altar. This stand came to be called the Judas Cross. "Judas" would seem to have been a popular corruption from the original jeu-dos or jewe-dos. The French "dos" was in the fourteenth century both simply by itself and as a compound in frequent use in England, e.g., a doce and redoce of red velvet; dosser and dossal were covers for the backs of seats, and dosser and dossel were baskets for carrying on the back. Chaucer, *House of Fame*, III, 850. As the reredos was at the rear of the altar, the Jeu-dos or Jwe-dos was the backing for the candles in front of the altar, the extinction of each of which was to symbolize the cruel death inflicted on each prophet and apostle by the Jews. Dosse in modern French is used for a slab of timber. "Judas," however, may perhaps have been the corruption of Jwe-hearse, the "d" being inserted for euphony. It is curious to notice how inseparable the mention of Judas and Jews was at this period. "Jeuwes that we judge Judas felawes," "neuere Judas ne Jeuwe," "Judas the Jeuwe," "Judas and Jeuwes." *Piers Plowman*, 19, 167. The lights were extinguished one at the beginning of each anthem to the Psalms, and one at the beginning of each Respond to the Lessons; hence eighteen were put out during Mattins and at Lauds five more, one before each of the five Psalms. The last of the twenty-four was taken off its pricket while the last Psalm was being sung, "et abscondatur ubi nequeat videri," whence it was brought back at the end of the service. Meanwhile, the church was in utter darkness while the *Benedictus* with its anthem, "The traitor gave them a sign saying, whomsoever I shall kiss, the same is He, hold Him fast," and all subsequent thereto was chanted. Each night in the old English office the climax of the three days' dirge over our crucified Redeemer was reached in this brief concluding portion, which is not in the Roman Breviary. When the *Benedictus* was finished with its anthem two choirmen standing before the altar but with their faces towards the West sang thrice *Kyrieleson*. Two deacons standing at the west door of the choir but facing towards the East took up the refrain with *Lord have mercy upon us*; and the whole choir in their places responded, *Christ our Lord became obedient unto death*. Again the clerks before the altar sang together *Kyrieleson*, and after each single repetition, two of the seniors standing at the gradus chori, but turning towards the altar, sang the Versicles, *Who for our sakes didst come to suffer*, after the first; *Who with Thine hands outstretched upon the Cross didst draw all ages unto Thee*, after the second; and *Who didst foretell in the prophets, I will be thy death, O Death*, after the third. Then the deacons at the West, *Lord have mercy upon us*, to which the whole choir responded as before. The clerks by the altar thrice again *Kyrieleson*, "et in tercio Kyrie una nota alciōr ceteris apponatur." The deacons at the West again, *Lord have mercy upon us*. The full choir answer, *Christ our Lord became obedient unto death*. Then "unus puerulus cum sincera voce clamando dicat," *Even the death of the Cross*. Whereat all fall low upon their knees and each one singly by himself says, *Pater noster* and *Ave Maria*; and then two and two together repeat the 51st Psalm, "submisce quasi murmurando," and the first of our present Good Friday Collects, *Almighty God, we beseech thee graciously to behold this Thy family*, etc. "Deinde pulsante ter seniore manu librum, surgant omnes et lumen proferatur." *Ord. Exon.*, p. 134, and the dawn would be about to break. "We probably fail to realize, in merely reading the bald rubrics, the weird effect produced by these petitions for mercy and these prostrations, when carried on in total darkness. The clear boys' voices singing

the *Kyrie eleison* near the altar, the deacons in turn responding from the side of the nave, while the seniors chant longer Antiphons in yet another position, must have left an impression of struggle with the powers of evil, which was heightened by the eventual reappearance of the light symbolical of Christ's resurrection and victory over death." Thurston, *Lent and Holy Week*, p. 269. At Lincoln all the 24 wax tapers were to weigh one pound together. *Lincoln Statutes*, III, 303. At Ottery they might be of this small size if of wax; if of tallow they were to be larger. The Paschal candle at Rouen weighed 40 lbs. and was 25 feet high, that at Salisbury was 36 feet long, at Lincoln it weighed 3 stone. *Lincoln Statutes*, I, 291. The average weight seems to have been from 10 to 20 lbs. At Ottery it was to weigh 12 lbs. at least, and would have been over 12 feet high without the Judas pole on which it was raised, or the candelabrum on which both stood. (In 1437 the offering for wax for the Paschal candle is entered at ten shillings, which is equivalent to one-sixth of the whole sum spent on wax lights there in the whole year.) At Durham the candlestick on which it was set was 38 feet high, and the candle itself another 30 feet, and as it thus reached almost to the roof it was lighted from the clerestory. *Rites of Durham*, pp. 10, 201-203. *Missale Westm.*, III, 1511. The Paschal candle was regarded as a type of the splendour and glory of Christ's Resurrection, and as a symbol of the Light of lights in His strength rising superior to all else. 'Judace excepto,' i.e. without the timber frame or backing for the wax that was driven upon it; this would weigh at Ottery about another 7 lbs. "Manifestum est quod ex Juda ortus sit dominus noster" (Heb. vii. 14) has sometimes been quoted as explanatory of the term thus applied, since the Paschal candle was a type of our Lord who sprang out of the tribe of Judah. This would then be Judas, the Patriarch, not the Apostate. But this use of "Judas" was not confined to the Paschal candle by any means: it was employed for the wooden support of the tenebrae lights and generally for the stock into which any taper was fixed. The hallowing and lighting of the Paschal is described under Section 12. "Cereus paschalis non extinguatur usque post Completorium in die pasche, et debet ardere ad magnam missam per totam ebdomadam istam et in omnibus dominicis et festis duplicibus usque ad Ascensionem. Ammoveri debet vero in crastino Ascensionis domini," the morrow of His ascent to heaven. *Ord. Exon.*, p. 322. It was only to be lit at High Mass on those days, except on Ascension Day; so in Sarum Consuetudinary, but in the Sarum Customary its use is extended to other services. *Use of Sarum*, I, 147-8. *Sar. Brev.*, I, deceiv. Similarly in Exon. MS. 3625, fo. 114. "Cereus paschalis ardebit ab hora qua accenditur in vigilia Pasche continue usque post Uesperas. Eodem modo in Pentecoste, et in omni duplici festo a Pascha usque Pentecosten ad Uesperas, ad Matutinas, et ad magnam missam tantum." *Ord. Exon.*, p. 545. After Trinity what remained of the wax was to be converted into smaller tapers for use at the burials of the poor. Wilkins, I, 571, 626, 676; II, 298.

23. *De cereis in natiuitate domini; pro primo Responsorio.*

23^m ca^m

PRETEREA die natalis domini, pro uersu primi Responsorij qui a 5 pueris canitur, et die omnium sanctorum pro 8^{uo} Responsorio et eius uersu, qui a 5 pueris cantatur, provideatur de cereis siue de torticijs; prout in Ordinali continetur.

23. This is a distinct reference to Bishop Grandisson's Exeter *Ordinale* put forth in A.D. 1337. "Hac die (Christmas Day) et nulla alia per annum, dum legitur leccio prima, versus finem unus puer in alba et amictu circa collum, capite nudo, bonam et claram vocem habens, exiens de loco qui est retro magnum altare cum torticio accenso in manu sinistra sua, veniat ante gradum proximum altari, et lecta leccione prima, conversus ad chorum cantando octo prima verba, incipiat Responsorium sic *Hodie nobis celorum rex de virgine nasci dignatus est*, ita quod in illo verbo *celorum rex* eleuet alte manum ad celum dexteram, et ad illud verbum *de virgine* extendat manum ad imaginem beate Marie (over the centre of the altar, and also on the boss immediately overhead sculptured with our Lady's coronation) conversus ad altare, et ad illud verbum *dignatus est* in terram genuflectet; tunc chorus prosequatur R. *ut hominem perditum ad celestia regna revocaret*. Interim vero, dum Responsorium canitur, veniant statim alii tres pueri a parte australi, et alii tres a boreali in eodem habitu ad gradum chori. Et ille primus descendat ad eos, et ibidem simul ad chorum conversi cantent simul V. *Gloria in excelsis deo*. Quo dicto recedant morose incedendo per medium chori extra hostium occidentale." *Ordinale Exon.*, p. 64. At Exeter this little piece of ceremony required seven boys, at Ottery five would be sufficient. At Sarum the Responsoy was taken by two clerks of the second form in surplices standing side by side at the choir step, and the verse only by five boys. "Iste versus *Gloria in excelsis deo* a quinque pueris in superpelliceis et amictis albis, capitibus velatis, cereosque accensos singulis

deferentibus in loco eminenti, scilicet ultra magnum altare, ad chorum conversi cantent hunc versum." *Sar. Brev.*, I, clxxiv. The boys in each case personated the angel choir.

On All Saints' Day the lessons and their Responsories were taken in descending order, not in ascending as on all other days. "Leccio prima legatur ab episcopo vel alio digniore persona, et sic descendendo legantur ceterae lectiones sicut in aliis festis ascendendo, ita quod octava leccio legatur a quodam puero. Et nonam leccionem legat unus canonicus vel aliquis de senioribus vicariis. Primum Responsorium cantetur ab illis canonicis qui cantabant Invitatorium, secundum ab aliis duobus senioribus descendendo, et tertium a tribus eiusdem gradus, quartum a duobus de eodem gradu, quintum a duobus annivellariis de secunda forma, sextum a tribus vicariis, septimum a duobus diaconibus de secunda forma, octavum a quinque pueris ad gradum chori cum cereis in manibus et capitibus velatis cum amictibus usque ad oculos, quasi sanctimoniales, nonum Responsorium a quatuor vicariis cantetur; et omnia Responsoria, excepto octavo, in capis sericis." *Ordinale Exon.*, p. 270. "In festo omnium sanctorum servatur ordo preposterus in leccionibus legendis et responsoriis cantandis quantum ad dignitatem lectorum et cantorum; ita scilicet quod excellentior persona primam leccionem legat, et ita fiat descensus, et legantur tres prime lectiones in capis sericis. Octava vero leccio a puero legatur, et nona leccio ab aliquo sacerdote de superiore gradu ex parte chori. Preterea octavum Responsorium a quinque pueris in superpelliceis et amictibus capita velatis, cereos quoque ardentis singulis deferentibus, ad gradum chori stantibus conversis ad altare, cantatur; simili quoque modo fiat in die natiuitatis domini ad primum versum primi Responsorii supra autenticum altare cantatur ad chorum conversis." *Use of Sarum*, I, 121.

24^m ca^m24. *De lumine in die purificationis.*

Pro die etiam purificationis beate Marie provideat sacrista de cereis pro canonicis, pondere cuiuslibet dimidij libre; et pro vicariis et clericis de secunda forma 4^{uor} cereos de j libra; et de grossis candelis pro pueris, et alijs extraneis, prout decens fuerit, et honestum.

24. At Exeter, "in die purificationis beate Marie canonici, et ceteri clerici superioris gradus et secundi, singuli singulos cereos ad Processionem portabunt in manibus, quamdiu Processio durat; et facta Processione omnes extinguuntur, nisi Missa statim incipiatur. Ad Missam enim ardebunt cerei canonicorum tamen usque ad Offerendam, et tunc unusquisque offerat suum. Sacerdos quoque et ministri, scilicet diaconus et subdiaconus, suos permittent ardere usque ad finem Missae; et eos gestabunt in manibus legendo Epistolam et Euangelium; et exeundo in principio a vestiario, et iterum in fine redeundo. Qui vero cantabunt Gradale vel *Alleluia* cereos similiter tenebunt in manibus cantando, et in eundo et in redeundo. Choristae quoque suos habebunt usque ad Oblacionem. Cereus sacerdotis trium librarum solet esse, cereus canonici duarum, et cereus cuiuslibet alterius unius. Pueri de primo gradu de candelis quibuscumque contenti erunt." *Exon. MS.* 3625, fo. 111^b. *Ord. Exon.*, p. 541. A wax serge of three lbs. weight would be about two inches in diameter, and three feet long; the celebrant had only to carry it in Procession, and when Mass began would set it on the altar. The Exeter canons' serges were four times the size of those at Ottery; those of one pound were usually set on the side altars there. The Vicars and Secondaries at Ottery had serges four to the lb., i.e. half the size of the canons'. The candelae for the boys were of tallow, not wax. At Lincoln the Dean, Precentor, Chancellor, and Treasurer each carried on this day a serge of one lb. weight; the other canons, the school-master, the sacrist, succentor, and provost, and the four servants of the cathedral one of half a lb. each; the vicars and other clerks one of a quarter of a lb.; and the boys one each of the eighth of a lb. *Lincoln Stat.*, I, 291. "In purificationis beate Marie, Tercia dicta, si dominica fuerit, primo aspergatur aqua benedicta, postea fiat benedictio luminis hoc modo. *Dominus vobiscum. Oremus. Benedic domine Ihesu Christe. Alia oratio Domine sancte pater. Alia oratio Omnipotens sempiterne* cum prefatione in fine. Tunc aspergantur candelae aqua benedicta et incensentur. Deinde sequantur hec orationes cum *Dominus vobiscum. Or. Domine sancte pater. Or. Omnipotens sempiterne*. Postea accendantur candelae et distribuuntur, cantore incipiente hanc antiphonam *Lumen ad reuelacionem gentium*. Totus psalmus *Nunc dimittis* dicatur cum *Gloria patri* et *Sicut erat*. Et post unumquemque versum repetatur Antiphona. Et si necesse fuerit reincipiat psalmus. Postea fiat processio ut in processionali continetur." *Ord. Exon.*, p. 342. *Sarum Missal*, 696-703. *Westminster Missal*, II, 620-4; III, 1431-2. Cp. p. 146.

25. *De prouisione luminarium per senescallos et sacristam.*25^m ca^m

PRO luminaribus uero omnibus supradictis inueniendis, statuimus, quod senescalli scaccarij per uisum et auxilium sacriste, omni anno in nundinis Wyntonie, uel alibi apud Torynton, et in partibus Barnastapol, ceram sufficientem, quam ad 200 libras estimamus pro uno anno ad minus, faciant prouideri. Ita quod post festum sancti Michaelis infra 15 dies cerei perficiantur, quia quanto antiquiores tanto sunt durabiliores.

25. The Bishop of Winchester's great annual fair on St Giles's hill was held for fifteen days from the eve of that Saint's day (1 Sept.), during which time nothing was allowed to be sold elsewhere within seven leagues of the place. The keepers of this fair were deputed by the Bishop, and administered full justice in his name to all concerned therein, and the rents of the standings belonged to the Bishop. Bishop Grandisson and his officials, moving to and fro to London from Exeter, and resting at his manor of Faringdon in Hants, would pass thereby (p. 9). Torrington and the parts about Barnstaple would include villages on the Torridge and the Taw. The latter would be well known to the Bishop, as he stayed at his manor house of Bishop's Tawton, two miles from Barnstaple, and the former would include Northam and Bideford. No doubt he hoped some of his tenants in these parts would help to furnish the wax for the use of his people at his manor of Ottery. Barnstaple fair is on the Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday nearest 19 September; Bideford on 14 February; and Torrington on the first Thursday in May and the second Thursday in October. The amount of wax actually used each year at Ottery would seem to have been not quite so large as the Bishop contemplated (p. 229); but on an average would cost from £3 to £4, or in present value about £65 or so. The wax, if bought at Winchester or Barnstaple fairs at the beginning of September, would be at once made up into serges within the fortnight after Michaelmas: if at Bideford or Torrington, as their fairs were in the early spring, it would probably be contracted for from local bee-keepers to be furnished in the autumn.

26. *De prouisione incensi pro toto anno.*26^m ca^m

ITEM, in nundinis predictis, uel alibi prouideatur, semper de incenso-libero pro anno, uel si expedierit pro duobus annis, viz. 6 libras pro anno ad minus. Prouideat eciam sacrista sumptibus collegij quod habeat bonas candelas de cepo albo, ad pondus 60 librarum ad minus, cum lichino¹ interius composito in media saltem parte de cotone et alia de filo, ita quod clare luceant, et sint curte, et aliquantulum grosse (sicut Exonie² fiunt ad studendum), pro matutinis in choro, viz. 6 pro antiphonarijs, ex utraque parte chori. In pulpito eciam una, pro leccionibus legendis, et una ad gradum chori, pro Responsionibus et uersibus, cum oportuerit cantandis. Et expedit, quod semper fiat de talibus prouidencia per unum annum precedentem³. ¶ Obseruantes itaque⁴ premissa conseruet filius uirginis in uitam eternam. Voluntarie uero in deterius peruertentes conuertantur in infernum uiuentes⁵.

45^m fo.
p. 223.
Malediccio
Johannis
episcopi.

¹ Winton, "lincheo."

² Winton, "Oxonie."

³ Winton adds again here "quia tanto antiquiores fuerint tanto erunt durabiliores."

⁴ Winton, "vero."

⁵ Winton adds here: "Data sub sigillo nostro Exonie tercio Kal. Octobris Anno domini millesimo CCC^{mo} tricesimo nono et consecracionis nostre duodecimo."

26. The amount of tallow (p. 229) each year consumed on the lights at Ottery was considerably larger than the Bishop's estimate, but the wax seems to have been somewhat less. In making the candles the proper proportion was four parts of good wax or tallow, and the fifth part wick in each. The wicks were to be properly woven of cotton and thread in order that the candle might give a better light. As to the books in choir to each of which the candles were to be assigned, cp. Stat. xxx, p. 160. The parishioners were to have been charged originally with the cost of the Paschal and the two altar serges (p. 129).

William Howe, abbot of Newenham, in July, 1344, granted an annual payment out of the rectory of Luppit, of 13s. 4d. for a perpetual cresset in the church of Ottery. *Monast. Exon.*, p. 359. On 14 January, 1349, Bishop Grandisson enjoined Sir Theobald de Greneville of Kilkhampton "in partem penitencie sibi iniungende pro suis huiusmodi commissis (trespasses and wrongs done to him at his manor of Bishop's Tawton) quod unum cereum offerret in brevi in ecclesia beate Marie de Otery." *Reg.* II, 1086.

For the blessing and the curse compare the end of the first section of this Statute, p. 228. *In infernum viventes* is from Ps. liv. 16, and Num. xvi. 30; *Convertantur peccatores in infernum, omnes gentes quae obliviscuntur deum*, Ps. ix. 18.

27^m ca^m27. *De antiphona cantanda; post ignitegium.*

STATUIMUS eciam, quod¹ cotidie post ignitegium, clerici iacentes in ecclesia cantent unam breuem antiphonam de sancta Maria ante eius altare exterius; cum uersu et oracione:—Antiphona *Mater ora filium* [ut post hoc exilium nobis donet gaudium sine fine. *Ÿ.* Ave Maria, gracia plena, Dominus tecum. *R.* Benedicta tu in mulieribus. Oracio. Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui gloriose uirginis et matris Marie corpus et animam, ut dignum Filij tui habitaculum effici mereretur, Spiritu Sancto cooperante mirabiliter preparasti: da, ut cuius commemoratione letamur, eius pia intercessione ab instantibus malis et subitanea morte et improuisa liberemur, per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen. Responsorium. Sancta Maria, non est tibi similis orta in mundo inter mulieres. Florens ut rosa, fragrans sicut lilium], ora pro nobis, sancta Dei genitrix. [Post partum uirgo inuiolata permansisti, Dei genitrix, intercede pro nobis. Florens ut rosa, fragrans sicut lilium, ora pro nobis, sancta Dei genitrix. Gloria Patri...Sicut erat. Florens ut rosa &c.] *Graciam tuam* [quesumus Domine mentibus nostris infunde; ut qui angelo nunciante Christi filij tui incarnationem cognouimus, per passionem eius et crucem ad resurrectionis gloriam perducamur, per eundem Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium tuum, qui tecum uiuit et regnat per omnia secula seculorum. Amen. Dominus uobiscum. Benedicamus Domino] uel *Meritis et precibus sue pie Matris custodiat nos filius Dei patris. Amen.* Et dicto *De Profundis* pro fidelibus defunctis scrutentur totam ecclesiam et uadant ad quietem.

Data sub sigillo nostro Exonie, 3^o Kalendas Octobris, Anno Domini 1339, et consecrationis nostre 12^o.

¹ Winton omits "Statuimus eciam quod," but gives the words of the anthem and prayer in full. Exon simply gives the cues, and reads "*Mater ora filium usque ora pro nobis sancta Dei genitrix etc. Graciam tuam, uel Meritis et precibus.*"

Explicit 3^a pars istius libri; de statutis collegij sancte marie de Otery.

27. At curfew all had to be in College and go to bed (Stat. xlix, p. 179). There was space for two of the church clerks, who passed the night in the church (Stat. xxxviii, p. 166), to lie down in the western recess of the south transept, feet to feet, and if needful two more canons' servants when required (p. 236) could thus rest in the similar recess in the north transept (pp. 49, 232). At Exeter there were four such custodes ecclesie (p. 167). At Lincoln three, who after curfew, which was rung there in summer at sunset and in winter somewhat later, "scrutabuntur ecclesiam (scilicet sacrista laicus, vigil, candelarum illuminator), ne aliqui in angulis ecclesie latent velut mali in tempore incongruo. Et scrutabuntur bis in nocte dum Matutine nocte media canuntur, scilicet primo immediate post ignitegium, et secundo post Matutinas, isto modo; unus eat directe per navem ecclesie et alter ex una parte anguli et alius ex alia." The treasurer was to find each of them fourteen candles a week for this searching, "et in estate quando Matutine canuntur in aurora," seven candles each a week, "quia tunc temporis non scrutabuntur nisi semel in nocte et hoc post ignitegium. Hoc facto quiescere qui volunt possunt, excepto illo qui vocatur 'vigil,' quia ille astrietus est vigilare per totam noctem quia ratione huius officii vocatur 'vigil.' Et horas noctium per fistulam sufflabit, si velit et sciat, ut per fistulacionem et orologium horam pulsandi Matutinas poterint determinate

cognoscere pulsatores." *Liber Niger*, p. 386. The searchers' chamber where they used to lie was of timber in the Dean's aisle, north of the choir, towards the cloister door, where every night they had an allowance of bread and beer; at the shutting of the church doors the custom was to toll the greatest of our Lady's bells forty tolls; and after, to go to that place and eat and drink; and then to walk round and search the church. Wordsworth, *Mediaeval Services*, 276. What time, too, the embroidered palls, carpets, curtains and clothes, of linen, wool and silk, were hung in the church there on festivals, three carpenters "debent vigilare in ecclesia usque ad Matutinas uel invenire pro se alios tres: et habebunt qualibet nocte unum denarium ad potum de bursa thesaurarii" (*Lib. Nig.*, 292). At Westminster and St Augustine's, Canterbury, four brethren at least with the secretarius slept in the church. *Customary*, I, 108, II, 52. At Durham, there were four men appointed to ring the three bells in the Central Tower at midnight, "for the monkes went euermore to their mattens at that houre of the night"; "two of the men did lye everye night in a chamber over the west end of the vestrye, and the other two did lye everye night within the said church in a chamber in the north allye over against the sextons Checker: these two men did alwayes sweepe and keepe the church cleany and did fill the holy water stones everye Sunday in the morninge with cleane water before it came to be hallowed, and did lock in the church dores everye night." *Rites*, pp. 22, 40. For the sleeping of the Levite guardians by the sanctuary, op. "lucerna dei antequam extingueretur (*i.e.* at dawn) Samuel dormiebat in templo domini, ubi erat arca dei." I Sam. iii. 3.

The "altare exterius" of our Lady was that "outside" the choir on the south side of the rood-screen (p. 54), nearly opposite to which the church-clerks would sleep. "Exterius" = "extra chorum." *Customary St Aug. and Westm.*, I, 218; II, 176. This special arrangement for a short anthem, verse and collect, was in addition to the anthem that had been sung after Compline in the Virgin's honour in the Lady Chapel (p. 235); this with its response and collect varied according to the season of the year. For the anthem and first collect, *Omnipotens*, see *Sar. Processionale*, 171. *Gratiam tuam* was the collect said at our Lady's Compline "extra chorum" at Sarum during Advent (*Sar. Brev.*, I, xvii) and at Easter (dcccxxii). The anthem *Salve Regina* was the earliest in honour of the Blessed Virgin sung in the Church. It was recited after Compline by the Franciscans in 1249, and by the Benedictines in 1343. "It was indeed the great musical effort of the choir and sung in prick-song in many parts, even a dozen or more. It was sung in the richer parish churches and was very popular. It lent its name to other anthems similarly used, and was the parent of the anthem now sung after Mattins and Evensong in the English Church. In a modern monastery the *Salve* sung at the end of Compline commonly impresses the lay mind much more than the office itself." *Rites of Durham*, p. 268; Rock, II, 356; III, 225. But the two clerks at Ottery saying their special anthem with prayer for the Dead, all alone in the church, more resembled the conclusion of daily Compline at Exeter, where "Finito Completorio, vadant omnes ad gradum chori et stent circumquaque presbiterium, et dicatur psalmus *De profundis* pro episcopis et aliis defunctis cum *Kyrieleson, Christeleson, Kyrieleson. Paternoster. Et ne nos. R. Sed libera. Requiem eternam. R. Et lux. A porta. R. Erue. Credo videre bona domini. R. In terra viventium. Dominus vobiscum. Et cum spiritu tuo. Oratio Deus qui inter apostolicos sacerdotes. Oratio Deus cuius miseratione. Amen. Anime eorum et omnium fidelium requiescant in pace. Amen. Postea vadant qui assignantur ad officium beate Marie pro ebdomada sequente coram altari eiusdem, et cantent ibidem Vesperas et Completorium eiusdem, prout in Ordinali episcopi Johannis de Grandissono continentur. Pueri vero interim vadant ad altare sancti Pauli (in the north transept), et ibidem cantent Antiphonam de beata Maria, cum aliis prout est consuetum." *Ord. Exon.*, p. 29.*

"Complyn ys the seventh and the laste houre of dyvyne serveyce, and yt ys as moche to say as a fulfyllinge, for in the ende thereof, the seven howres of dyvyne serveyce are fulfylled. And therewyth also is ended and fulfylled spekyng etyng & drynkyng, and laboryng and all bodely besynesses. So that after that tyme oughte to be kepte grete stylnes and strayth seylence, not only from wordes, but also from all noyses and dedes save only prevy and softe prayer, and holy thynkyng, and bodely sleape. For Complyn betokeneth the ende of mannes lyfe, or the ende of the worlde, when the chosen of oure lorde shall be delyvered from all travayle and wo, and be broughte to endelesse quiete and reste. And therefore eche persone oughte to dyspose hym to bedde warde, as yf hys bedde were hys grave. For as a man dyeth or he be borne to hys grave and buryed, righte so at Complyn tyme ye shoulde be dysposed as yf ye were in dyynge. And kepe you so sober and styлле afterwards as yf ye were deade fro all bodely dedes and wordes. And in token thereof in the responce at Complyn ye pray our lady to commend you in the handes and keypyng of her soken, as a man dyenge sayeth *In manus tuas*, and commendeth hys sowlle to god." *Myroure of oure Ladye*, 165.

ILSINGTON.

Confirmacio Appropriacionis Ecclesie de Ilstyngtone facte Sancte Marie de Otery.

Clemens [VI] episcopus, servus servorum dei, ad perpetuam rei memoriam—Gerentes ad universi orbis ecclesias paterne dileccionis affectum, ad ea libenter intendimus que ad ipsarum ecclesiarum honoris et commodi cedere valeant incrementum.—Sane peticio venerabilis fratris nostri, Johannis, Episcopi Exoniensis, nuper nobis exhibita, continebat quod dilecti filii, prior et conventus monasterii beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, Plymptonie, per priorem soliti gubernari, ordinis sancti Augustini, Exon. diocesis, olim patroni parochialis ecclesie de Ilstyngtone dicte diocesis, considerantes quod ius patronatus eiusdem ecclesie a multis retroactis temporibus eis et dicto monasterio fuerat, et tunc erat, inutile et quodammodo onerosum, ac plura alia beneficia que dictus Episcopus eis fecerat et faciebat, et sperantes quod maiora faceret in futurum; premissis et habito tractatu inter eos diligenti, communi et frequenti, et diversis deliberacionibus successive secutis, de ipsorum communi concordia consensu et assensu unanimi, ius patronatus predictum donarunt et concesserunt episcopo prelibato, ad illum finem potissime quod eandem ecclesiam, de consensu dilectorum filiorum, capituli ecclesie Exoniensis, in forma iuris uniret, incorporaret, et annectaret dilectis filiis Custodi et Canonicis ecclesie Collegiate sancte Marie de Otery, dicte diocesis, per eundem episcopum fundate; reservata tamen et salva eis et dicto monasterio pensione annua centum solidorum sterlingorum ab ipsa parochiali ecclesia eis debita ab antiquo; quodque postmodum idem episcopus prefatam ecclesiam de Ilstyngtone, de consensu dilecti filii decani eiusdem ecclesie Exoniensis et Capituli predictorum, et omnium aliorum quorum intererat, dicte ecclesie sancte Marie de Otery, certis modo et forma, auctoritate ordinaria, appropriavit imperpetuum; salva pensione predicta, et porcione de ipsius ecclesie parochialis fructibus, redditibus et proventibus, perpetuo vicario tunc instituendo in ea sufficiente et congrua, per ipsum episcopum taxata et etiam assignata, prout in patentibus literis super donacione et concessione prioris et conventus, necnon appropriacione et unione predictis confectis, eiusdem episcopi sigillis munitis, quarum tenores de verbo ad verbum presentibus inseri fecimus, plenius et serius continetur. Quare prefatus episcopus nobis humiliter supplicavit ut donacionem, concessionem, appropriacionem, et unionem predictas confirmare auctoritate apostolica dignaremur. Nos itaque volentes votis eiusdem episcopi annuere favorabiliter in hac parte, huiusmodi supplicacionibus inclinati, donacionem concessionem de iure patronatus predicto ipsi Episcopo, necnon appropriacionem et unionem de prefata parochiali ecclesia eidem ecclesie sancte Marie de Otery, per eum ut premittitur factas, ratas et gratas habentes, illas auctoritate apostolica, ex certa scientia, confirmamus et presentis scripti patrocinio communimus; omnem defectum, si quis forsitan in premissis vel eorum aliquo quomodolibet intervenit, supplentes de Apostolice plenitudine potestatis. Tenores autem dictarum literarum tales sunt,—Universis ad quos presentes literę pervenerint Johannes [de Englebourne, 1332–1347] prior monasterii beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, Plymptonie, et eiusdem loci conventus salutem in omnium salvatore. Considerantes quod ius nostrum patronatus ecclesie de Ilstyngtone fuerit a multis retroactis temporibus et adhuc est nobis et monasterio inutile, etc. (*ut supra*) damus et concedimus venerabili patri et domino episcopo ac patrono nostro predicto, ius patronatus et advocacionem ecclesie prelibate, ad finem potissime quod eandem ecclesiam, de consensu sui capituli, in forma iuris unire possit, et uniat, incorporet, et annectet custodi et canonicis ecclesie collegiate sancte Marie de Otery, quam nuper fundavit in honore Virginis gloriose; reservata et salva nobis pensione centum solidorum sterlingorum, debita ab eadem ecclesia ab antiquo. In quorum testimonium etc. data in domo nostro capitulari Plymptonie, quinto die Marcii, A.D. M.CCC. tricesimo octavo.

ITEM,

Appropriacio ecclesie de Ilstyngtone.

Uniuersis benedicto Christi sanguine, [de utero Virginali assumpto,] redemptis, Johannes miseratione diuina Exoniensis episcopus salutem, et tanto Filio talique Matri pro modulo rependere uices gratas. Quamuis omnium sanctorum Christi merita pijs sint semper studijs ueneranda, incomparabilius tamen Gloriosissime Virginis, Dei geneticis, Marie laus est preferenda, et memoria frequencius recolenda. Ceteri enim sanctorum specialibus quibusdam in locis rariusque auxiliorum suffragia exorantibus conferunt. Hec

uero sanctorum sanctissima, et singulariter post Deum sancta, generaliter et ubique, locis omnibus et temporibus, se inuocantibus in ueritate presto est potenter pia et pie potens singulis succurrendo. Hinc nos, licet indignus ipsius matris misericordie seruus, dudum in honore Domini nostri Ihesu Christi et eiusdem gloriosissime Virginis Marie Matris sue, parochialem ecclesiam Sancte Marie de Otery, nostri diocesis, in Collegiatam auctoritate ordinaria, de consensu dilectorum filiorum Decani et capituli Exonie, sub certa forma canonice ereximus, et in eadem quatuor perpetua Officia, que sub Custodie, Ministeriatus, Cantorie et Sacristie uocalibus nuncupanda decreuimus, necnon octo Canonicatus et totidem prebendas octo Canonicorum capitulum ipsius collegiate ecclesie faciencium, et preter eos decem presbiteros, quatuordecim clericos, et octo pueros, sub numero quadragenario ordinauimus, Deo et Matri sue ibidem perpetualiter seruituros (pp. 87—98). Pro dote uero ipsius Capituli seu Collegij certos redditus prouentus et obuenciones et iura tam in spiritualibus quam in temporalibus existencia, eidem Collegio assignauimus. Inter cetera statuantes quod quatuor primi Canonici, qui dicta quatuor Officia in eadem Collegiata ecclesia imperpetuum obtinerent, in ipsa ecclesia personaliter et continue residerent, prout hec et alia in nostris, et dictorum Decani et Capituli literis super fundacione et ordinacione prefati collegij factis, plenius continentur. Verum, sicut dilectorum filiorum Custodis et Capituli prefate collegiate ecclesie nobis oblata peticio continebat, exigente temporum uarietate, et hominum malicia excrescente, onera tam ordinaria quam extraordinaria eidem collegiate ecclesie, et ipsius Capitulo incumbencia indies augmentantur; ita quod commode nequeunt nec absque penuria uiuere ut deberent. Quare pro parte eorundem Custodis et Collegij nobis extitit sepius cum instantia supplicatum quatinus ut onera ipsa iuxta primam fundacionem nostram facilius et securius supportare ualeant, iuraque sua defendere, et presertim laicorum, qui eos ad curias trahere incipiunt seculares, malicias obuare, dictique quatuor primi Canonici, uidelicet, Custos, Minister, Cantor, et Sacrista, ad continuam ibidem residenciam astricti, residenciam huiusmodi et hospitalitatem competencius tenere, que propter adueniencium et concurrencium ibidem plus solito multitudinem maior requiritur, porciones eorundem et alias dotem predictam, quas consideratis incumbencibus oneribus nimis ut premittitur tenues asserunt, augere de paterna mansuetudine dignaremur. Nos igitur petitionem huiusmodi ratione preuia annuentes, de premissis nobis suggestis ante omnia nos modo debito ac rite curauimus informare. Vnde cupientes prefatis Custodi et Collegio, in supportacionem dictorum onerum, paterna sollicitudine prouidere, dilectos filios Decanum et Capitulum nostre Exoniensis ecclesie ad tractandum communiter una nobiscum super appropriacione ecclesie de Ilstyngtone, nostre diocesis—cuius ius patronatus dudum canonice acquisiuiimus et in presenti pacifice habemus—dictis collegiate ecclesie et Custodi ac Capitulo eiusdem, propter premissa et alias canonice facienda, fecimus ad certos competentes dies et locum preemptorie euocari; habitoque super hijs cum eisdem tractatu frequenti diligenti et solempni, secutaque deliberacione matura, et cause cognicione debita; quia comperimus quod propter premissa, super quorum ueritate plenariam informacionem ac probacionem fidelem recepimus in forma iuris, euidens necessitas et manifesta utilitas requirunt, quod appropriacio huiusmodi fiat; eandem appropriacionem ex causis predictis et alias canonice decreuimus [et tenore presencium decernimus] faciendam. Demumque [de] unanimi collaudacione consilio et consensu dictorum Decani et Capituli, necnon omnium et singulorum aliorum quorum

interest, concurrentibusque omnibus et singulis que in hac parte requiruntur de iure, predictam ecclesiam de Ilstyingtone, nostrorum ut premittitur patronatus et diocesis, prefatis collegiate et Custodi ac Capitulo eiusdem, auctoritate pontificali [appropriamus] annectimus perpetuo et unimus. Iurisdiccione episcopali, et cuiuscumque alterius ordinarij in omnibus semper saluis. Reseruata primitus de fructibus redditibus et prouentibus ipsius ecclesie de Ilstyingtone pro perpetuo Vicario in eadem ad presentacionem dictorum Custodis et Capituli per nos et successores nostros instituendo congrua porcione; ex qua idem Vicarius congrue sustentari ualeat, et alia sibi incumbencia onera debite supportare. Salua eciam pensione annua centum solidorum dilectis filijs Priori et Conuentui Monasterij Plymptonie, dicte diocesis, et eorum Monasterio debita ab eadem ecclesia ab antiquo. Ita quod, cedente uel decedente dilecto filio Magistro Ricardo de Langaere ad presens Rectore eiusdem ecclesie de Ilstyingtone, prefati Custos et Capitulum per se uel alium seu alios eiusdem ecclesie possessionem licite apprehendere et tenere, fructusque et prouentus ipsius in usus infrascriptos et per modum subscriptum libere conuertere ualeant, nostra uel cuiuscumque alterius licencia minime requisita.

Modum autem, per quem et in quos usus fructus et prouentus dicte ecclesie de Ilstyingtone distribui et conuerti uolumus, presentibus annotamus.

Custos prefate collegiate ecclesie, qui pro tempore fuerit, habeat de dictis fructibus omni anno quatuor libras, Minister quadraginta solidos, Cantor quadraginta solidos, et Sacrista, qui in eadem ecclesia pro tempore fuerint, quadraginta solidos sterlingorum, ad quatuor anni terminos consuetos (p. 96).

Item, singuli Canonici prefate collegiate ecclesie in obitu nostro, iuxta Ordinacionem Primariam imperpetuum annis singulis celebrando, presentes, seu alias ibidem infirmi aut negocijs communibus occupati, habeant sex denarios; singulique Vicarij et Presbiteri eiusdem singulos quatuor denarios; et singuli Clerici, quocumque nomine dicti, singulos duos denarios, et singuli pueri unum denarium (p. 103).

Singuli eciam Canonici in obitibus domini Willelmi de Grandissono patris nostri et Sibille matris nostre, felicisque recordacionis domini Johannis xxij^{di} summi pontificis, et uenerabilis in Christo patris domini Petri dei gracia Episcopi Penestrini, sacrosancte Romane ecclesie Cardinalis obitibus, singulariter singulis in eadem ecclesia certis anni temporibus celebrandis presentes, seu alias infirmi aut negocijs communibus occupati, singulos quatuor denarios. Vicarij uero et Presbiteri singuli tunc presentes singulos duos denarios, Clerici singuli unum denarium, et pueri singuli unum obolum, percipiant et habeant omni anno.

Item, Clericus capelle beate Marie, quem sacerdotem esse uolumus, habeat unam marcam annuatim ultra stipendia secundariorum. Magister eciam scholarum, ut melius scholas regat et ecclesiam frequentet, percipiant dimidiam marcam, de prouentibus dicte ecclesie de Ilstyingtone terminis consuetis (p. 98).

Et quod de fructibus et prouentibus eiusdem ecclesie de Ilstyingtone, deductis dictis oneribus, remanserit, in Thesauro prefate collegiate ecclesie integre reponatur, et in festo sancti Michaelis cuiuslibet anni in supportacionem onerum, tam contentorum in Prima fundacione predicta, quam eciam aliorum necessariorum Collegij ante omnia, si oporteat, conuertatur. Si uero huiusmodi onera possint supportari commode aliunde, tunc huiusmodi residuum in duas partes diuidatur, quarum una pars in Thesauro ecclesie remaneat,

pro defensione iurium ecclesie, et alijs necessitatibus ipsius; et alia pars inter Canonicos ibidem residentes, tam habentes Officia quam non habentes, secundum modum et ratam residencie eorum anni precedentis (supportatis primitus omnibus et singulis Collegij pro illo anno, ut premittitur, oneribus) diuidatur. (At the Michaelmas audit, p. 106.)

In quorum testimonium sigilla, nostrum et dictorum Decani et Capituli, presentibus sunt appensa. Data in Capitulo nostro Exoniensi uicesimo quinto die mensis Maij, Anno domini Millesimo ccc^{mo} tricesimo octauo; et consecracionis nostre undecimo. [25 May, 1338.]—Et nos decanus et Capitulum Exoniensis ecclesie predicti, habito super premissis omnibus et singulis, una cum prefato uenerabili patre episcopo nostro, tractatu communi, frequenti, diligenti, et solemni, ac secuta deliberacione matura, predictis omnibus et singulis, consensum consilium et assensum nostrum prebemus, et sigillum nostrum commune presentibus apponi facimus, die loco et anno domini predictis. Nos insuper, Prior et Conuentus Monasterij Plymptonie, ordinis sancti Augustini, Exoniensis diocesis, habito inter nos super premissis communi tractatu et diligenti, omnibus et singulis premissis quantum ad nos attinet consentimus, et in signum consensus nostri sigillum nostrum commune hijs apponimus. Data quoad nos in domo nostra Capitulari Plymptonie, primo die mensis Junij, anno domini supradicto.

[Nulli, ergo, omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostre confirmacionis et supplecionis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem etc. Datum apud Villam-novam (Villeneuve-les-Avignon), Avinonensis diocesis, ii. Nonas Julii, pontificatus nostri anno secundo (6 July, 1343).]

The words in square brackets are omitted in Winton MS., fols. 112^b to 114. They are inserted from the copy in Bishop Grandisson's *Register*, i, fols. 47^b to 48^b. The Exon. MS. 3521 of the Ottery Statutes does not contain the appropriation of Ilington.

The first Warden and Canons were appointed to Ottery 12 January, 1338 (p. 116), and their petition referred to in the above document must have been made at once, for in May of that same year the Bishop gave them Ilington. The papal confirmation of this grant was, however, not obtained till five years afterwards (p. 120). But the Bishop had contemplated from the beginning something of the sort. On 6 June, 1335, he obtained from King Edward III licence for the Prior and convent of Plympton to alienate in mortmain to himself the advowsons of Ilington, Stoke-in-Tynehead, Bridestowe, Bratton, and Peter Tavey. On 15 December, 1337, came the King's licence for the foundation of Ottery, and on 18 February, 1338, licence to alienate to Ottery, or to Exeter dean and chapter, Bridestowe, Bratton, and Ilington; and on 20 October, 1338, letters patent, dated at Windsor, to alienate Bridestowe to the Prior and convent of Plympton, Bratton to Exeter chapter, Ilington to Ottery for his obits. This last in the taxatio of Nicholas IV stood at £14. 12s. 4d. In the College Compotus roll for 1382, the sum received by them from Ilington is set at £21. 6s. 4d. and the outgoings at "£10. 19s. 1d. quatuor canonicis pro eorum officiis, capellano beate Marie, et magistro scholarum. Item £6. 4s. 8½d. solutis pro diversis obitibus et distributionibus pauperibus pro Ottery et Ilsyngton."

The parish of Ilington is finely situated under Hey Tor on the eastern slopes of Dartmoor, and is intersected by many wooded combs; the present population of 886 is scattered over an extent of 7563 acres. The church, six miles north-west of Newton Abbot, and three miles west of Bovey Tracey, is dedicated in honour of St Michael, and for the most part of the Perpendicular period: but the chancel and transepts (and perhaps the north wall of the church) are older and Decorated: the east window is Early Decorated, and in it are still the remains of some old stained glass. The nave has two aisles, and there are north and south transepts. The figure in the north transept is said to represent one of the Dinham family, who were connected with this parish in the reign of Edward I and until the property came to the sisters of John, Lord Dinham, in the reign of Henry VII, to whom the last mentioned was Treasurer of the Exchequer, and died in 1501. In 1387 Bishop Brantyngham licensed Lord Dinham to have a private oratory at Ilington. The south porch has a parvise over it. There are two side-chapels to the chancel; that on the north, now

occupied by the organ, used to belong to the Ford family. The foundations of the manor house which the Elizabethan actor Ford began to build, but never finished, are still visible on the north side of the churchyard. The other chapel, on the south side of the chancel, now belongs to the Munro family, and here was the original entrance to the rood loft. There is a fine old oak screen running across the whole width of the nave and aisles, with two parcloles, north and south. There are some large oak bosses and figures in oak where the transept cradle roof unites with that of the nave, and eight corbels bear as many oaken figures of saints, which probably date from Bishop Grandisson's time. About 1480 the aisles were added to the nave, and the tower rebuilt. In the woodwork of the church appear the arms of Pomeroy impaled with Beaumont: the heiress of Beaumont married Pomeroy in the reign of Edward IV. The tower arch with square-edged abacus looks like Transition Norman work, to which the massive walls with Perpendicular belfry above may have been added: but there are many instances in Devon of tower arches thus built in the Perpendicular era. The tower is lofty and embattled, without buttresses, but with octagonal turret, the plinth chamfered; the pinnacles are octagonal. The west doorway has plain chamfer. The west window over it has three lights, Perpendicular. The bell-chamber window contains two lights under a plain pointed arch, and the mid-chamber a similar window of one light. In 1552 there were "iiij belles in the toure their." There is now a ring of five bells. No. 1, "When I begin then all strike in," 28 inches diameter (cracked). No. 2, 33 inches, W. and C. Pannell, Cullompton, 1828. No. 3, 34 inches. No. 4, "God Save the King," 36 inches. No. 5, 41½ inches, G. The last three and the first by Bilbie in 1797, Jonathan Palk being vicar. On the east and west sides of the churchyard are two old lych-gates; over the west gate is a chamber, long used as a school before 1639 A.D. There is a good vicarage house standing in a large garden, 600 feet above sea-level, with a plentiful water-supply from the moor. The vicarial rent-charge is £302. 12s. 8d., and there are 94 acres of glebe, of which 5 are in pasture and 89 arable. The rectorial tithe rent-charge is £344. 17s. 4d. with 12 acres of glebe: these both are now in the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. The rectory had been appropriated to Plympton Priory from 1176 to 1338 A.D. The advowson since 1538 has belonged to the Dean and Canons of Windsor, who have thus held it for a longer period than either of their predecessors, Plympton Priory or Ottery St Mary.

NORTHAM.

This last remark is also true regarding the rectory of Northam, which Bishop Grandisson gave to Ottery St Mary in 1361, whereas it had been formerly appropriated to the alien abbey of St Stephen at Caen in Normandy, from whom he purchased the advowson for 210 marks. This sum he expressly states he had advanced until the sale of the property in London left by his brother Otho to the Chapter had been realised (p. 38). Legal difficulties seem to have arisen in carrying out that will, as Otho was not a citizen of London. On 2 February, 1384, a licence was obtained from Richard II, "in consideration of the indebtedness of the King's father to John de Grandisson, bishop of Exeter, and to the College of Ottery St Mary, and of its present impoverishment thereby, for the acquisition in mortmain of lands and tenements to the value of 20 marks yearly, since Otho Graunson who bequeathed to them certain tenements in Tourstrete, London, of that value, whereof they were sometime in quiet possession, was not a citizen of London, and that the same were forfeited as granted in mortmain without licence." The effect of this would be retrospective as far as the Grandisson estate was concerned. The rectory of Northam was taxed as of the yearly value of 22 marks. Being in the patronage of an alien monastery it was during the long wars between England and France useless to them, as it was filled up when vacant during that period by the Crown: e.g. William Mugge, afterwards Warden of St George's, was appointed thereto by the King, 3 December, 1343; and Roger de Cloune, Queen Philippa's chaplain, 3 April, 1344. Its nominal value of 22 marks would be therefore amply paid for at about ten years' purchase, 210 marks, given by the Bishop: and the annual value of his brother's property in London would appear to have been about the same. But the actual income from the rectory was estimated by Bishop Grandisson in his appropriation deed in 1361 as £36. 13s. 4d. Out of this £10 a year was to be paid to the vicar, and there would then remain £26. 13s. 4d. to meet the special grants and expenses therein defined and laid upon the Chapter. These amounted in all to £18. 19s. 2d., so there seemed every prospect of a fair margin. In 1383 the Steward's Roll shows that £32 was received by the College from Northam, out of which £11. 16s. 4d. was paid to the Ministers of the College that year, £1. 9s. 6d. the royal tenths, and 3s. 4d. to the bailiff: and after paying the vicar his £10 there remained in hand £8. 10s. 10d. In 1482 the total receipts from Northam were £35. If, as has been suggested, p. 6, the Exeter Chapter MS. 3521 was originally a working copy that once belonged to a member of the Ottery foundation, then the reason

why the appropriation of Northam is found in it, although that of Ilington is there wanting, is clear. It was part of Bishop Grandisson's injunction that this appropriation of Northam should be read every year in chapter at Ottery, on account of the alteration which the Bishop made by this means in certain of the former Statutes. The appropriation of Northam is not in the Winton MS., for when that manuscript was sent to Bishop Edyngdone (p. 9) it had not been made.

The parish of Northam now contains a population of 2653, and is 2700 acres in extent. An isolated portion of the parish called Hall's Annery is situated up the river Torridge to the south of Bideford. The church, dedicated in honour of St Margaret, is $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the north of Bideford. In it were chantry altars of St John the Baptist and of St George. The tower, of the Decorated period, 94 feet 2 in. high from the ground to the top of the parapet, serves as a landmark for ships crossing the bar, and rounding the Pebbleridge. In 1552 there were "iiij belles in the toure their." It now contains a ring of six bells. The inscriptions and sizes are: 1. God preserve the King and prosper the trade of Northam, T.B. 1770 : $29\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter. 2. Prosperity and increase to the trade of Appledore, T.B. 1770 : 31 inches. 3. Rev. Joshua Bowden, vicar, T.B. 1770 : 33 inches. 4. Mr Thomas Chapell and Mr Shaxon, Churchwardens, T.B. 1770 : 34 inches. 5. These bells cast into six 1770. Thomas Bilbie, Cullompton fecit : 38 inches. 6. In tuneful peals your joys I'll tell, your griefs I'll publish in a knell : $42\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and G. The north aisle of the church was added in 1593: the "sailors' loft" used to be in the south transept, but was taken down in 1870. The old barrel roof was preserved, when the church was thus "restored"; and so too were some of the old oak stall-ends. The vicarage house stands in the "close" which Bishop Grandisson assigned to it on the south side of the churchyard. The rectorial tithe rent-charge is £525, with 60 acres of glebe. These are now in the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. About 40 acres of glebe were sold by the Windsor Chapter in 1755 to the corporation of South Molton; the present rental of these is £100 a year. The vicar has 16 acres of glebe, and the gross vicarial income is £300 a year. Out of the rectorial tithes the Commissioners allow £120 a year further for a curate, as, although the population of Northam proper is 600, there is now an outlying population at "Westward Ho," where a new church, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and consisting of three aisles and chancel, was built in 1869. There is also a mission chapel at Orchard Hill, midway between Northam and Bideford, and the church schools are very good.

Appledore was separated from Northam in 1850, and a church was erected there in 1856. The population is 2700, two-thirds being more or less mariners. It is endowed with a gross income of £290 a year out of the rectorial tithes. The Commissioners have lately given £1,500 for a new vicarage house. The patronage is with the vicar of Northam for the time being.

Appropriacio ecclesie de Northam.

The paging in the margin is that of Exon. MS. and is explained p. 2.

UNIVERSIS fidelibus precioso Christi sanguine redemptis Johannes miseracione diuina Exoniensis episcopus salutem quam uterus peperit uirginalis. Quamuis omnium sanctorum merita pijs sint semper studijs ueneranda, incomparabilius tamen gloriosissime uirginis dei genitricis Marie laus est cum omni honore preferenda, et memoria frequencius et feruencius recolenda. Quod dominus quondam Otho de Grandissono miles germanus noster dum in hac transitoria uita consisteret diligenter considerans, et ideo corditer affectans, fructus redditus et prouentus ecclesie collegiate sancte Marie de Otery nostre p. 133. nouvelle fundacionis et patronatus ac diocesis, in qua eadem uirgo beatissima assiduis laudum ueneratur preconijs, qui nimis ut sibi uidebatur tenues erant et exiles, ac eciam propter temporum et rerum mutabilitatem hominumque maliciam indies excrescentem in tantum attenuati quod dilecti filij custos et capitulum ac ceteri ministri eiusdem ecclesie "in quadragenario iam constituti numero" onera necessaria eis iuxta Ordinacionem eorum primariam per sedem apostolicam specialiter confirmatam incumbencia uerisimiliter non poterunt imposterum congrue supportare, nec tot ministri ipsius ecclesie stipendijs primitus assignatis decenter et commode sustentari, ad honorem dei et predictae gloriosissime uirginis et

p. 111.

matris sue Marie, per cooperacionis sue ministerium supplere et pro anima sua dictorum ministrorum numerum ampliare, nobis sepius dum uixit cum instancia supplicauit, quatinus ecclesiam parochialem de Northam nostre diocesis, in qua iidem custos et collegium plenum ius optinent patronatus (et pro cuius adquisicione idem dominus Otho domos suas et redditus in ciuitate London' eisdem custodi et collegio dedit et legauit), in usus infrascriptos, et ad supportacionem onerum tam predictorum quam infrascriptorum, eisdem concedere annectere et perpetuo unire auctoritate ordinaria dignaremur. Nos igitur ipsius Othonis pium et laudandum propositum merito approbantes prefatis custodi et collegio paterna mansuetudine prouidendo, dilectos in Christo filios decanum et capitulum ecclesie nostre Exoniensis ad tractandum nobiscum super huiusmodi appropriacione ex predictis causis et alijs fecimus conuocari. Habitisque tandem super premissis cum eisdem tractatu diligenti et solempni, ac deliberacione et causarum predictarum cognicione debitis atque plenis, quia comperimus premissa omnia et singula sufficienter esse probata, quodque euidens necessitas et manifesta utilitas requirunt quod fiat unio sic petita; eandem vnionem decernimus canonice faciendam. Vnde demum de unanimi collaudacione et consilio ac consensu eorundem decani et capituli, ac aliorum quorum interest concurrentibus que in hac parte requiruntur, predictam parochialem ecclesiam de Northam cum omnibus suis iuribus et pertinencijs uniuersis prefate ecclesie nostre collegiate ac custodi et capitulo eiusdem auctoritate diocesana appropriamus incorporamus et annectimus perpetuo et unimus. Iurisdiccione et iure nostro episcopalibus et ecclesie nostre Exoniensis dignitate et cuiuscumque ordinarij alias in omnibus semper saluis. Reseruata tamen primitus de fructibus redditibus et prouentibus eiusdem ecclesie, pro perpetuo uicario in eadem ad presentacionem dictorum custodis et capituli per nos et successores nostros instituendo, congrua porcione, ex qua idem uicarius congrue ualeat sustentari, et episcopalia iura soluere, aliaque sibi incumbencia onera supportare. Ita quod prefati custos et capitulum per se alium seu alios eiusdem ecclesie possessionem licite apprehendere et tenere fructusque redditus et prouentus ipsius in usus dumtaxat, ac secundum modum et ordinacionem infrascriptos libere conuertere possint, nostra uel successorum nostrorum aut cuiuscumque alterius licencia minime requisita. Modum autem per quem, et in quos usus prouentus dicte ecclesie de Northam conuerti et distribui debeant imperpetuum, salua dicti uicarij porcione 10 librarum in numerata pecunia assignanda, presentibus annotamus.

p. 112.

succentor

IN primis ordinamus et statuimus quod in predicta collegiata ecclesia sint ex nunc duo presbiteri uicarij ultra numerum octonarium consuetum; quorum uterque habeat singulis annis de fructibus supradictis quantum unus de ceteris uicarijs aliunde annuatim percipere consuevit; in omnibus ut alij facturi et cohabitaturi ac pro anima prefati domini Othonis specialiter oraturi. Et tam 8 priores uicarij, quam ipsi 2º, ac presbiter matutinalis percipiant de dictis fructibus annuatim, ultra iam constituta stipendia, quilibet unam marcam, precipue ut honestum habitum habeant prout decet et secundum quod in Statutis ecclesie continetur. ¶ Succentor uero, eo quod ceteros excedit in labore, ultra ea que percipit in communi dimidiam marcam habeat annuatim. (pp. 93, 97, 99, 100, 191, 194.)

sacrista

STATUIMUS eciam et ordinamus quod unus de uicarijs singulis ex nunc annis in festo sancti Michaelis per residentes canonicos eligatur, qui circa omnia que ad officium Sacriste

pertinent diligentem sub eodem gerat sollicitudinem atque curam, et habeat per annum in huiusmodi laborum compensacionem dimidiam marcam. (pp. 172—177.)

ITEM, 8 clerici secundarij, et clericus capelle beate Marie, habeant quilibet iij solidos iij denarios ad habitum decenciozem, et 8 pueri choriste habeant annis singulis quilibet 16 p. 113. denarios, et duo clerici custodes ecclesie unam marcam inter ipsos equaliter diuidendam.

¶ Item, presbiter parochialis et magister scholarum annuatim habeant uterque dimidiam marcam. Summe autem pecuniarum predictae soluantur ad 4^{uor} anni terminos consuetos. Die insuper obitus dicti domini Othonis 20 solidos inter canonicos uicarios et ceteros ^{Distribucio} ministros presentes secundum ecclesie consuetudinem diuidantur. (pp. 98, 101, 218. ^{generalis.})
He died 21 May, 1359.)

ORDINAMUS insuper 8 solidos et 8 denarios ad inueniendum unum cereum in dominicis et singulis festis cum regimine chori tam ad matutinas quam ad uesperas in choro continue arsurum ultra luminaria consueta (p. 63). Quicquid uero de fructibus et prouentibus huiusmodi, deductis et supportatis oneribus supradictis, residuum fuerit, in thesauro prefate ecclesie collegiate integre reponatur, in festo sancti Michaelis cuiuslibet anni in recepcionem hospitem conuertendum. (p. 106.) Si tamen huiusmodi cetera onera supportari ualeant aliunde, tunc huiusmodi residuum inter canonicos secundum modum et ratam residenciarum eorundem anni preteriti diuidatur. Ita tamen quod 4^{uor} canonici in Officijs constituti duplum respectum percipiant aliorum. ¶ Si uero prefata ecclesia de Northam, cuius ^{De} fructus et prouentus ultra porcionem uicarij ad ualorem 40 marcarum ad minus annis ^{distribucione} communibus estimamus, aliquo casu fortuito, ad supportacionem predictorum onerum non sufficiat, uolumus quod tunc de porcionibus supradictis prout iustius et honestius fuerit defalcetur. In quorum omnium testimonium sigilla nostrum ac dictorum decani et capituli presentibus sunt appensa. Datum in capitulo nostro Exonie primo die mensis Septembris Anno domini 1361^o et Consecracionis nostre 34^{to}. Et nos, decanus et capitulum Exoniensis ecclesie supradicte habito super premissis omnibus et singulis cum uenerabili in Christo patre et domino episcopo nostro predicto, tractatu diligenti ut premittitur et sollempni, dicte appropriacioni unioni et annexioni, necnon omnibus et singulis supradictis actis habitis atque gestis, consensum nostrum concordem prebemus, consilium et assensum; sigillum nostrum commune apponi, cum sigillo eiusdem uenerabilis patris, presentibus facientes, in testimonium ueritatis. Data die, mense, et loco et anno domini supradictis. *Reg. III, 1227.*

Letter from Warden and Canons to the Bishop, four months later.

Reuerendissimo in Christo patri ac eorum domino, domino Johanni, episcopo Exoniensi, sui humiles et deuotissimi filii, Custos et Capitulum ecclesie vestre collegiate sancte Marie de Otery, vestrorum patronatus, fundacionis et diocesis, obedienciam et reuerenciam tanto patri debitas, cum honore.—Mandatum reuerende paternitatis vestre octavo die mensis Januarii proximo preterito recepimus, in hec verba—Johannes, etc. salutem, etc.—Licet Ecclesia parochialis de Northam dicte nostre diocesis (pro cuius advocacione vobis acquiranda solvimus Abbati et conventui de Cadamo in Normannia ducentas et decem marcas,

quousque domus vestre Londonienses, quas vobis dedit dilectus quondam germanus noster Otho de Grandissono, venderentur) appropriata sit vobis sub certa forma, et inter cetera specialiter ad inveniendum unum cereum ad Matutinas arsurum ultra luminaria consueta (p. 235); perceperitisque, et indies percipitis, fructus et obvenciones ecclesie supradicte; intelleximus tamen quod vos formam appropriacionis predicte in supportacione onerum vobis iuxta appropriacionem ipsam incumbencium, et specialiter in invencione luminariorum non tenetis, set fructus et obvenciones supradictas, non absque nota inobediencie et perjurii, in usus alios convertistis et convertitis pro vestre libito voluntatis. Quocirca vobis in virtute obediencie iniungimus et mandamus, vosque primo secundo et tercio ac peremptorie, sub excommunicacionis pena monemus, et in domino exhortamur, quatinus Ordinacionem sive Appropriacionem supradictam in Capitulo vestro solempniter publicantes, et annis singulis recensentes, omnia et singula contenta in eadem, quantum ad vos coniunctim seu diuisim attinet firmiter observetis. De die recepcionis presencium, et quid feceritis in premissis, nos, citra festum Purificacionis beate Marie [2 Feb.] debite certificetis literis vestris patentibus, habentes hunc tenorem. Datum in manerio nostro de Chuddeleghe septimo die mensis Januarii anno domini m.ccc.lxj^o et consecracionis nostre xxxv^{to}. Huius igitur auctoritate mandati vestri reverendi, per nos reverenter suscepti, die recepcionis eiusdem, statim in Capitulo nostro predicto huiusmodi Ordinacionem et Appropriacionem sollempniter publicavimus; et annis singulis, omnia et singula in eadem contenta recensentes, quantum ad nos coniunctim seu divisim attinet, pro viribus nostris observabimus firmiter, et eidem mandato vestro reverendo in omnibus et per omnia parebimus reverenter. Datum apud Otery Sancte Marie, xxij. die predicti mensis Januarii anno domini supradicto (1362). *Reg. III, 1236.*

Ordinacio et Taxacio Ecclesie de Northam, A.D. 1363.

Jhesu Christi domini nostri precioso sanguine sumpto de beata semper virgine Maria redemptis omnibus presentibus et futuris, Johannes, ejusdem miseracione Exoniensis Episcopus, salutem quam Ipse diligentibus se promisit.—Cum olim ecclesiam parochialem de Northam, nostre diocesis, rite et legitime ab Abbate et Conventu monasterii de Cadamo [*Caen*] adquisitam, dilectis in Christo filiis, Custodi et Canonicis Ecclesie Collegiate Sancte Marie de Otery, nostre diocesis, patronatus, et fundacionis, salva competente porcione pro perpetuo Vicario, ad eorum presentacionem per nos et successores nostros instituendo, canonicè appropriaverimus ad certa per eos onera supportanda; nos, habita deliberacione debita, de consensu omnium quorum interest, taxamus et ordinamus Vicariam ejusdem ecclesie in hunc modum; videlicet, quod Vicarius per nos institutus, et successores sui, annuatim percipiant in eodem loco, de Custode et Canonicis supradictis, decem libras sterlingorum, vel valorem in moneta communiter currente, solvendas equis porcionibus ad quatuor anni terminos principales, sub pena viginti solidorum, nobis et successoribus nostris, quociens iidem Custos et Canonici in solucione huiusmodi aliquo dictorum terminorum defecerint, applicanda. Insuper, habeat Vicarius, pro manso suo, domum que situatur juxta ingressum rectorie, una cum cultilagio et columbario, et clauso continente duas fere acras, jacente inter cymiterium et domum supradictam. Subeant, eciam, Vicarii onus sustentacionis Cancelli pro tertia parte, et officium decani ruralis quociens subeundum juste

fuerit. Solvant, eciam, procuracionem Archidiacono canonice tantum debitam, ac Synodaticum et Cathedriticum, cum denariis sancti Petri. Cetera, vero, onera qualitercumque incumbencia vel pertinencia ecclesie ad dictos Custodem et Canonicos decernimus pertinere. Et, ne Vicarii qui pro tempore erunt, qui de dote superius assignata debent merito contentari, aliquid in fraudem aut prejudicium dictorum Custodis et Canonicorum de quibuscumque aliis obvencionibus vendicare valeant, ordinamus quod Vicarii, in admissione sua coram Episcopis, vel suis in hac parte Commissariis, ad predicta fideliter observanda prestant, tactis Evangeliiis, juramentum; alioquin eorum Institutio viribus careat quibuscumque. Hanc nostram Ordinacionem mutandi et interpretandi nobis potestatem specialiter reservamus. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum presentibus est appensum.—Data in manerio nostro de Chuddeleghe, tercia die mensis Decembris, Anno Domini Millesimo CCC^{mo} sexagesimo tercio, et Consecracionis nostre xxxvij^{mo}. *Reg.* III, 1247.

ORDINACIO DE REDDITIBUS IN CIVITATE LONDONIE.

Bishop Robert Braybroke, throughout his life a close friend of William of Wykeham, was born at Bradebroc in Northamptonshire (8 miles from Kettering, 83 from London), of a family which from early in the thirteenth century had large possessions and influence in Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and Bucks. He was the son of Sir Gerard (ii) de Braybroke, who died 1359, and Isabella Hampden his wife. His elder brother, Sir Gerard (iii), died 1403; one of the sisters married a Kentwode, and their son, Reginald Kentwode, was collated by his uncle prebendary of St Paul's 1396, and Archdeacon of London 1400; he became Dean of St Paul's in 1421, and died 1441. Reginald Braybroke, the Bishop's brother, succeeded him in his prebend at Lincoln 5 December, 1387, and was collated by him to the prebend of Browneswood at St Paul's 18 May, 1392, and to that of Finsbury 23 July, 1394. The Bishop's niece Joan (daughter of Sir Gerard (iii)) married Sir William Thirnyng, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; he died 1413, and she after 1429. Nicholas Braybroke (pp. 219, 220) was apparently brother of the Bishop. The latter became rector of Hinton, Cambridgeshire, by papal provision (it was in the patronage of Peterhouse), in 1360. Joan, Princess of Aquitaine and Wales, Duchess of Cornwall, the mother of Richard II, petitioned for a papal provision on behalf of her kinsman Robert de Braybroke, B.A., student of civil law at Oxford, for a canonry at York, with expectation of a prebend, though he had the church of Clifton in the diocese of Lincoln, value 11 marks, 7 January, 1363. (*Papal Petitions*, I, 397; *Letters*, IV, 183.) This he obtained, with the prebend of Fenton, 9 November, 1366, and that of Fridaythorpe 19 October, 1370. This last he exchanged with Robert Orgrave 6 March, 1377, for the archdeaconry of Cornwall (to which a prebend at Glasney was attached), and for the prebend of Combe-prior at Wells. He had also a canonry at Chichester, 13 April, 1372, and the rectory of Colmworth, Bedfordshire, where his family were buried. On 27 June, 1378, he exchanged a canonry at Exeter for the prebend of All Saints' at Lincoln; and became prebendary of Colwich, at Lichfield, in 1379, in which year he exchanged Hinton for Girtton, and that again for Horsenden, Bucks. He became Dean of Salisbury 28 February, 1381. On 26 July, 1381, he exchanged the archdeaconry of Cornwall with his brother Nicholas Braybroke for the rectory of Bideford, Devon, which he held only till 9 September in that year, when he was appointed by papal bull to succeed William Courtenay, who had become Archbishop of Canterbury, as Bishop of London. He was then first secretary to Richard II and had been chosen to arrange the personal matter of the King's marriage with the sister of the King of the Romans and Bohemia 18 June—1 December, 1380, and 2 January—22 March, 12 May—30 September, 1381. The temporalities were restored 17 December, 1381, and he was consecrated 5 January, 1382, by Bishop Brantyngham of Exeter, Bishop Brinton of Rochester, and Bishop Swafham of Bangor (p. 178). From being Secretary he was made Lord Chancellor 9 September, 1382, and held the post till 10 March, 1383. He endeavoured to purge St Paul's from traffic and games in the nave 9 November, 1385, and in 1386 he established the festivals of the burial and translation of St Erkenwald (Bishop 675–685), viz. the former on 30 April and the latter on 14 November (1148), and arranged that the days of St Paul's conversion and commemoration should be celebrated throughout the diocese as greater doubles. Wilkins, III, 194, 196, 218. He incorporated into one many of the smaller chantry foundations at the cathedral; and on 10 May, 1391

papal licence was granted him to appropriate Stepney, Fulham, and Hackney rectories, value 330 marks, to his table, which was costing yearly 2000 marks. In 1394 he founded and incorporated the College of Petty Canons; and reformed the Chapter in 1398. He officiated at Henry IV's coronation, 13 October, 1399. King Richard II's remains were brought from Pomfret and lay for two days, 12 and 13 March, 1400, at St Paul's, that the people of London might be certified that he was really dead. He died himself 27 August, 1404, one month before Bishop Wykeham, and was buried behind the high altar, close to the shrine of St Erkenwald, and in front of the door of the Lady Chapel. His brass is figured in Dugdale's *St Paul's*, p. 85. His body was, after the Great Fire of London, exposed in the chapter house, and seen by Pepys 12 November, 1666. Several years subsequently it was again buried in the present cathedral. On 1 May, 1404, Sir Gerard Braybroke (iv), his nephew, with Edmund Hampdene and Roger Albryghton, clerk, treasurer of St Paul's, founded a chantry in the lower chapel, within the Bishop's palace, under letters patent, and gave the manor of Loshalle in Essex, value £12. 17s. 8d., for a priest to say mass daily at our Lady's altar, for Bishop Robert Braybroke, and Bishop John de Grandisson of Exeter, and Nicholas Braybroke, late Canon of St Paul's. Probate of Bishop Braybroke's will was granted to Sir Gerard, Edmund Hampdene, John Boys, and Roger Albryghton, 20 February, 1405. *Transactions London and Middlesex Arch. Soc.*, III, part x.

Sir Gerard (iv) Braybroke and Elizabeth his wife were buried at St Paul's in the choir. He died 1429; his will was proved 20 July that year. He ordered a dirge on his day of burial, and on the morrow a mass of requiem, when the dean to do the service was to have 6s. 8d., every high canon present at both 2s., every priest 1s., every vicar 6d., every chorister 4d., every sergeant 6d., the bell-ringers 20d., and every woman and child at the dole 1d. Three priests were to go on pilgrimage, one to St James in Galicia and to St Michael's Mount in England, one to Jerusalem, and one to Rome, for which £50 was left, and "more if it needeth," and they were to say their masses every day with *Placebo* and *Dirige* and Commendations for his soul, his father's and mother's souls, his ancestors' souls, and all Christian souls. *Reg. Chicheley*, fols. 411-413, printed 1874, and contains very interesting items in English.

Sir William Thirnyng, who married Joan, sister of Sir Gerard (iv), was on the Commission of the Peace for Bedfordshire 1377, Northamptonshire 1378, and Yorkshire 1381; he was raised to the bench 11 April, 1388, and was Chief Justice of the Common Pleas from 15 January, 1396, to 1413, in May or June of which year he died. By his advice Henry IV abandoned the idea of claiming the crown by conquest.

Thomas de Stowe had papal provision for a canonry at Bosham, though rector of Wetheringsete in the diocese of Norwich, 18 July, 1327, and at the request of Queen Isabella another provision to enjoy the fruits of his benefice, though non-resident, 12 June, 1329. He held with these a canonry at St Martin's-le-Grand, and had further provision for a canonry at Chichester, 11 April, 1331, being one of the King's clerks; he had also a prebend at Lincoln and the archdeaconry of Bedford, 22 May, 1388; the prebend of Maplebury at St Paul's, 25 July, 1390; the archdeaconry of London, 10 November, 1396, and the deanery, 1400. He died before 19 November, 1405, and founded a chantry in St Paul's.

Edmund Hampdene, Esquire, was probably of the same family as Isabella Hampdene, the mother of Sir Gerard (iii) Braybroke; his name appears in several deeds of enfeoffment with those of the Braybrokes.

John Wyke was rector of Comberton parva, in the diocese of Worcester, 6 July, 1358. Roger Albryghton, 12 March, 1393, exchanged his prebend at Bosham for that of Llanbadarn-tref-Eglws at Llandewi-brefi in Cardiganshire, taxed at £8, with Nicholas Braybroke. At this time he was Canon and Treasurer of St Paul's.

The above six persons, together with John Skyscelyng, clerk (perhaps of Merton Abbey), obtained a licence of mortmain, by letters patent from King Henry IV, dated 13 October, 1402, "pro centum libris quas dilecti nobis in Christo custos et collegium ecclesie collegiate de Otery beate Marie in comitatu Devon' nobis solverunt in hanaperio nostro," for handing over the property of Blossmys-yn as specified verbatim in the next deed, "ad quedam onera in collegio predicto, ac alibi, iuxta Ordinacionem venerabilium patrum Roberti episcopi London' et Edmundi episcopi Exon' in hac parte faciendam supportanda imperpetuum," and licence to the college to receive the same. Walter Cavendish, citizen and mercer, had been left the property by Geoffrey de Bradelee, girdler, 1310. By what means the grantors became possessed of it is not manifest; possibly they thus realised the surplus residue of Nicholas Braybroke's estate (p. 219), who had wished his executors to sell his property in Exeter, and that "pecuniam inde receptam distribuant inter pauperes ministros ecclesie de Otery, vel alio pio modo ordinent ibidem iuxta discrecionem eorundem pro salute animarum domini Johannis de Grandissono et domini Theobaldi Mounteney militis." It would appear that out of the rents thence accruing (1) the eight canons, the parish chaplain, the schoolmaster, and

the two benefices would receive £4. 15s. a year, but the "poor ministers" a larger share; the ten vicars, morn priest, eight secondaries and Mary-clerk, the two church clerks and eighteen choristers, thirteen guineas a year; (2) the obit for Nicholas Braybroke and Theobald Mounteney would cost 14s. a year; (3) the repair of the houses, 6s. 8d.; (4) the receivers of the rents were to have 13s. 4d.; (5) Nicholas Braybroke's obit at Exeter would cost 14s. 4d.; (6) Bishop Grandisson's chantry at Exeter (p. 79) would receive £5. 13s. 4d.; (7) the markers to share the fines of those who, being absent, forfeited their quota; and (8) if the property increased in value, the "poor ministers," that is to say, ten vicars and the morn priest at Ottery, were to receive 1s. 4d. instead of 1s. a month, and the two church clerks 1s. instead of 8d. a month apiece. In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, ed. 1820, vol. II, pp. 307, 308, Blossoms Inn in the diocese of London is entered in 1535-6 as follows. "Valet in redditu assise ibidem per annum, ultra £8. 17s. 8d. inde annuatim solutos, Johanni Brokeshoe capellano et successoribus suis £5. 10s. in ecclesia cathedrali beati Petri Exonie imperpetuum ibidem ad celebrandam missam et alia divina servicia in occidentali parte eiusdem ecclesie pro anima Johannis de Grandissono quondam Exoniensis episcopi ac fundatoris collegii de Ottery; et solutos decano et capitulo eiusdem ecclesie cathedralis et successoribus suis 14s. 4d. de annuali redditu pro anniversario ibidem tenendo singulis annis pro anima Roberti Braybroke quondam Londoniensis episcopi; et solutos annuatim Rogero Brompton clerico receptori pro feodo suo per annum 13s. 4d. Remanet clare £16. 2s. 4d."

At the dissolution in 1545, the property was granted to the Earl of Hertford, but afterwards resumed by Edward VI; and in 1547 granted to the Dean and Canons of Windsor in lieu of other lands taken from them by Henry VIII (p. 10). It remained in their hands till, with all the rest of their property, it passed to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in 1867. The last lease of it granted by the Chapter was, as usual, for 40 years, in 1855. In it Blossom's or Bossom's Inn is described as situate on the west side of Lawrence Lane, and being converted into and used as a goods warehouse and carriers' yard, and in the occupation of the Eastern Counties and South-Western Railway Companies, three messuages adjoining, being 5 and 6, Trump Street, on the left-hand side of King Street going from Cheapside and leading into Lawrence Lane and Honey Lane Market in the parish of St Lawrence, Old Jewry, and a garden plot built into stables and a shop in the parish of All Hallows, Honey Lane. The whole was let at £24 a year, with a fine every 14 years for renewal. This in 1855 was set at £7147. 8s., as 37½ years of the 40 in the lease had run out. The next fine would have been taken in 1869; but in 1868 the Commissioners sold the freehold to the Great Eastern Railway Company for £14,000, and applied the proceeds to the augmentation of poor benefices in populous places. 22nd Report of Eccles. Com., 1869.

Bishop Edmund de Stafford was son of Sir Richard de Stafford, Kt., and Isabella, daughter of Sir Richard Vernon, Kt. His father's brother Ralph was one of the Founder Knights of the Garter, 1348, and was created Earl of Stafford 5 March, 1351. Edmund had been prebendary of Lichfield, Lincoln, and York, where he was Dean when appointed Bishop of Exeter by papal bull, 15 January, 1395. He was consecrated at Lambeth, 20 June, by William Courtenay, Robert de Braybroke, Bishop of London, and John Waltham, Bishop of Sarum: the temporalities were restored 24 June. Richard II made him Lord Chancellor 23 October, 1396, and he retained the great seal till the King's abdication in 1399. Henry IV made him Chancellor again in 1401, and he so continued till February, 1403. He died 3 September, 1419, aged 75, and is buried on the north side of the Lady chapel at Exeter, where on 1 October, 1408, he founded a chantry for two priests, each £5 a year, at the altar of St John the Evangelist. His will is dated 24 July, 1418, and was proved 18 September, 1419. *Reg. Chicheley*, i, 319, 320.

ORDINACIO.

ROBERTUS miseracione diuina Londoniensis episcopus et Edmundus eadem miseracione p. 121 Exoniensis episcopus dilectis in Christo custodi et collegio ecclesie collegiate de Ottery sancte Marie Exon' diocesis salutem grariam et benediccionem. Cum Willielmus Thyrrnyng miles, Geradus Braybrok miles, magister Thomas Stowe clericus, Edmundus Hampdene armiger, Johannes Wyke clericus, magister Johannes Skystelyng clericus, et Rogerus Albryghton' clericus, ex concessione et licencia excellentissimi in Christo principis et domini domini Henrici dei gracia Regis Anglie et Francie et domini Hibernie illustrissimi a conquestu

Anglie quarti, vnum messuagium uocatum *Blosmys-yn*, cum quadam shopa, ex parte boreali eiusdem messuagij cum pertinencijs in parochia sancti Laurencij in ueteri Iudaismo London', ac quoddam gardinum in parochia omnium sanctorum de *Honey-lane* eidem messuagio adiacens, necnon vnum messuagium uocatum *Ware-hous* prefatis messuagio uocato *Blosmys-yn*, et gardino annexum, ac quendam annum redditum xxvj solidorum et viij denariorum exeuntem et percipiendum de certis tenementis ex latere aquilonis dicti messuagij uocati *Blosmys-yn* situatis, que quondam fuerunt Walteri de Cauendyssh nuper ciuis et merceri London' ac Willielmi Gore nuper ciuis et foundour ciuitatis predictae cum pertinencijs, que quidem messuagia shopa, et gardinum ac tenementa, unde redditus ille prouenit, de domino rege tenentur in burgagio sicut tota ciuitas London', dederint et assignauerint uobis, custodi et collegio habenda tenenda et percipienda uobis et successoribus uestris, ad quedam onera in collegio predicto, et alibi iuxta ordinationem nostram in hac parte faciendam supportanda imperpetuum; prout in literis patentibus prefati domini regis inde confectis plenius continetur:—

1. *Distribucio pro omnibus in collegio residentibus.*

p. 123.

Nos Robertus et Edmundus episcopi supradicti, uirtute concessionis donacionis et assignacionis predictarum ad onera subscripta diuini cultus in dicto collegio et ecclesia Exoniensi supportanda in honore Jhesu Christi, beate Marie uirginis, et apostolorum Petri et Pauli sub quorum uocabulis dicte ecclesie nuncupantur, unanimi nostro consensu ad perpetuam rei memoriam uolumus et ordinamus, quod quilibet octo canonicorum qui in dicto collegio continue residens fuerit, alioquin iuxta ratam temporis residencie sue, et successorum eorundem de fructibus redditibus et prouentibus de predictis messuagio shopa et gardino cum suis pertinencijs prouenientibus et exeuntibus ac de redditu xxvj solidorum et viij denariorum predicto, ij solidos et vj denarios,—Item, quod capellanus parochialis xv denarios,—Item, magister scholarum qui pro tempore fuerit x denarios,—Item, uterque duorum clericorum qui clerici aquebaiuli nuncupantur x denarios,—singulis quarterijs anni singulariter et diuisim percipiat imperpetuum. Item, quod quilibet octo uicariorum et duorum presbiterorum per appropriationem ecclesie parochialis de Northam Exon' diocesis custodi et collegio factam in eodem collegio fundatorum et successorum suorum, et capellanus matutinalis xij denarios,—Item, quilibet octo clericorum, qui clerici secundarij nuncupantur, et clericus capelle beate Marie uirginis 8 denarios,—Item, uterque duorum clericorum qui clerici ecclesie nuncupantur viij denarios,—Item, quilibet octo choristarum 4^{uor} denarios,—singulis mensibus tocius anni computando 13 menses in anno, de dictis fructibus redditibus et prouentibus de redditu predicto, in dicto collegio singulariter et diuisim percipiat imperpetuum. (Ord. iv, v, viij, ix.)

2. *Distribucio generalis pro uno obitu.*

ITEM, quod custos et collegium obitum magistri Nicholai Braybrok et domini Theobaldi Mountenay militis secundo die post festum Epiphanie domini singulis annis in ecclesia collegiata predicta solempniter celebrare, et tres solidos et 4^{uor} denarios in die eiusdem obitus inter pauperes ante prandium eiusdem diei annuatim pro animabus dictorum defunctorum distribuere teneantur. ¶ Pro quo quidem obitu, 10 solidos inter canonicos, presbi-

teros, et clericos eiusdem collegij uolumus more solito dicti collegij in distribucionibus in eodem faciendis et consueto fore diuidendos singulis annis imperpetuum. (p. 218.)

ITEM, ordinamus quod 4^{uor} clerici predicti, uidelicet duo clerici ecclesie et duo clerici aquebaiuli, habeant pro classo in dicto obitu faciendo 8 denarios eciam annuatim in futurum. (p. 223.)

3. *Distribucio pro reparacione domorum.*

ITEM, uolumus et ordinamus quod uicarij predicti tres solidos et 4^{uor} denarios, et secundarij 16 denarios, magister scholarum et choriste ij solidos, pro reparacionibus domorum suarum singulis annis percipiant imperpetuum de fructibus redditibus et prouentibus ac redditu predictis. (p. 76. Ord. xxj, xxij, Stat. lxj.)

4. *Quid habeant receptores reddituum.*

ITEM, ordinamus quod receptores dictorum reddituum et prouentuum infrascripti qui pro p. 125. tempore fuerint, habeant singulis annis imperpetuum pro eorum laboribus circa recepcionem et distribucionem pecunie predictae fideliter faciendam preter expensas circa reparacionem dictorum messuagiorum, shope et gardini, et alias congrue apponendas, 13 solidos 4^{uor} denarios de eisdem redditibus et prouentibus antedictis.

5. *De ordinacione cantarie Johannis de Grandissono Exon. episcopi.*

ITEM, ordinamus quod receptores reddituum et prouentuum predictorum, quos singulis annis per custodem et collegium in hac parte sub forma subscripta deputari et iurari uolumus, vni capellano in capella occidentali extra ostium ecclesie cathedralis Exonie situata in qua corpus bone memorie domini Johannis de Grandissono, quondam Exoniensis episcopi, quiescit humatum, imperpetuum diuina celebraturo,—(quam quidem cantariam tali capellano huiusmodi primo, et postea cuilibet eius successori, qui alibi beneficiatus non existat, per diocesanum loci imperpetuum conferri uolumus, et quod quilibet capellanus huiusmodi post adeptam possessionem cantarie huiusmodi continuam residenciam in dicta cantaria facere teneatur)—pro uictu et uestitu suis 8 marcas, annuatim ad 4^{uor} anni terminos principales, quolibet viz. termino 26 solidos et 8 denarios, Exonie fideliter persoluant, et sic persolvere de cetero sint astricti de fructibus redditibus et prouentibus supradictis. Et p. 126. quod si per mensem post lapsum alicuius termini supradicti cessatum fuerit per dictos receptores a solucione dictorum 26 solidorum et 8 denariorum, extunc iidem receptores capellano huiusmodi, qui pro tempore fuerit, nomine pene pro dampno et interesse suo in retardata solucione tocians quociens sic cessatum fuerit, 40 denarios una cum dictis 26 solidis et 8 denariis, soluere teneantur, de porcione eos per hanc nostram ordinacionem contingente. (As to salary cp. p. 98.)

ITEM, ordinamus quod capellanus dicte cantarie libros, missale et alia ornamenta seu eorum aliqua ad dictam cantariam pertinencia aliquialiter distrahere, uel impignorare, seu quouis alio modo alienare, non presumat in futurum. Qui si contrarium faciat in hac parte per

loci diocesanum a cantaria predicta penitus ammoueatur. Et quem quidem capellanum ad huiusmodi distraccionem impignoracionem et alienacionem nullatenus faciendas dictis custodi et collegio cauere uolumus iuxta arbitrium diocesani antequam de redditibus et prouentibus predictis quicquam percipiat. (p. 111.)

p 127.

ITEM, ordinamus quod custos et collegium supradicti librum missale, uestimenta, phiolas, tuallas altaris, panem uinum et luminaria et alia ad missam celebrandam eidem capellano in capella predicta inuenire, et eadem quociens opus fuerit reficere et reparare teneantur; et pro huiusmodi onerum supportacione, custos et collegium antedicta in festo sancti Michaelis Archangeli singulis annis, 6 solidos et 8 denarios percipiant imperpetuum de receptoribus antedictis. Quem quidem capellanum ad mandatum domini Exoniensis episcopi per decanum uel presidentem capituli ecclesie Exoniensis in corporalem possessionem cantarie predictae uolumus realiter induci. (p. 171.)

6. *De obitu Nic. Braybroke, Exonie.*

ITEM, ordinamus quod dicti receptores obitum magistri Nicholai Braybroke secundo die post festum Epiphanie domini singulis annis in ecclesia cathedrali predicta faciant imperpetuum solempniter celebrari, et 13 solidos et 4^{uor} denarios, inter canonicos presbiteros et clericos eiusdem ecclesie cathedralis ibidem presentes more solito diuidendos, necnon clericis qui custodes dicte ecclesie cathedralis nuncupantur pro classo ad eundem obitum faciendo, 12 denarios annuatim persoluant, et modo premissis persolvere realiter astringantur. (p. 219.)

7. *De cista apud Otery.*

ITEM, uolumus et ordinamus, quod in thesauraria ecclesie collegiate de Otery predictae sit una cista fortiter duabus seris et clauibus diuersis firmata, in qua dicti redditus et prouentus temporibus opportunis debite ponantur et secure custodiantur, quarum vnā clauium predictarum penes vnum, et alteram penes alterum receptorum predictorum pro tempore existencium uolumus remanere. (p. 66.)

8. *De succentore et puntuacione.*

p. 128.
Absencium
pena.

ITEM, ordinamus quod si aliquis canonicorum uicariorum uel clericorum superius nominatorum alibi quam in negocijs ipsius ecclesie collegiate absens fuerit, uel nisi ibidem infirmus existat, ita quod commode ad ecclesiam accedere non poterit, pecuniam ei debitam si presens esset totaliter amittat. Et quod succentor dicti collegij, qui pro tempore fuerit, antequam de dictis redditibus et prouentibus quicquam percipiat, in domo capitulari ecclesie collegiate predictae coram custode et maiori uel saniori parte dicti collegij ad sancta dei euangelia corporale prestet iuramentum, quod defectus canonicorum presbiterorum et clericorum predictorum qui absentes fuerint per aliquam septimanam uel 4^{uor} aut 3^{es} dies eiusdem, nisi in negocijs ecclesie uel in infirmitate ut predictur detenti fuerint, singulis septimanis punctet in scriptis, et eosdem defectus ac puntuaciones custodi et collegio ac receptoribus huiusmodi in fine cuiuslibet termini, necnon loci diocesano, uel ipso in remotis agente ipsius uicario in spiritualibus suis generali si quem dimiserit, infra 8 dies post festum

sancti Michaelis archangeli,—alioquin si idem diocesanus absens fuerit extra suas ciuitatem et diocesim, et nullum uicarium in spiritualibus suis generalem dimiserit, eidem diocesano infra 8 dies a tempore quo in suam diocesim reuersus fuerit,—singulis annis imperpetuum in scriptis per se uel per alium significare teneatur, et alias cum fuerit per partem eiusdem debite ac congrue requisitus fideliter significet. Pro quibus defectibus sic significandis p. 129. idem succentor in remuneracionem sui laboris tres solidos et 4^{uor} denarios pecunie, quam canonici uicarij et clerici ecclesie collegiate predictae absentes ab officijs et per eum punctati racione absenciarum suarum amittent, percipiat de receptoribus antedictis. Ipsius uero succentoris absencias canonicus alter receptorum infrascriptorum fideliter punctet et sibi ipsi percipiat quod idem succentor occasione absencie sue iuxta superius annotata. (Ord. xij, xiiij, Stat. lxxvj.)

9. *Canonicus et vicarius receptores reddituum.*

ITEM, uolumus et ordinamus quod singulis annis in uigilia festi sancti Michaelis Archangeli per custodem et canonicos dicti collegij ibidem residentes, uel maiorem et saniozem partem eiusdem, eligantur unus canonicus et unus uicarius in dictorum reddituum et prouentuum receptores, qui ad sacrosancta dei euangelia tunc iurare teneantur quod redditus et prouentus predictos fideliter exigi et leuari ac ad eos transmitti facient pro posse suo et recipient, ac in forma superius prenotata distribuent, ac messuagia shopam et gardinum predicta de redditibus et prouentibus eorundem pro posse suo facient congrue sustentari singulis annis in futurum. Et in fine cuiuslibet anni de receptis huiusmodi liberatis et expensis in hac parte coram dictis custode et collegio uel maiori et saniori parte eiusdem computabunt et computare teneantur fideliter sine fraude. Et quod post huiusmodi compotum redditum, residuum omnium reddituum et prouentuum predictorum, ac tota pecunia uacaciones canonicorum uicariorum presbiterorum et clericorum predictorum collegij predicti concernens, supportatis oneribus supra et infra scriptis, in eadem cista ponantur, in dicti collegij utilitatem et ministrorum eiusdem per loci diocesanum cum et si sibi uisum fuerit expediens conuertenda. Et si dicti custos et collegium uel maior et sanior pars eiusdem in dictis p. 130. receptoribus eligendis consentire non ualeant, custos et canonici dicte eleccionis dissensu durante de summis pecuniarum supradictis eos contingentibus nichil percipiant, set pro tempore dissensus predicti eas penitus amittant, in dicta cista per receptores reddituum et prouentuum anni proximi tunc precedentis fideliter reponendas. (p. 105.)

10. *Quid faciendum est si redditus ad onera defecerit.*

SI autem dierum crescente malicia, uel ex alio infortunio, nichil residuum fuerit ultra onera predicta supportata, set defectus ad eadem supportanda forsitan fuerit, uolumus et ordinamus, quod quicquid defuerit ad supportacionem onerum predictorum de porcionibus canonicorum et ministrorum dicti collegij prenominatorum considerata quantitate earundem per loci diocesanum defalcetur. Et si dicta messuagia shopa et gardinum ac redditus duarum marcarum predictus penitus consumantur uel euincantur a custode et collegio supradictis; tunc ijdem custos et collegium ad nulla onera supradicta supportanda quouis modo teneantur. Sin autem huiusmodi redditus et prouentus in euentum data ubertate adeo excrescant quod sufficiant ad augmentacionem aliquarum porcionum predictorum;

p. 131.

tunc uolumus et ordinamus quod dicti 10 uicarij et capellanus matutinalis singulariter et diuisim, 16 denarios, et duo clerici ecclesie superius nominati 12 denarios, singulis mensibus de dictis redditibus et prouentibus iuxta discrecionem receptorum predictorum percipiant. Alioquin quod contentantur porcionibus eis superius assignatis. (p. 99.)

11. *De obitibus Roberti et Edmundi episcoporum.*

ITEM, uolumus et ordinamus quod executor officij in dicto collegio qui pro tempore fuerit, ac ceteri ministrorum eiusdem, singulis diebus statim lecto mortilegio et in eiusdem lectura presentes, pro statu nostro Roberti Braybrok, et Edmundi Stafford episcoporum predictorum dum uixerimus, et postquam ab hac luce migrauerimus pro animabus nostris, imperpetuum orare specialiter teneantur. (pp. 139, 213. On 27 August and 3 September.)

12. *De juramento Canoniorum.*

ITEM, uolumus et ordinamus quod quilibet dicti collegij canonicus iam admissus in eodem, et ibidem residenciam faciens personalem infra quindenam post publicacionem premissorum, et quilibet de cetero admittendus tempore induccionis sue per se uel procuratorem suum, de obseruando et obseruari faciendo quatenus ad eum attinet inuiolabiliter ordinaciones predictas, coram custode dicti collegij ad sancta dei euangelia per ipsos et eorum singulos corporaliter tacta iuramentum corporale realiter prestare teneantur. Et quousque huiusmodi iuramentum prestiterint de redditibus et prouentibus supradictis nichil percipiant. (p. 112.)

13. *De potestate Exon. episcopi.*

p. 132.

ITEM, uolumus et ordinamus quod episcopus Exoniensis, qui pro tempore fuerit, presenti ordinacioni ad diuinum cultum in ecclesia collegiata predicta augmentandum addere et detrahare ualeat, et eam cum opus fuerit corrigere, ac custodem et collegium, necnon personas quascumque eiusdem, ad obseruandum presentem ordinacionem nostram canonice coartare, ac statuta ibidem facere ad omnia et singula premissa in futurum firmiter obseruanda. Et quod potestas premissa omnia et singula quociens opus fuerit interpretandi dicto domino episcopo Exoniensi pro tempore existenti perpetuo sit seruata. In quorum omnium et singulorum fidem et testimonium premissorum, nos prefati Robertus Londoniensis et Edmundus Exoniensis episcopi sigilla nostra presentibus duximus apponenda. Datum Londonie 22^o die mensis Februarij anno domini 1402^o, et nostre consecracionis Roberti episcopi supradicti anno 22^o. Nostre autem consecracionis Edmundi episcopi supradicti anno 8^{uo}. Et nos custos et collegium predicti omnia et singula premissa per Reuerendos patres supradictos ut canonice et legittime ordinata acceptantes rata et grata habemus, ac eisdem expresse consentimus. In quorum testimonium sigillum nostrum commune presentibus apposuius. Datum quoad nos in domo nostra capitulari apud Otery sancte Marie 5^{to} die mensis Aprilis anno domini 1404^o. (Stafford Registr., pp. 284, 285.)

1415. On the 25th June in this year King Henry V granted to Richard Courtenay, Bishop of Norwich, a licence "dandi ad manum mortuam. Rex omnibus ad quos, etc., salutem. Sciatis quod de gracia nostra speciali concessimus et licenciam dedimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris quantum in nobis est, venerabili patri Ricardo Courtenay episcopo Norwycensi, quod ipse medietatem manerii de Wynsford cum pertinentiis in comitatu Somerset', que de nobis nunc tenet, ut dictam dare possit et assignare dilectis nobis in Christo Custodi et Canonicis ecclesie collegiate de Otery beate Marie in comitatu Devonie habendam et tenendam sibi et successoribus suis, in auxilium et augmentacionem sustentacionis sue imperpetuum, ad celebrandam unam missam quolibet die ad altare sancte Katerine, alias *domini Courteney's auter*, in ecclesia predicta pro salubri statu nostro et ipsius episcopi dum vixerimus, et pro animabus nostris cum ab hac luce migraverimus, et animabus omnium fidelium imperpetuum. Et eisdem Custodi et Canonicis quod ipsi dictam medietatem a prefato Episcopo recipere possint, et tenere sibi et successoribus suis predictis sicut predictum est imperpetuum tenore presencium similiter licenciam dedimus specialem. Statuto de terris et tenementis ad manum mortuam non ponendis edito non obstante. Nolentes quod predictus episcopus vel heredes sui aut prefati Custos et Canonici vel successores sui, racione statuti predicti seu aliorum premissorum, per nos vel heredes nostros justiciarios escaetores vicecomites aut alios ballivos seu ministros nostros quoscumque inde occasionentur molestentur in aliquo seu graventur. Salvis tamen capitalibus dominis feodi dominiis inde debitis et consuetis. In cuius rei, etc. Teste Rege, apud Wynton, xxv. die Junii.

Per ipsum Regem et pro decem marcis solutis in hanapero." *Patent Rolls*, 3 Henry V, part i, membrane 4.

Richard Courtenay was the son of Sir Philip Courtenay of Powderham, and of Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Wake of Bisworth. He was thus grandson of Hugh, the second Earl of Devon, and Margaret Bohun, granddaughter of Edward I. William Courtenay, Archbishop of Canterbury, who died 1396, was his uncle, and superintended his education (p. 52). He went as a youth to Exeter College, Oxford, and was canon of Bosham, also of Exeter, and rector of Alington in Devon (*Stafford Register*, p. 72). In 1394 he became prebendary of St Paul's, in 1400 precentor of Chichester, in 1401 prebendary of Lincoln, and then Dean of St Asaph; in 1403 prebendary of York, in 1410 Archdeacon of Northampton and Dean of Wells; in 1407 Chancellor of the University of Oxford. In 1413 by papal provision he became Bishop of Norwich, and was consecrated by Archbishop Arundel in St George's Chapel, Windsor, on 17 September. In 1414 he was sent with the Bishop of Durham on an embassy to Paris, and on 11 August, 1415, accompanied Henry V to France, but died on 15 September in the King's presence before Harfleur of dysentery. He is buried in the Confessor's Chapel at Westminster behind the high altar. His donation to Ottery was therefore made only a few months before his untimely death. Winsford is six miles north-west of Dulverton, and eight miles south of the Bristol Channel, on the River Exe. It was a royal manor in Domesday, but subsequently held by the family of Ryvers in the reigns of Edward I and II. It was a moiety of this manor which the Bishop gave to Ottery College. He possessed also the manor of East Coker, in the same county of Somerset, which he had inherited from his great-grandfather, Hugh, the first Earl of Devon (who had many manors in that county). In the College compotus roll for 1482 the rent received at the manor court that year is entered at £7. 0s. 6d. "Item de perquisitis curiarum hoc anno 14s. 6d."; sale of wood at Burford fetched £2. 6s. 8d. Hence total receipts were £10. 1s. 8d. Out of these Canon Sacrist Hillyng paid £2. 13s. 4d. to the eight priest-vicars at Ottery "pro missa celebrata quotidie ad altare sancte Katerine pro anima domini Petri [*sic*] Courtenay et aliorum benefactorum; 5s. sparsim soluti duobus vicariis, 1s. 1½d. pro novem septimanis inter vicarios, capientes qualibet septimana 11½d., 13s. 4d. Item, pro obitu Petri Courtenay et domini Tenefeld et omnium benefactorum 1s. 4d. inter pauperes, 13s. 4d. et canonico 10d." Expenditure on the fulling mill on the Exe and other matters connected with the manor courts at Wynsford brought up the total outgoings to £5. 3s. 5½d., leaving in hand for the general purposes of the Chapter £4. 16s. 6½d. This is so printed in Oliver's *Monasticon Exoniense*, p. 284. But it is possible that either the scribe of the compotus, or Oliver in reading his manuscript, wrote or misread the first "Petri" for "Ricardi." Peter Courtenay's obit was kept on 27 October (pp. 52, 220). St Katharine's altar was popularly called, before this benefaction of the Bishop in 1415, "Lord Courtenay's altar," perhaps because the 100 marks given by the first Earl of Devon in 1340 towards the fabric at Ottery may have been partly expended in its erection. Possibly its position may have been in the north transept or on the north side of the entrance to the choir beneath the rood screen. If so, its popularity and daily use were very similar to those attaching to our Lady's altar on the south side of this entrance (p. 54) used by the morn priest. One of the vicars was to celebrate daily at "Lord Courtenay's altar" in the same way as another celebrated daily at the parish altar in the nave for Sir Otho Grandisson (p. 45).

1451. August 26. Bishop Lacy issued his mandate against playing in Ottery churchyard at the game "vulgariter nominato *Tenys*." *Reg.* III, 370.

1489. Thomas Stephyn, S.T.P., desired by his will, 15 June, 1489, to be buried in the church of St Mary of Ottery before the altar of St Katharine, and left all his cups (crateras), gilt or not gilt, to make a cope (capam) in recompense of any debts he might owe to the brethren or the College; and one small altar-cloth embroidered with a black cross in the middle to the high altar, and another to the altar of St Katharine, and to the College his books; further altar-cloths also to the high altar, that of St Katharine and that of St Stephen (p. 67).

1526. Henry Feyrman, Chaunter of St Mary Oterye, willed, 7 November, 1526, after "bequething his soul to Almighty God, to his mother Saint Mary and to all the celestial company in hevyn," his body to be buried "within the *new porche* of Ottrye" (probably the south porch and college cloister, pp. 18, 19), and gave "to the *new worke* of the parishe church there twenty shillings"; and "to the College there of Ottrye, to have a perpetuall masse kept and saide at the awter there of Saint Anthony [possibly that in the south transept, under the College Tower] for me and Maister Dodman, to be ordered by the advice of myn executour and the maister of the said College, fifty marcs sterlinge."

1537. Richard Mercer (p. 12), 8 September, 1537, willed that his body "be buried within the parish church of Ottry Sainte Marie before the pulpytt (*i.e.* the rood-loft, p. 48), as nye as I may to the grave of my first wyfe, whose soule Jesu pardon" (possibly before the Jesus altar in the north transept).

1540. Robert Hone (grandfather of Sir Thomas Bodley) willed, 13 October, 1540, "to be buried in the church of Otrei St Mary before the altar named 'the Day aluter,'" and bequeathed support to the light before the high cross, to be maintained in the lamp hanging before the high cross (p. 236), and "that an honest English priest shall celebrate and say singularly a trental of masses with all the circumstances and duties as trentals should be sung or be done, in my chapel, and that the psalter of David be said about my sepulture with as many priests of Otrei as will be at it, every priest having 12*d.*, and that the great bell of the *parish towre* (*i.e.* the North Tower, pp. 55, 142) be rongen at the time of the saying."

1541. Thomas Charde, Byshop of Solubrie, 1 October, 1541, gave to the College church of "Saint Mary Oterey a cuppe of silver and gilte."

1542. John Sherman (pp. 6, 29), the elder, 22 February, 1542, bequeathed "to the high aluter of the Church of Ottery one pair of vestments of red damask. To the high cross light iij shillings. A trentall to be celebrated with masses fastyng and almes by the space of oon hole yere as the maner of Trentalls is to be used, by some honest priest, who is to have for his salary ten pounds. This to be done in the Church of Oterye at the *neue altar* (pp. 31, 33). My will is that Davids psalter be saide in the Churche of Oterye by all the vicars and other priests of the said churche that shall please them to be thereat, and every of the said vicars and priests being there at the beginning and endynge to have xij d."

1543. Oliver Smith, Warden, Vicar of Ipplepen and vicar of Ilsington, by his will 8 July, 1543, bequeathed his "body to be beried yn the Quere before my stalle: also that I have one obit the day of my beriale;—to every master xvid. and 1*d.* dole to the pore people. I bequeth unto the vicars ii. doson of wood and lyke moche to the secondaries: and ii. dosyn to the Queresters." Proved at Exeter 10 June, 1545, by John Fisher, Warden.

APPROPRIACIO ECCLESIE DE IPPLEPEN.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century there would appear to have been in England from one hundred to one hundred and forty alien priories or cells to religious houses, which belonged to French chapters or monasteries. Under the early Norman kings it was quite natural that such endowments should have been given or acquired. But when Normandy or Brittany ceased to be an undisputed fief of the Crown of England, great inconvenience inevitably ensued both in holding and in receiving rents from what was practically a foreign country; moreover, besides this, the alien priories, being merely dependencies of foreign abbeys and chapters, were ruled by their nominees, who were often aliens themselves, and in their patronage of English parish churches appointed alien incumbents. Complaints were constantly urged in Parliament against these foreign intruders, as in the case of the misuse of Papal provisions, p. 125.

On the breaking out of the war between France and England in 1285, Edward I seized their revenues to prevent them from rendering aid to their French overlords against him, and held them for the period of the war. Again, in 1305, the abbots, priors, masters, and wardens of alien priories were warned against

sending any tax or rent out of England imposed by their foreign masters; and again in 1307, by the Statute of Carlisle (c. ii and iii), the same was forbidden. The revenues were restored to them in 1327, but they were again warned in 1330 (c. vi) and 1331 (c. iii). *Statutes of the Realm*, i, 151, 263, 266. In 1337 Edward III, at Stamford, 1 July, took seisin and guardianship of all the lands, tenements, benefices, possessions, and goods of all Frenchmen, secular or religious, within the realm, "salva tamen viris religiosus, ministris et servientibus suis, rationabili sustentacione, quam ipsis de exitibus domorum suarum volumus ministrari." Meanwhile he leased the priories themselves with their lands and tenements at his pleasure for twenty-three years, and granted lay pensions out of them to divers noblemen. At the Peace of Brétigny in 1361 the estates were again all restored to their clerical possessors. They were, however, again sequestered during Richard II's reign, and the head monasteries abroad had the King's licence to sell their lands to other religious houses here or to any persons who wanted to endow others. Henry IV, in 1399, simply reserved to himself in time of war what they paid in time of peace to the foreign abbeys. But the end to this confusion came in 1414 (2 Henry V), when they were all handed over to the Crown by the Parliament at Leicester, in perpetuity, excepting such as had been granted to the college of Fotheringhay, founded by Henry IV and Edward, Duke of York. Some were at once annexed to religious houses in England; but of most the rents were farmed by contractors and paid into the Exchequer. Some were purchased by laymen for the endowment of English Church work. Henry V had designed to appropriate them all to a noble college to be founded at Oxford in his own name. In 1440 Archbishop Chicheley purchased several then remaining in King Henry VI's hands to endow All Souls College, Oxford. In 1390 and later Bishop W. Wykeham purchased several for his Winchester endowments. In 1442 Henry VI endowed Eton and King's College, Cambridge, with a considerable number of them. The manors and temporalities of Okebourne, which was the richest cell in England, and had belonged to the Benedictine Convent of Bee Herluin in Normandy, he gave to King's College: the spiritualities and tithes belonging to the same cell his uncle, John, Duke of Bedford, who was buried at Rouen 1435, had purchased and given to St George's, Windsor. Gough's *Some account of the alien priories and their lands*, 2 vols., 1779.

For a long period then before their final dissolution it had become very manifest that the alien priories retained but a precarious hold of their estates. Hence the more provident of the French monasteries and chapters over the water recognized that the wiser course was to sell or part with them into English hands as advantageously as was feasible, while yet there was time. Thus Bishop Grandisson had purchased Ottery from Rouen, in 1335, and counselled the purchase of Northam from St Stephen's, Caen, before 1361. This was accomplished; but the treaty for the further purchase of Ipplepen from St Peter's Augustinian Priory at Fougères in Brittany, of which the Bishop must at least have been cognisant, for some reason not specified fell through. On 7 June, 1351, Edward III granted a patent "Pro Canonis collegiate ecclesie beate Marie de Otery. Rex omnibus ad quos, etc., salutem. Sciatis quod de gracia nostra speciali concessimus et licenciam dedimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris, quantum in nobis est, dilectis nobis in Christo Canonis collegiate [ecclesie] beate Marie de Otery, quod ipsi advocacionem ecclesie de Ippelpenne in diocese Exoniensi, que ad sex libras taxatur per annum, ut dicitur, de Abbate et Conventu de Fulgeriis in Britannia alienigenis adquirere et ipsam ecclesiam de Ippelpenne appropriare, et eam sic appropriatam in proprios usus tenere possint, eisdem Canonis et successoribus suis de capitalibus dominis feodi illius per servicia inde debita et consueta sine occasione vel impedimento nostri vel heredum nostrorum iusticiariorum escaetorum vicecomitum aut aliorum ballivorum seu ministrorum nostrorum quorumcunque imperpetuum. Statuto de terris et tenementis ad manum mortuam non ponendis edito, seu eo quod dicta advocacio inter alia terras et tenementa religiosorum alienigenarum in Anglia in manu nostra existit, non obstantibus. In cuius etc. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium vii. die Junii, per breve de privato sigillo." *Patent Rolls*, 25 Edward III, part ii, mem. 23. So the Canons of Ottery having applied for this must have been willing to buy; and the Chapter of Fougères were willing to sell, for on 14 July, 1355, Pope Innocent VI issued a mandate to the Bishop of Wells "to inform himself touching the patronage of the Priory of Ipplepen in Exeter diocese, of which King Edward has despoiled the Augustinian abbot and convent of St Peter at Fougères in the diocese of Rennes, and has presented many secular clerks to the said church." The abbot and convent pray for licence to transfer their lands and rights in the said church to the Warden and College of St Mary Ottery. The Bishop is to report under seal to the Pope, who will take counsel as to what is to be done. *Papal Letters*, iii, 564. It is not very clear at present what was done. Otho de Grandisson died 21 May, 1359, and Northam, not Ipplepen, was purchased. But King Henry VI in his fifteenth year, by the advice of Cardinal Beaufort (for purchase money found probably by John Frank and John Lawrence), on the

10th August, 1437, issued letters patent "de ecclesia de Ippelpenne approprianda. Rex omnibus ad quos etc. salutem. Sciatis quod cum accepimus quidam Matheus quondam Abbas domus et ecclesie beati Petri de Fulgeriis in Britannia ordinis sancti Augustini alienigena seisitus fuisset de aduocacione ecclesie de Ippelpenne, alias dictus Prioratus de Ippelpenne in comitatu Deuonie Exoniensis diocesis, tempore domini Edwardi quondam Regis Anglie secundi post conquestum, et ante annum decimum octauum regni sui (1324) ut de feodo et iure dicte ecclesie sue de Fulgeriis, et ad eandem ecclesiam de Ippelpenne tunc vacantem quondam **Galfridum Cappent** clericum suum (Canon regular of Fougères) loci illius ordinario presentasset, qui ad presentacionem suam admissus fuit institutus et inductus in eadem, tempore pacis videlicet, tempore predicti nuper Regis. Idemque quondam Abbas et omnes predecessores sui quondam Abbates eiusdem loci de aduocacione predicta ut de feodo et iure in iure dicte ecclesie sue beati Petri de Fulgeriis a tempore quo non extat memoria seisiti fuissent, et ab eodem tempore in qualibet vacacione dicte ecclesie de Ippelpenne clericos suos loci illius ordinario pro tempore esistenti presentassent, qui quidem clerici sic presentati a tempore predicto successiue admissi fuerunt ad eandem ecclesiam de Ippelpenne ac instituti et inducti in eadem per ordinarios supradictos; ac postmodum defuncto prefato nuper Rege, dominus Edwardus nuper Rex Anglie tercius post conquestum omnia terras tenementa et possessiones predicta quondam Abbatis in Anglia, occasione guerre inter ipsum nuper Regem Edwardum tercium et illos de Francia mote, inter alia seisiuisset, ac postea prefatus Galfridus obiisset; post cuius mortem idem nuper Rex Edwardus tercius in Curia sua coram tunc Iusticiariis suis de Banco per breue suum de *Quare impedit* et processum inde factum recuperauerit presentacionem suam ad predictam ecclesiam de Ippelpenne versus tunc Abbatem loci predicti per defaultam eiusdem Abbatis, et super hoc consideratum fuit quoddam breue Episcopo tunc loci illius diocesano quod non obstante reclamacione predicti nuper Abbatis ad presentacionem eiusdem nuper Regis Edwardi tercii admitteret idoneam personam ad predictam ecclesiam de Ippelpenne, qui quidem Rex Edwardus tercius tricesimo die Aprilis Anno regni sui quartodecimo (1340) ad eandem ecclesiam de Ippelpenne loci illius ordinario quondam **Robertum Clapsale** (not even in minor orders, Grandisson, *Reg.* 927, licence of non-residence to attend on the King) clericum suum presentauit, qui ad eandem presentacionem virtute recuperacionis predictae per eiusdem loci ordinarium ad eandem ecclesiam de Ippelpenne admissus fuit ac institutus et inductus in eadem. Ac postmodum dicta ecclesia de Ippelpenne per resignacionem prefati Roberti vacasset (on his promotion to the rectory of Braunston, Northamptonshire, 30 April, 1350—*Reg.* Bishop Gynwell), quo pretextu idem nuper Rex Edwardus tercius quondam **Rogerum Chesterfeld** (an acolyte, aged 25, 27 May, 1350) clericum suum ad dictam ecclesiam de Ippelpenne loci illius ordinario presentauit, qui ad eandem ecclesiam virtute eiusdem presentacionis per prefatum loci illius ordinarium admissus fuit ac institutus et inductus in eadem (1350). Subsequenterque eodem nuper Rege Edwardo tercio defuncto, ius presentandi ad dictam ecclesiam de Ippelpenne in prima vacacione eiusdem Ricardo nuper Regi Anglie secundo post conquestum ut consanguineo et heredi predicti nuper Regis Edwardi tercii, videlicet filio Edwardi filii eiusdem nuper Regis Edwardi tercii, occasione guerre predictae, pertinuisset; qui quidem nuper Rex Ricardus postmodum ad dictam ecclesiam de Ippelpenne, per resignacionem predicti Rogeri vacantem (Roger exchanged with William de Horbury, rector of Ashley, Cambridgeshire, 2 July, 1386. Horbury was also Canon of St Chad, Shropshire. He exchanged with Walter Trote, rector of Yeovil, who was instituted 24 July, 1392. Walter Trote exchanged 15 September, 1396, with John Excestre, canon of Exeter), quondam **Willelmum Horbury** (1386) clericum suum ordinario loci predicti presentauit; ac postea ad dictam ecclesiam de Ippelpenne per resignacionem predicti Willelmi vacantem quondam **Walterum Trote** clericum suum presentauit (1392). Postmodumque ad dictam ecclesiam de Ippelpenne per resignacionem dicti Walteri vacantem, quondam **Johannem Excestre** clericum suum presentauit; qui quidem Willelmus Walterus et Johannes ad presentaciones eis inde sic factas per eiusdem loci ordinarium pro tempore existentem ad eandem ecclesiam de Ippelpenne successiue admissi fuerunt ac instituti et inducti in eadem. Ac postmodum idem nuper Rex Ricardus se de gubernacione dicti regni sui Anglie dimisisset, per quod post dimissionem illam pertinuit carissimo avo nostro Henrico nuper Regi Anglie presentare ad dictam ecclesiam de Ippelpenne in proxima vacacione eiusdem, qui quidem avus noster postea ad dictam ecclesiam de Ippelpenne per mortem dicti Johannis Excestre vacantem quondam **Johannem Spryngthorp** clericum suum (1400) (25 October, 1400, who exchanged 21 November, 1402, with John Morehay, rector of West Keal, diocese of Lincoln, and he exchanged 11 May, 1410, with Richard Gabriel, canon and prebendary of Wells), et postea ad eandem ecclesiam de Ippelpenne per resignacionem eiusdem Johannis Spryngthorp vacantem, quondam **Johannem Morehay** clericum suum (1402), et postmodum ad eandem ecclesiam de Ippelpenne per resignacionem eiusdem Johannis Morehay vacantem, quondam **Ricardum Gabriell** clericum suum presentauit (1410), qui

quidem Johannes Spryngthorp Johannes Morehay et Ricardus ad eandem ecclesiam de Ippelpenne per loci illius ordinarium successiue admissi fuerunt ac instituti et inducti in eadem. Ac postmodum prefato auo nostro defuncto, ius presentandi ad dictam ecclesiam de Ippelpenne in proxima vacacione eiusdem ad carissimum dominum et patrem nostrum Henricum nuper Regem Anglie ut filium et heredem prefati aui nostri pertinisset. Ac in parlamento apud Leycestriam ultimo die Aprilis Anno regni prefati patris nostri secundo (1414) tento ordinatum fuisset, quod omnes possessiones prioratuum alienigenarum in Anglia existentes in manibus eiusdem patris nostri remanere possent sibi et heredibus suis imperpetuum, ad certam intencionem super hoc habitam et in petitione inde facta declaratam, exceptis certis possessionibus et prioratibus alienigenis prout in statuto in parlamento predicto inde edito plenius continetur. Subsequenterque dicta ecclesia de Ippelpenne per mortem Ricardi Gabriell vacasset, quo pretexto prefatus pater noster **Johannem Thoraby** clericum suum ad eandem ecclesiam de Ippelpenne presentauit, qui ad presentationem suam per loci illius ordinarium admissus fuit institutus et inductus in eadem. Ac postmodum, videlicet vicesimo primo die Maii Anno regni dicti patris nostri septimo (1419) pax finalis inter carissimum auum nostrum Karolum tunc Regem Francie et prefatum patrem nostrum ac regna Francie et Anglie et subditos eorundem regnorum reformatam conclusa et concordata extitisset, que quidem pax finalis postmodum ad parlamentum apud Westmonasterium Anno regni eiusdem patris nostri nono (1421) tentum auctoritate eiusdem parlamenti ac omnium statuum in eodem existencium pro se ac heredibus et successoribus suis imperpetuum approbata fuit laudata et acceptata; postmodumque prefato patre nostro ab hac luce subtracto ac aduocacione dicte ecclesie de Ippelpenne in manibus nostris existente, predicta ecclesia de Ippelpenne per resignacionem predicti Johannis Thoraby vacasset, quo pretexto nos **Ricardum Hore** clericum nostrum ad dictam ecclesiam de Ippelpenne loci illius ordinario presentauimus, qui ad presentationem nostram per prefatum ordinarium admissus fuit institutus et inductus in eadem. Et postea eadem ecclesia de Ippelpenne per resignacionem predicti Hore vacasset, per quod nos dilectum clericum nostrum **Johannem Frank** presentauimus ad eandem. Ac postmodum vacante eadem ecclesia de Ippelpenne per resignacionem ipsius Johannis Frank quendam **Johannem Sarger** (p. 88) clericum nostrum presentauimus ad eandem; qui quidem Johannes Frank et Johannes Sarger ad presentationem nostram per loci illius ordinarium successiue admissi fuerunt instituti et inducti in eadem, et predictus Johannes Sarger sic ad presens est incumbens in eadem; sique aduocacio predicta ex causis predictis in manibus nostris seisita remanet in presenti.

Nos premissa debite ponderantes, considerantes eciam qualiter dicta ecclesia de Ippelpenne aliquando 'Prioratus de Ippelpenne' extitit vocata, pro eo quod diuersi Abbates dicte domus de Fulgeriis, antiquitus ante dictam guerram motam, eorum canonicos alienigenas de eadem domo sua de Fulgeriis presentauerunt ad eandem, vbi eadem ecclesia de Ippelpenne est et semper fuit vt dicitur ecclesia parochialis, absque eo quod ecclesia illa vmquam fuit Prioratus de Ippelpenne vel fecit huiusmodi prioratum aut vmquam fuit membrum vel pertinens alicuius huiusmodi Prioratus de Ippelpenne et absque eo quod aliquis huiusmodi prioratus de Ippelpenne in rerum natura vmquam habebatur. Attendentes insuper qualiter ecclesia collegiata beate Marie de Otery de quadraginta et duabus personis Canonicorum Presbiterorum Clericorum Choristarum et aliarum personarum diuina ibidem celebrancium est fundata, possessionesque eiusdem ecclesie collegiate taliter sunt depauperate et ad tantum deuenerunt decasum quod ad sustentandum numerum personarum predictarum sufficere non valebunt nisi celerius ab aliquo vel aliquibus deo deuotis caritatiue releuetur et augmentetur, qualiterque prefatus progenitor noster dominus Edwardus tercius per litteras suas patentes septimo die Junii Anno regni sui Anglie vicesimo quinto (1351) regni vero sui Francie duodecimo concessit pro se et heredibus suis Canonicis predictae ecclesie Collegiate quod ipsi dictam aduocacionem ecclesie de Ippelpenne, que tunc ad sex libras taxabatur vt dicebatur, de tunc Abbate et Conuentu dicte domus de Fulgeriis per nomen Abbatis et Conuentus de Fulgeriis in Britannia alienigenarum perquirere, et eandem ecclesiam de Ippelpenne appropriare et eam sic appropriatam in proprios vsus tenere possent sibi et successoribus suis imperpetuum. Statuto de terris et tenementis ad manum mortuam non ponendis edito, aut eo quod aduocacio predicta inter alia terras et tenementa religiosorum alienigenarum in manibus eiusdem nuper Regis Edwardi tercii non obstante. Et volentes proinde dilectis nobis in Christo nunc Custodi et collegio dicte ecclesie collegiate gratiam in hac parte facere vberiore, de gracia nostra speciali volumus et concedimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris quantum in nobis est nunc Custodi et Collegio et successoribus suis predictam aduocacionem ecclesie de Ippelpenne, habendam et tenendam sibi et successoribus suis de capitalibus dominis feodi illius per seruicia inde debita, et quod ipsi eandem ecclesiam de Ippelpenne appropriare et eam sic appropriatam in proprios vsus tenere et habere possint sibi et successoribus suis imperpetuum. Statuto et materiis predictis aut aliquo alio titulo vel iure quod nobis inde competere vel pertinere poterit aut

aliquibus aliis statutis causis vel materiis quibuscumque non obstantibus. Et vltcrius de gracia nostra speciali concessimus et licenciam dedimus pro nobis et dictis heredibus nostris quantum in nobis est prefatis nunc Custodi et collegio quod ipsi in eorum possessione predictarum aduocacionis et ecclesie de Ippelpenne sufficientes ratificaciones confirmaciones et relaxaciones de Abbate et Conuentu dicte domus de Fulgeriis pro tempore existentibus et eorum successoribus aut aliis personis quibuscumque si indigeat infuturum aut alias predictam aduocacionem ecclesie de Ippelpenne de eisdem Abbate et Conuentu de Fulgeriis et eorum successoribus perquirere et post huiusmodi perquisicionem relaxacionem ratificacionem vel confirmacionem eandem ecclesiam de Ippelpenne si indiguerit de nouo appropriare et eam sic appropriatam in proprios vsus tenere possint sibi et successoribus suis predictis in forma supradicta."

Distribucio pro omnibus in collegio residentibus.

Ad finem et effectum, quod exitus et proficua de predicta ecclesia de Ippelpenne proueniencia inter Custodem Canonicos Vicarios Capellanos Clericos Choristas et alios ministros ecclesie collegiate predicte et eorum successores pro tempore existentes annuatim imperpetuum expendantur et distribuuntur in forma subsequenti. Videlicet quod quilibet vicariorum dicti Collegii habeat inde annuatim viginti et sex solidos et octo denarios, quilibet clericus de octo clericis vocatis *Secundaries* eiusdem collegii decem solidos (p. 98), quilibet de duobus clericis vocatis *Chircheclerkes* eiusdem Collegii decem solidos, quilibet de duobus clericis vocatis *Halywater clerkes* eiusdem collegii sex solidos et octo denarios, Capellanus vocatus *Mornprest* infra collegium predictum viginti et sex solidos et octo denarios, Capellanus vocatus *Parisshpree* in eodem Collegio tresdecim solidos et quatuor denarios, et quilibet octo choristarum eiusdem Collegii qualibet septimana annuatim vnum denarium, Magister scole grammaticæ in eodem collegio annuatim quadraginta solidos, et clericus Capelle beate Marie in eodem collegio viginti et sex solidos et octo denarios, ad diuina seruicia et obsequia pro salubri statu nostro et carissimi consanguinei nostri Henrici Episcopi Wyntoniensis *Cardinalis Anglie* vulgariter nuncupati, Johannis Frank clerici et Johannis Laurence et Johanne vxoris eius, et pro animabus nostris cum ab hac luce migrauerimus, et pro animabus carissimi domini et patris nostri nuper Regis Anglie predicti, ac animabus parentum et antecessorum et progenitorum nostrorum ac dicti domini Cardinalis, Johannis Frank, Johannis Laurence, et Johanne vxoris eius, et omnium fidelium defunctorum, in ecclesia eiusdem collegii imperpetuum facienda, et specialiter inter alia ad exequias mortuorum et vnam missam de *Requiem* in choro eiusdem collegii per maiorem partem Canonicorum Vicariorum Capellanorum Clericorum Choristarum et aliarum personarum eiusdem collegii pro tempore existencium *semel quolibet mense imperpetuum* cum nota solempniter pro animabus expressis et animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum faciendas et celebrandas. Ad quam quidem missam tres solidi et quatuor denarii de proficuis prouenientibus de dicta ecclesia de Ippelpenne per Custodem collegii predicti pro tempore existentem inter pauperes ibidem venientes imperpetuum distribuuntur. Quodque exitus et proficua residua de eadem ecclesia de Ippelpenne prouenientes inter Custodem et Canonicos residenciarios infra collegium predictum annuatim imperpetuum diuidantur et distribuuntur. Ita quod vna pars eorundem exituum et proficuum residuorum Custodi collegii predicti pro tempore existenti et altera medietas eorundem exituum et proficuum aliis Canonicis infra collegium predictum pro tempore residentibus annuatim distribuatur imperpetuum (p. 96).

"Prouiso semper quod prefati Custos Canonici Vicarii et alie persone collegii predicti et eorum successores onera predicta et alia diuina seruicia et opera iuxta ordinacionem predictorum domini Cardinalis, Johannis Frank, et Johannis Laurence, vel executorum suorum per indenturas inter ipsos vel executores suos et prefatos Custodem et Collegium vel successores suos inde conficiendam limitanda faciant et supportent imperpetuum. Statutis et materiis predictis aut aliis statutis vel materiis quibuscumque in aliquo non obstantibus. Prouiso semper quod vicaria dicte ecclesie de Ippelpenne sufficienter dotetur et quod quedam competens summa argenti de bonis et prouentibus eiusdem ecclesie inter pauperes parochianos eiusdem ecclesie iuxta ordinacionem loci illius ordinarii in hac parte faciendam ac formam statuti in hac parte editi annuatim distribuatur. In cuius etc. Teste Rege apud Castrum suum de Notyngham x^o die Augusti etc." *Patent Rolls*, 15 Henry VI, mem. 2.

Accordingly on 13 March, 1439, Bishop Edmund Lacy sanctioned the appropriation for the aforesaid objects.

"Vniuersis sancte matris ecclesie filijs ad quos presentes litere peruenerint, Edmundus miseratione diuina Exoniensis Episcopus salutem in domino sempiternam. Intenta pijs operibus sollicitudo officij pastoralis laudabilia pietatis opera vigili consideracione discuciens, illos non immerito gratia prosequitur suffragij pocioris in quibus deuocionis studia et maiora pietatis officia contemplatur. Sane oblata nobis peticio dilectorum in Christo filiorum Custodis et Collegij Ecclesie Collegiate beate Marie de Otery nostrorum patronatus et diocesis continebat, quod cum dictum Collegium quod sub numero quadraginta duarum personarum canonicorum vicariorum presbiterorum clericorum choristarum et aliarum personarum noctu dieque deo inibi assidue famulancium ad laudem et honorem dei et gloriosissime virginis Marie genitricis sue deuocius fuerit et sit fundatum, ex diuersis et varijs infortunijs eidem contingentibus, sepius nempe pestilencijs guerrarum discriminibus et nonnunquam aduersa variacione temporum, atque varijs oneribus extraordinarijs dietim emergentibus, adeo fit oppressum et in suis fructibus redditibus decimis oblationibus obuencionibus proficuis prouentibus et emolimentis plus solito diminutum, et tam graviter collapsum quod predicti ministri eiusdem ecclesie Collegiate antedictae, qui diuino officio diurno pariter et nocturno in eadem insistere sunt astricti, de consuetis stipendijs sive porcionibus suis absque alio subuencionis et prouisionis accommode presidio congrue sustentari non poterint.

Quorum pretextu illustrissimus in Christo princeps et dominus dominus Henricus Sextus Rex Anglie et Francie et dominus Hibernie ex speciali sua gracia et munificencia pro salute anime sue et progenitorum suorum sub suis literis patentibus prefatis Custodi et Collegio et eorum successoribus aduocacionem ecclesie parochialis de Ipplepen' nostre diocesis, eiusdem ecclesie parochialis verus unus et vnicus patronus, inter alia sua pietatis et misericordie opera concessit graciose eciam et donauit habendam et tenendam prefato Custodi et Collegio et eorum successoribus imperpetuum. Licenciam insuper in eisdem suis literis regijs, sub firma spe nostrorum auctoritatis et consensus, eandem ecclesiam parochialem de Ipplepen prefatis Custodi et Collegio et eorum successoribus pro et ex causis supradictis sub certis modo et forma in supradictis literis suis regijs plenius designatis, eisdem Custodi et Collegio sancte Marie de Otery et eorum successoribus appropriandi vniendi incorporandi et annectendi, seu appropriari vniri incorporari et annecti faciendi, ipsamque sic appropriatam vnitam incorporatam et annexam in proprios vsus sibi eisdem Custodi et Collegio et successoribus suis possidendi indulsit benignius specialem. Nos igitur cupientes eisdem Custodi et Collegio in hac parte pia paterna sollicitudine prouidere, tanteque regie celsitudinis mansuetudinem et laudandum propositum ad memoriam revocantes, dilectos nobis in Christo decanum et capitulum Ecclesie nostre Cathedralis Exoniensis necnon dilectum in Christo filium Alanum Kyrketon archidiaconum archidiaconatus Tottonie in Ecclesia nostra Cathedrali predicta, infra cuius archidiaconatum dicta ecclesia parochialis de Ipplepen consistit, specialiter et in specie, atque omnes alios et singulos ius interesse in hac parte habentes generaliter et in genere, ad comparandum coram nobis et tractandum vna nobiscum de et super appropriacione vnione incorporacione et annexione predictae Ecclesie parochialis de Ipplepen, ad certos competentes terminum et locum fecimus preemptorie euocari. Habitoque demum cum eisdem decano et capitulo atque cum dilecto in Christo Willielmo Hylle clerico nostre diocesis, dicti Magistri Alani procuratore literatorie et sufficienter constituto, cuius procuratorij tenor inferius continetur, tractatu solempni et diligenti, atque per diuturni temporis continuacionem deliberacionem prouida et matura premissaque in hac parte cause cognicione: Quia per exhibita et probata acta et inactitata in hac parte coram nobis habita reperimus premissa nobis in hac parte suggesta et exposita vera fuisse et esse, emergente necessitate et euidente vtilitate suadentibus, appropriacionem vnionem annexionem et incorporacionem huiusmodi ad petitionem Magistri Ricardi Daber in legibus bacallarij clerici procuratoris dictorum Custodis et Collegij in hac parte specialiter licite sufficienter et literatorie constituti, cuius procuratorij tenor inferius plenius continetur, decreuimus et pronunciauimus

faciendam. Sicque deinde de licencia dicti domini nostri Regis, atque vnanimi dictorum decani et capituli, ac predicti Willielmi Hylle clerici procuratoris Archidiaconi nostri Tottonie predicti, aliorumque omnium et singulorum quorum interest in hac parte collaudacione consilio et consensu concurrentibus omnibus et singulis que de iure in hac parte requiruntur, prefatam ecclesiam parochialem de Ipplepen' cum omnibus suis iuribus et pertinencijs vniuersis ex causis predictis quas veras et legitimas esse inuenimus in hac parte et pro eisdem sentencialiter et diffinitive pronunciamus et declaramus in his scriptis, vt predictum Collegium crescat in melius, et vt iidem Christi famuli in sue fundacionis primordio firmitus et stabilius in domo domini collocentur, et ad supportandum facilius iniuncta sibi onera conualescant, ac in prefato Collegio sancte deuocionis obseruancia in diuini cultus ministerio eo maius floreat quo ipsius conuersacio placida recreationem habuerit subsidij temporalis, ad laudem et gloriam illius qui dat gracias et largitur premia, quique cuiuslibet sancte congregacionis esse noscitur fundamentum, necnon ad honorem gloriosissime virginis Marie genitricis dei et domini Jhesu Christi in cuius honore dictum Collegium honorifice erectum extitit et fundatum, iuxta et secundum omnem vim formam et effectum regie concessionis predictae, eisdem Custodi et Collegio sancte Marie de Otery predictae auctoritate nostra pontificali et ordinaria appropriamus vnimus incorporamus et annectimus. Juribus et dignitate nostris et ecclesie nostre Exoniensis et loci Archidiaconi ac cuiuslibet alterius in omnibus semper saluis. Ita quod cedente vel decedente Rectore predictae ecclesie parochialis de Ipplepen vel eam alias quouismodo dimittente, liceat eisdem Custodi et Collegio vel eorum successoribus corporalem possessionem predictae ecclesie parochialis de Ipplepen auctoritate propria libere nancisci et apprehendere, necnon fructus redditus et proventus ipsius ecclesie de Ipplepen in vsus suos proprios iuxta formam et effectum regie concessionis predictae perpetuo conuertere pariter et applicare, nostra vel successorum nostrorum seu cuiuslibet alterius licencia minime requisita. Salua semper et reseruata de eiusdem ecclesie parochialis de Ipplepen fructibus redditibus et prouentibus pro perpetuo vicario canonice in eadem ad presentacionem eorundem Custodis et collegij primo et quociens vacauerit instituendo congrua porcione assignanda, ex qua idem vicarius qui pro tempore congrue sustentari poterit, iura episcopalia et archidiaconalia persolvere, aliaque sibi incumbencia et imponenda onera debite supportare valeat. Cuius quidem vicarij competentis et congrue porcionis taxationem et assignacionem nobis et successoribus nostris specialiter reseruamus. Tenore eciam presencium ordinamus et decernimus, vt singulis futuris annis dicti Custos et Collegium et eorum successores, post adeptam possessionem pacificam prefate ecclesie parochialis de Ipplepen, annuatim in festo Pasche sex solidos et octo denarios legalis monete Anglicane inter pauperes parochianos eiusdem ecclesie fideliter distribuunt seu distribui faciant. Et quia hec predicta appropriacio vno incorporacio et annexio in nostre dignitatis dampnum et iuris nostri lesionem non modicam redundare dinoscuntur manifeste, cum igitur de iure non sit nouum, vt cum locorum episcopi pijs locis ecclesias appropriandas concesserunt, aliquid pro eorum indemnitatem sibi reseruent in eis nomine pensionis, idcirco de consensu et assensu predicti Magistri Ricardi Daber procuratoris predicti, ordinamus et decernimus tresdecim solidos et quatuor denarios de bonis Custodis et Collegij predicti et successorum suorum pro nostra et dignitatis nostre episcopalis indemnitatem singulis annis futuris, post huiusmodi pacificam possessionem ecclesie parochialis predictae adeptam, ad vsum et vtilitatem vicariorum secundariorum et choristarum predicti Collegij sub hac forma annuatim perpetuis futuris temporibus distribuendos, videlicet sex solidos et octo denarios ad vsum eorundem vicariorum, videlicet vasorum vtensiliorum focalium et reparacionis domorum suarum et aliorum necessariorum communem, prout opus fuerit; ad quorum invencionem reparacionem et emendacionem ipsi in communi tenentur iuxta discrecionem Custodis et canonicorum senescallorum predicti Collegij qui pro tempore fuerint (pp. 76, 109, 207).

Ac quadraginta denarios in communem vtilitatem secundariorum, et alios quadraginta denarios in communem vtilitatem puerorum choristarum ibidem consimilibus modis et forma annuatim fideliter conuertendos, prout predictos tresdecim solidos et quatuor denarios sic distribuendos in vsus predictos fideliter conuertendos perpetuis futuris temporibus, de consensu expresso predicti magistri Ricardi procuratoris Custodis et Collegij predicti, pronunciamus declaramus et ordinamus. Verum cum equum non sit, nec rationi consentaneum, vt alteri per alterum iniqua condicio inferatur, et quod ab initio per vnum pie fuerit dispositum eidem ex post facto voto alterius derogetur, ne igitur fructus redditus et proventus prefate ecclesie collegiate sancte Marie de Otery in sua primaria fundacione ad certos vsus per eius fundatorem assignati ad consupportandum huiusmodi onera eisdem Custodi et collegio per hanc nouellam appropriacionem et eius pretextu imposita applicentur, in eventu, si fructus redditus et proventus prefate ecclesie parochialis de Ipplepen in tantum decrescere contingant seculis post futuris, quod absit, quod ad huiusmodi onera per se supportanda sufficere non valebunt, statuimus ordinamus decernimus et declaramus quod prefati Custos

et Collegium ad supportandum onera eis in hac appropriacione imposita, cessantibus dolo et lata culpa eorumdem, prout fructus redditus et prouentus dicte ecclesie appropriate de Ipplepen ad hoc sufficere valeant duntaxat teneantur, et non ultra. Interpretacionem vero et declaracionem dubij vel obscuri si quid forsan in premissis vel aliquo premissorum emergerit in futuro, nobis et successoribus nostris Exoniensibus Episcopis specialiter reseruamus. Tenor vero procuratorij prefati magistri Ricardi Daber de quo supra fit mencio sequitur et est talis. Pateat etc. Tenor eciam procuratorij prelibati Willielmi Hylle clerici de quo supra scribitur sequitur sub hac forma. Pateat etc.

In quorum omnium et singulorum testimonium atque fidem presentes nostras literas per magistrum Andream Chaluedon' clericum notarium publicum infra scriptum, nostrum in hac parte scribam, scribi et publicari mandamus, nostriue sigilli appensione fecimus communiri. Datum et actum in manerio nostro de Chuddelegh xiiij die mensis Marcij Anno domini secundum cursum et computacionem ecclesie Anglicane millesimo cccc^{mo} xxxviiij^o [i.e. 1439] Indiccione secunda. Pontificis sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini domini Eugenij pape quarti Anno nono. Presentibus discretis viris Magistris Henrico Webber in decretis nostre ecclesie Cathedralis Exoniensis et Johanne Barneby ecclesie collegiate sancte crucis Crydyton' canonicis, in legibus Bacallarijs, domino Thoma Taylor capellano ecclesie parochialis de Lawytton Rectore, et Johanne Barford literato testibus, nostre Exoniensis diocesis ad premissa vocatis specialiter et rogatis." No. 1127 Exeter Chapter Muniments. "*Copia instrumenti Edmundi Episcopi de appropriacione ecclesie de Ipplepen collegio de Ottery.*" This is written on one sheet of paper, twelve inches broad and seventeen inches long, in a contemporary fifteenth-century hand. There are fifty-one lines on the front side of the sheet and twenty-seven lines on the obverse; each line contains on an average twenty-three words.

On 27 September, 1439, the Bishop issued an ordinance, enrolled in his Episcopal Register, regarding the salary to be reserved from the Rectory for the Vicar of Ipplepen, and as to the rooms he was to occupy in the rectory house. The arrangement was approved by the Warden and College of Ottery, 24 February, 1443, the Vicar, John Berde, having previously, on 16 February, expressed his assent thereto. Forty marks a year were to be paid to the Vicar in quarterly instalments. He was to occupy the hall of the rectory house, with a lofty chamber on the west side of the same and a cellar under it, together with another chamber contiguous to the first, with cellar under it; also a third chamber above the two doors of the hall, and a kitchen, bakehouse, and press-house (for apples or grapes); further, a chamber on the west side of the stable, with cellar under it, the stable itself and chamber over the same; a garden for herbs on the west side of the lofty chamber on the west side of the hall, and the orchard in which the dove-cot stands: this last he was to have and sixteen feet of land to the west of it, and to make a hedge or ditch from the rectory house to the mid-hedge of the orchard so as to divide off the Vicar's land and garden from the rest. He was to keep all these buildings in good repair; and to look carefully after the tithes belonging to Ottery College.

"VNIERSIS sancte matris Ecclesie filijs presentes literas inspecturis vel audituris, Edmundus miseracione diuina Exoniensis Episcopus salutem, in Eo qui est omnium vera Salus, et presentibus fidem imperpetuum adhibere. Si juxta laudabilem antiquorum sapienciam et providum sapientium concilium, dignum fore non ambigitur, ea que superioris consultissima providencia in subditorum gratiam, commoda, et quietem geruntur, ne rei geste veritas per temporis decursum aliquialiter occultetur, sub scripture testimonio dilucide in scriptis redigere, dignum per consequens et rationi consonum censetur, ut adeo nota fiat eorum veritas quod inde nec desit pacificis opportuna provisio nec umquam perversis sub ignorancia variandi supina facultas relinquatur. Ut igitur, de, in, et super subscriptis, per nos rite recte et legitime creatis, erectis, ordinatis, compositis, dispositis, limitatis et taxatis, eo clarius et cercius quo autentice scripture testimonio specialiter vallentur et roborentur posteris nostris veritas illucescere et indubitabiliter patescere valeat presentibus et futuris, vestre universitati ad rei geste perpetuam memoriam presencium tenore innotescimus quod dudum nos, auctoritate nostra ordinaria, in quodam infrascripto negocio creacionis et ereccionis perpetue vicarie in Ecclesia parochiali de Ippelpenne, nostre diocesis, atque taxacionis, limitacionis, assignacionis et ordinacionis congrue porcionis ejusdem pro vicario perpetuo qui pro tempore fuerit in eadem, rite et legitime per omnia procedentes, perpetuam vicariam in eadem ecclesia erigendo creavimus, et creando ereximus, atque erigendo ordinavimus, et ejusdem vicarie perpetue porcionem congruam ad sustentacionem perpetui vicarii ejusdem qui pro tempore erit in eadem, concurrentibus omnibus et singulis in hac parte de jure requisitis, taxavimus, limitavimus, assignavimus, et ordinavimus, sub hac imperpetuum valitura decreti nostri forma que sequitur, *In dei nomine, Amen.* Nos, Edmundus, miseracione divina Exoniensis Episcopus, In quodam negocio creacionis, ereccionis, et ordinacionis ejusdem perpetue vicarie in Ecclesia parochiali de Ippelpenne, nostre diocesis, ordinande et creande, ac taxacionis, limitacionis, assignacionis, et ordinacionis congrue porcionis ejusdem

vicarie pro vicario perpetuo in eadem Ecclesia de Ippelpenne, que alias per nos, et auctoritate nostra ordinaria et diocesana, Custodi et Collegio nostro beate Marie de Otery, nostrorum patronatus et diocesis, concurrentibus omnibus et singulis de jure requisitis, salua porcione congrua pro vicario perpetuo in eadem intitulado et instituendo canonice, extitit appropriata, unita, et annexa, rite et legitime procedentes. Attendentes quod vicarius dicte vicarie qui pro tempore fuerit, cum hujusmodi vicaria inibi creata, erecta, et ordinata fuerit, et vicarius perpetuus in eadem institutus fuerit, juxta et secundum canonicas sanciones et sanctorum patrum constitutiones, non solum ad continuam residenciam personalem hospitalitatis, verum etiam ad exactam, diligentem, et continuam curam animarum dicte vicarie exercendam, et divinorum obsequiorum et servitorum in eadem ecclesia parochiali predicta debitam et devotam celebrationem, sacramentorum et sacramentalium ministracionem, potens, sanus, senex, nisi valetudinariis sive impotens fuerit, sub diversis penis astringetur et obligabitur. Ne, igitur, de vicarie perpetue hujusmodi creacione, ereccionem, et ordinacione, ac ejusdem vicarie creacionis, ereccionis, ac judicialis ordinacionis decreto, necnon de ejusdem vicarie et vicarii ejusdem qui pro tempore fuerit congrua porcione, et oneribus tam ex parte proprietariorum predictorum quam ex parte predicti vicarii perpetui qui pro tempore fuerit, in et super agnitione hujusmodi onerum predictae ecclesie de Ippelpenne vagetur sub incerto, seculis post futuris; 1. In primis, de consensu et assensu magistri Ricardi Daber, in legibus bacallarii, procuratoris dictorum Custodis et Collegii proprietariorum predictorum sufficienter et legitime in hac parte constituti, coram nobis pro tribunali sedentibus comparentis, vicariam perpetuam in dicta ecclesia de Ippelpenne erigimus et creamus, vicariamque in eadem perpetuis futuris temporibus existere et fore, atque vicarium perpetuum in eadem intitulandum et canonice instituendum ordinamus et decernimus; ac ad ipsum vicarium hujusmodi curam animarum parochianorum ipsius ecclesie ac ministracionem sacramentorum et sacramentalium, necnon divinorum servitorum ejusdem ecclesie celebrationem, pertinere pronunciamus et declaramus; cujus, quidem, vicarie perpetue ac vicarii ejusdem porcione, de expresso consensu dicti procuratoris, limitamus, taxamus, dotamus, et assignamus, ac in rebus infrascriptis consistere decernimus et ordinamus, videlicet, quod vicarius dicte vicarie perpetue qui pro tempore fuerit, pro sua congrua sustentacione percipiet et habebit, sicque singulos futuros perpetuos vicarios in eadem percipere et habere decernimus et ordinamus, singulis perpetuis futuris annis annuatim, a dictis Custode et Collegio, proprietariis predictis, quadraginta marcas bone et legalis monete Anglicane, solvendas singulis perpetuis futuris annis vicario hujusmodi qui pro tempore fuerit, apud Ippelpenne predictam, ad quatuor anni terminos principales, videlicet ad festa Michaelis Archangeli, Natalis domini, Pasche, et Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptiste, per equales porciones sub pena sequestracionis fructuum et proventuum dictorum proprietariorum, quam ipso jure dictos proprietarios, de consensu dicti procuratoris, absque alia solemnitate judiciali incurere decernimus, si, in aliquo termino terminorum predictorum, tempore solucionis porcionis hujusmodi assignato a retro fuerint. Reservata nobis et successoribus nostris potestate puniendi canonice eosdem proprietarios aliis penis juris, crescente eorum in hac parte malicia, negligencia, seu contemptu. 2. Item, assignamus et ordinamus eidem vicario qui pro tempore fuerit ac singulis futuris vicariis in eadem, pro mansione sua, aulam rectorie predictae ecclesie, altam cameram in occidentali parte ejusdem aule, cum celario sub eadem, una cum alia camera eidem camere adjuncta et celario sub ipsa, atque cameram supra duo hostia ejusdem aule, una cum coquina, pistrina, et domo pressorii ibidem, ita quod dicti proprietarii liberam habebunt molituram in eadem domo pressorii fructuum et pomorum suorum, ac liberum egressum et ingressum ad eandem eo tempore; quam liberam molituram ad emptores fructuum et pomorum predictorum proprietariorum extendere volumus, ita quod fructus sic ab eisdem proprietariis emptos libere molere valeant emptores hujusmodi, cum libero ingressu et egressu ibidem, satisfacto vicario predicto pro molitura aliorum fructuum, ab ipsis proprietariis non emptorum, si quos ibi ultra emptos ab eisdem proprietariis molere velint emptores hujusmodi. 3. Item, assignamus et ordinamus vicario predicto, et singulis vicariis futuris in eadem, cameram ex parte occidentali stabuli cum celario sub ea, et stabulum predictum cum camera supra illud stabulum. Assignamus, etiam, de consensu procuratoris predicti, vicario predicto, et singulis futuris vicariis, unum ortum pro oleribus et herbis ex occidentali parte alte camere aule predictae situatum, et pomerium in quo columbare ibidem consistit, cum columbari predicto in eodem pomerio, cum sexdecim pedibus terre ex parte orientali ejusdem, ad faciendum unam sepem sive fossatum a curtilagio rectorie predictae usque ad mediam sepem ejusdem pomerii; que, quidem, sepes dividet terram et gardinum vicarii a terra et gardino proprietariorum predictorum in ea parte. 4. Ordinamus insuper, de consensu dicti procuratoris, quod vicarius hujusmodi qui pro tempore fuerit subibit, et singuli perpetui vicarii qui pro tempore fuerint in eadem subibunt, temporibus suis successivis, onus decani ruralis, cum per cursum sive turnum illius decanatus ad ecclesiam de Ippelpenne hujusmodi onus pertinuerit; et quod solvet, et

singuli vicarii predicti, temporibus suis successivis, solvent, procuracionem illius ecclesie, sinodaticum, et cathedriticum, et denarios processionales tocians quociens fuerint de jure seu consuetudine solvendi. Omnia, vero, alia onera ordinaria et extraordinaria dicte ecclesie parochialis de Ippelpenne, de consensu dicti procuratoris, discernimus ad proprietarios predictos pertinere; salvis oneribus suprascriptis et infrascriptis, vicario predicto, ut supra et infra sequitur, impositis. 5. Ordinamus, eciam, quod dictus vicarius qui pro tempore fuerit reparabit, emendabit, reficiet, et de novo construet, quociens opus fuerit, omnes et singulos domos eidem vicarie superius assignatas, ac omnes et singulos muros, parietes, et fossata dividencia curtilagium assignatum vicario predicto a curtilagio et terra proprietariorum predictorum, ita quod vicarius hujusmodi suis expensis obturabit lapidibus murando et claudet hostium sive portam existens sive existentem in pariete in orientali parte curtilagii vicario predicto assignati. Et de novo pro ingressu et egressu suis et suorum successorum, ad et in locum suum sibi et suis successoribus, ut prefertur, assignatum, eriget et construet unam portam sive januam in australi pariete inter novum orreum et aulam vicario hujusmodi assignatam tendente; quos quidem parietem et portam vicarius qui pro tempore fuerit, et sui post eum successores, quociens et quando opus fuerit reparabunt, sustinebunt, et de novo construet, eorum sumptibus et expensis. 6. Verum, cum decime personales et oblaciones manuales ac minora jura ecclesiastica que multum secreta sunt et abdita in conscienciis parochianorum, sepius non nisi bonis discretis ac salutaribus exhortacionibus, induccionibus, doctrinis, et instruccionibus curatorum parochianorum hujusmodi nota valeant seu liquida fieri, nec exigi neque levare, propter difficultatem probacionis eorundem, in grave prejudicium ecclesiarum et animarum periculum; ideo, eo quod porcio vicarii predicti, qui curam animarum parochianorum predictae ecclesie parochialis de Ippelpenne habet, assignata sit et consistat in certa summa pecuniaria, ut supradicitur et exprimitur, ne per desidiam, incuriam latam, culpam, maliciam, dolum, vel fraudem vicarii hujusmodi qui pro tempore fuerit hujusmodi decime personales, oblaciones, et cetera jura minora ecclesie parochialis predictae retrahantur seu diminuantur, quod absit, in futurum, ordinamus, statuimus, et decernimus quod quilibet vicarius predictae vicarie qui pro tempore fuerit perpetuis futuris temporibus, statim adepta institutione sua, coram duobus canonicis, senescallis predicti Collegii, seu in domo capitulari predicti Collegii coram Custode et Canonicis ibidem tunc presentibus, eorumve procuratore seu sindico, corporale tactis sacrosanctis dei Evangeliiis prestabit juramentum, quod, absque omni fraude, dolo, seu malicia, cum exacta diligencia parochianos predictae ecclesie in specie, tam secreta in foro confessionis et alibi quam in genere publice et aperte, in predicacionibus et salutaribus exhortacionibus, quantum in ipso erit, effectualiter et diligenter instruet et informabit, eosque monebit et injunget eisdem ad fideliter solvendum eisdem Custodi et Collegio hujusmodi decimas personales, oblaciones, et cetera jura minora, ac eciam majora, et eosdem parochianos cum tanta diligencia ad premissa et singula cetera, que ex devocione sepius ad altare vel manus sacerdotis venire solent, excitabit et exhortabitur quanta premissa exerceret et exequeretur si sibi premissa omnia fuissent assignata; et, si decime personales seu oblaciones, vel cetera emolumenta predictorum Custodis et Collegii in hac parte ad manus vicarii predicti qui pro tempore fuerit devenerint, ea omnia et singula predictis Custodi et Collegio, seu eorum in hac parte senescallis seu procuratori, fideliter absque diminucione gratis deliberabit et persolvat, absque exaccione expensarum aliquarum nisi predicti proprietarii, ex eorum mera liberalitate et voluntate, sibi aliquid donare voluerint. Quodque, si decime hujusmodi seu oblaciones et cetera emolumenta, que cotidie et assidue, quasi horis inopinatis, ad ecclesiam provenire sepius solent, in ausencia eorundem Custodis et Collegii seu eorum in hac parte procuratoris, deferri, offerri, vel provenire contigerint, ipse vicarius qui eorum vices gerere inibi tenetur predicta emolumenta sic delata, oblata, et proveniencia, quantum in ipso erit, sub arta, fidei, et salua custodia, ad utilitatem eorundem proprietariorum gratis, simili modo, nichil exigendo pro suo labore, ne forte deperiant seu pejorentur, custodiet seu custodiri faciet, et eisdem proprietariis sub vinculo juramenti predicti integre deliberabit et persolvat, nisi idem Custos et Collegium ejusdem vicarium in hac parte exonerare, et eum a vinculo juramenti hujusmodi relaxare, voluerint. Que omnia et singula superius statuta, ordinata, et disposita, decernimus inter proprietarios predictos et quoscumque vicarios in eadem vicaria perpetua esse ac perpetue firmitatis vigorem habere, salua nobis et successoribus nostris facultate obscurum, dubium, vel ambiguum, si quod in eventu in futuro emerit in premissis, declarandi et clarius interpretandi.

Tenor, vero, procuratorii prefati magistri Ricardi Daber, procuratoris de quo supra fit mencio, sequitur et est talis,—Pateat Universis per presentes quod, cum nuper Illustrissimus in Christo princeps, Henricus, dei gracia Rex Anglie et Francie et dominus Hibernie, post conquestum Anglie Sextus, pro se et heredibus suis de sua gracia speciali Advocacionem Ecclesie parochialis de Ippelpenne, Exoniensis diocesis, nobis Custodi et Collegio Ecclesie Collegiate beate Marie de Otery, dicte Exoniensis diocesis, concesserit et donaverit,

habendam et tenendam nobis Custodi et Collegio predictis et successoribus nostris imperpetuum, dederitque insuper nobis et concesserit, per suas literas patentes, licenciam specialem predictam Ecclesiam parochialem de Ippelpenne nobis et Ecclesie nostre Collegiate antedictae in proprios usus perpetuo possidendam appropriare, seu appropriari facere, et ipsam sic appropriatam, cum suis juribus et pertinenciis universis, salva porcione congrua vicarii perpetui in eadem instituendi, tenere et habere nobis et successoribus nostris imperpetuum; Statuto de terris et tenementis ad manum mortuam non ponendis edito, seu aliis quibuscumque materiis et statutis in hac parte contravenientibus non obstantibus; Ad finem et effectum quod fructus, proventus, exitus, et proficua predictae ecclesie parochialis de Ippelpenne inter Custodem, Canonicos, vicarios, capellanos, clericos, choristas, et alios ministros Ecclesie nostre Collegiate beate Marie de Otery predictae, et eorum successores pro tempore existentes, annuatim imperpetuum expendantur et distribuantur, sub forma in dictis literis patentibus plenius expressata. Nos, igitur, Custos et Collegium Ecclesie Collegiate antedictae, ad infrascripta Collegialiter et Capitulariter congregati, dilectum nobis in Christo Magistrum Richardum Daber, in legibus baccalarium, nostrum verum et legitimum procuratorem, negotiorum gestorem, ac nuncium specialem, unanimi consensu nostro, ordinamus, facimus, et constituimus per presentes: dantes et concedentes eidem procuratori nostro potestatem generalem et mandatum speciale, pro nobis et nomine nostro ac Ecclesie nostre Collegiate antedictae, coram Reverendo in Christo patre et domino, domino Edmundo, dei gracia Exoniensi Episcopo, locorum predictorum diocesano et ordinario, comparendi; ac eundem Reverendum patrem ut ad unionem, annexionem, incorporacionem, et appropriacionem prefate Ecclesie parochialis de Ippelpenne nobis et Ecclesie nostre Collegiate antedictae, auctoritate sua ordinaria et diocesano, canonice fiendas procedere, necnon eandem Ecclesiam de Ippelpenne, cum suis juribus et pertinenciis universis, ex certis causis in dictis literis patentibus contentis ac aliis variis et legitimis causis subsistentibus, nobis et ecclesie nostre collegiate antedictae in proprios usus nostros perpetuo possidendam canonice et legitime unire, annectere, incorporare, et appropriare dignetur, instanter et humiliter requirendi et supplicandi, ipsamque Ecclesiam parochialem de Ippelpenne nobis et Ecclesie nostre Collegiate antedictae, juxta et secundum modum et formam in dictis literis Regiis patentibus expressatos, auctoritate dicti Reverendi patris uniri, annecti, incorporari, et appropriari, seu eandem ecclesiam de Ippelpenne, cum suis juribus et pertinenciis, nobis, ut premititur, uniendam, annectendam, incorporandam, et appropriandam, ac in proprios usus nostros perpetuo possidendam concedi petendi, et cum effectu obtinendi, ipsiusque Ecclesie parochialis de Ippelpenne sic demum unite, annexe, incorporate, et appropriate, cum suis juribus et pertinenciis universis, cedente vel decedente Rectore prefate Ecclesie de Ippelpenne seu eam quomodolibet dimittente, sive ipsa ecclesia de Ippelpenne predicta qualitercumque vacante, pro nobis et nomine nostro ac Ecclesie nostre Collegiate antedictae, possessionem, licencia alicujus super hoc minime requisita, libere ingredi, nancisci, adipisci, apprehendere, ac fructus redditus et proventus ejusdem percipere, illosque juxta formam et exigenciam dictarum literarum patencium dividendos et distribuendos, ratione unionis et appropriacionis hujusmodi, in utilitatem nostram et ecclesie nostre Collegiate antedictae convertere, reservata de fructibus hujusmodi porcione congrua vicarii perpetui in eadem instituendi pro tempore per eundem Reverendum patrem assignanda et limitanda, licenciam, auctoritatem, et facultatem dari et concedi petendi et postulandi. Ac hujusmodi licencia, auctoritate, et facultate concessis, ipsius Ecclesie de Ippelpenne possessionem corporalem; reservata porcione hujusmodi vicarii pro tempore, ut prefertur, assignanda, ingrediendi, apprehendendi, nanciscendi, et adipiscendi, naetamque sic et adeptam, nomine et vice nostris ac Ecclesie nostre Collegiate predictae, retinendi et continuandi; Ac insuper, pro nobis et nomine nostro ac Ecclesie Collegiate predictae nomine, cum omnibus et singulis jus et interesse in predicto negotio habentibus super eorum indempnitatibus tractandi, componendi, et, quatenus jure fuerit, transigendi, atque taxationi et assignacioni congrue porcionis pro vicario perpetuo inibi instituendo per eundem Reverendum patrem ordinandis, faciendis, decernendis, et limitandis, ac reali in hac parte composicioni seu ordinacioni faciende pro nobis et nomine nostro ac Ecclesie Collegiate predictae consenciendi; Ac decreto, ordinacioni, taxationi, et assignacioni dicti Reverendi patris de et super congrua porcione hujusmodi vicarii faciendis, pro nobis et nomine nostro et Ecclesie Collegiate predictae nomine, in omnibus et per omnia parendi et obediendi, necnon quodcumque juramentum canonicum in hac parte requisitum in animas nostras prestandi et jurandi; Testes, quoque, literas, et instrumenta, ac quecumque alia probacionum genera in hac parte necessaria et de jure requisita, coram eodem Reverendo patre producendi et exhibendi, ac super eisdem, si oporteat, fidem debite faciendi, necnon producta et exhibita ex adverso impugnandi, reprobandi, et contradicendi, prefatumque negotium unionis, incorporacionis, annexionis, et appropriacionis Ecclesie de Ippelpenne antedictae, usque ad finalem expedicionem ejusdem inclusive, melioribus modo et via quibus de jure poterit cum effectu debite prosequendi; Alium vel alios

procuratorem vel procuratores loco sui substituendi, substitutumve seu substitutos hujusmodi revocandi, procuratorisque officium in se reassumendi et exercendi, quociens et quando sibi videbitur expediri; Ac omnia alia et singula faciendi, exercendi, et expediendi, que in premissis seu aliquo premissorum necessaria fuerint seu quomodolibet opportuna, etsi talia sint que de sui natura mandatum magis exigant speciale. Pro eodem, vero, procuratore nostro, substitutivave seu substituendis ab eodem, datum haberi, iudicio sisti et iudicatum solvi, cum omnibus suis clausulis, sub ypotheca et obligatione omnium rerumstrarum promittimus, et cauciones exponimus per presentes. In quorum omnium et singulorum premissorum testimonium atque fidem sigillum nostrum commune presentibus apposuimus. Datum apud Otery predictam in domo nostra Capitulari undecimo die mensis Junii, Anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo tricesimo octavo."

In quorum omnium testimonium atque fidem nos, Edmundus Episcopus predictus, sigillum nostrum presentibus apposuimus. Data et acta sunt hec per nos, Edmundum Episcopum predictum, et coram nobis in manerio nostro de Radeway, vicesimo septimo die mensis Septembris, Anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo tricesimo nono Et nostre translacionis Anno vicesimo.

Et nos Custos et Collegium Ecclesie Collegiate predictae omnia et singula supradicta per predictum Reverendum in Christo patrem, Edmundum Episcopum predictum, ordinata, composita, statuta, et disposita, rata, grata, ac firma habentes, et perpetuum duratura volentes, eisdem, quatenus ad nos et successores nostros attinet, consentimus. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum commune presentibus apponi fecimus. Datum quoad predicti sigilli nostri communis appositionem, Apud Otery, in domo nostra Capitulari, vicesimo quarto die mensis Februarii, Anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo quadagesimo secundo [1442-3].

Et Ego, Johannes Berde, Capellanus, Vicarius perpetue vicarie de Ippelpenne predicta, supradicta omnia et singula per prefatum Reverendum in Christo patrem, Edmundum Episcopum antedictum, ut prefertur, ordinata, composita, statuta, et disposita pro me et successoribus meis admitto, et eisdem quatenus me et successores meos in eadem Vicaria concernit, consencio. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum Officii discreti viri, Officialis Archidiaconi Tottoniensis, apponi procuravi. Et nos, Officialis antedictus, ad personalem rogatum prefati Johannis, vicarii predicti, sigillum Officii nostri presentibus apposuimus. Datum, quoad sigilli Officii nostri predicti appositionem, Apud Neweton Abbatis, decimo sexto die mensis Februarii predicti supradicto Anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo quadagesimo secundo [1442-3].

Edward IV, 28 November, 1461, confirmed the licences of Edward III and Henry VI for the acquisition and appropriation on mortmain of the Church of Ipplepen; and also made a further grant to the College of all the lands of Nicholas Wodegrave in Chellesworthy, in the county of Devon, in the King's hands by the exile of the Jews, and all lands in le Ford in the parish of Ipplepen, which the Abbot of Fougères had alienated to Henry att Forde and Juliana his wife without licence, and a messuage and an acre of arable land within the manor of Ipplepen which he alienated to Henry Seuell without licence; all which he held from Richard II, as of the foundation of the Church of Ipplepen. *Patent Rolls*, 1 Edward IV, part ii, memb. 2. No. 1228 Exeter Chapter Muniments. "Carta Edwardi quarti de Rectoria de Ippelpenne Collegio de Otery concessa, una cum quibusdam terris et tenementis eidem spectantibus, viz., *Forde lands*." Written on three sheets of paper, each seventeen inches long by twelve inches broad, in a seventeenth-century hand. At the end is an entry of twelve lines from a Court-manor of Ipplepen, held 13 November, 1529, regarding *Forde's lands*.

Edwardus dei gracia Rex Anglie et Francie et dominus Hibernie Omnibus ad quos presentes litere pervenerint salutem. Sciatis quod nos intendentes qualiter ecclesia collegiata beate Marie de Otery in comitatu Devon' de quadraginta et duabus personis Canonicorum presbiterorum clericorum choristarum et aliarum personarum diuina ibidem celebrantium est fundata, possessionesque eiusdem ecclesie taliter fuerunt et sunt depauperate quod ad sustentandum numerum personarum predictarum sufficere non valet nisi ab aliquo deo devoto relevetur. Qualiterque dominus Edwardus nuper Rex Anglie tercius progenitor noster per literas suas patentes septimo die Junii Anno regni sui Anglie vicesimo quinto [1351] concessit pro se et

heredibus suis [Custodi et] Canonicis ecclesie collegiate beate Marie de Ottery predictae in comitatu Devon' quod ipsi advocacionem ecclesie de Ippelpen in comitatu Devon' Exoniensis diocesis que tunc ad sex libras taxabatur, de tunc Abbate et Conventu domus de Fulgeriis in Britania ordinis Sancti Augustini alienigenis perquirere et appropriare, et eam sic appropriatam in proprios vsus tenere possint sibi et successoribus suis imperpetuum prout in eisdem literis patentibus plenius continetur. Qualiter eciam Henricus Sextus nuper de facto et non de iure Rex Anglie per literas suas patentes decimo die Augusti anno regni sui quintodecimo [1437] concessit pro se et heredibus suis tunc Custodi et collegio predictae Ecclesie Collegiate et successoribus suis predictam advocacionem ecclesie de Ippelpen habendam et tenendam sibi et successoribus suis, Et quod ipsi eandem ecclesiam de Ippelpen appropriare et eam sic appropriatam in proprios usus habere et tenere possent sibi et successoribus suis imperpetuum ad finem et effectum quod exitus et proficua inde proveniencia inter Custodem Canonicos Vicarios Capellanos clericos choristas et alios Ministros ecclesie collegiate predictae et eorum successores pro tempore existentes ibidem, ac inter pauperes annuatim imperpetuum expenderentur et distribuerentur, quodque vicarius dicte ecclesie de Ippelpen' sufficienter dotaretur prout in eisdem literis petentibus plenius continetur, que quidem ecclesia de Ippelpen postea sic fuit et est appropriata, ac vicaria fuit et est sufficienter dotata, Nos piam intencionem dicti progenitoris nostri Edwardi ac dictam concessionem prefati Henrici nuper ut premittitur Regis considerantes, ac opus caritativum in hac parte facere volentes, de gracia nostra speciali et ex certa sciencia et mero motu nostris dedimus et concessimus, et per presentes damus et concedimus, dilectis nobis in Christo nunc Custodi et Collegio dicte ecclesie Collegiate de Ottery beate Marie et successoribus suis advocacionem dicte ecclesie de Ippelpen'. Et concedimus eisdem nunc Custodi et Collegio et successoribus suis quod ipsi eandem ecclesiam de Ippelpen' habeant et teneant appropriatam sibi et successoribus suis in proprios usus imperpetuum, prout ipsi ante hec tempora melius eam habuerunt et tenuerunt appropriatam bene pacifice et quiete expendendo et distribuendo exitus et proficua inde prout in dictis literis dicti Henrici nuper ut premittitur Regis continetur, absque impetitione inquietacione impedimento seu grauamine nostri vel heredum nostrorum Justiciariorum escaetorum vicecomitum coronatorum balliuorum seu ministrorum nostrorum vel heredum nostrorum aut aliorum quorumcumque.—Ac eciam de uberiori gracia ac certa sciencia et mero motu nostris dedimus et concessimus et per presentes damus et concedimus prefatis nunc Custodi et Collegio et successoribus suis omnia illa terras et tenementa que fuerunt Nicholai Wodegrave in villa de Chellesworth' alias dicta Chellesworthy in comitatu Devon' in manu nostra per exilium Judeorum existencium, Necnon omnia illa terras et tenementa in Le Ford in parochia de Ippelpeyn' antedicta que Abbas de Fulgeriis in Britania alienigena cuidam Henrico att Forde et Juliane uxori sue in feodo sine licencia regis alienauit.—Ac eciam unum messuagium et unam acram terre arabilis infra manerium de Ippelpeyn' predictum que predictus Abbas cuidam Henrico Seuell sine licencia regis alienauit in feodo, que quidem terre et tenementa messuagium et acra terre arabilis dictus Abbas ut de fundacione ecclesie de Ippelpen' predictae tenuit de domino Ricardo nuper Rege Anglie secundo, et hijs occasionibus et non alijs in manibus nostris existencia, habenda et tenenda omnia dicta messuagia terras et tenementa cum omnibus suis pertinencijs prefatis nunc Custodi et Collegio et successoribus suis imperpetuum bene et pacifice et quiete absque impetitione inquietacione impedimento seu gravamine nostro vel heredum nostrorum Justiciariorum escaetorum vicecomitum coronatorum balliuorum seu ministrorum nostrorum vel heredum nostrorum aut aliorum quorumcumque, statuto de terris et tenementis ad manum mortuam non ponendis edito aut aliquo alio statuto actu ordinacione ante hec tempora facto edito vel proviso vel aliquo alio titulo vel iure quod nobis inde competit vel pertinet aut competere vel pertinere possit, aut aliquibus alijs causis vel materijs quibuscumque aut eo quod expressa mencio que et qualia terre et tenementa vel servicia dicta terre et tenementa in Chellesworthy in le Forde ac in manerio de Ippelpen existunt seu quod de vero valore annuo seu quovis alio valore eorundem terrarum et tenementorum ac dicte ecclesie de Ippelpeyn' sive de alijs donis et concessionibus eisdem nunc custodi et collegio aut eorum predecessoribus et successoribus suis per nos aut aliquem progenitorum nostrorum ante hec tempora factis in presentibus minime facta existat, aut aliqua alia re causa vel materia quacumque qualitercumque facta ordinata sive provisa non obstantibus. In cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium vicesimo octavo die Novembris anno regni nostri primo [1461].

Per ipsum Regem et de data predicta

Auctoritate parlamenti.—J. BAGOTT.

Irrotulatum in memoriam Scaccarij de anno secundo Regis Edwardi quarti videlicet inter Recorda de termino Sancti Michaelis ultimo xliiij^{to} ex parte Remen' Thesaur'. Ad curiam manerij ibidem tentam decimo die Novembris anno Regis Henrici viij. xxj, venit Johannes Langworthy et Cecilia uxor eius et ceperunt de dominis ibidem ex tradicionem eorum propria iij clausas terre in Forde cum suis pertinenciis ibidem vocatas Slow quas Rogerus Diar ibidem pretenuit habendas et tenendas predictas tres clausas terre cum suis pertinenciis prefato Johanni Langworthy et Cecilie uxori sue ad terminum vite eorum et alterius eorum qui diutius vivet secundum consuetudinem manerii predicti pro redditu et servicio inde prius debito et de iure consuetudine et ex convencione facta cum dominis predictis reddent et quilibet eorum reddet post mortem cuiuslibet eorum duos solidos sterlingorum etc.

Ipplepeyn' et Forde Recorda [1529].

In the College compotus for 1482 the rectorial endowment of Ipplepen is entered as let to Walter Huet, who pays £57. 10s. a year for the same. Out of this the College paid £26. 13s. 4d. to John Evlyn, the vicar; £13. 6s. 8d. to the ten priest-vicars at Ottery, each receiving 26s. 8d.: the morn-priest, the parish priest, and the clerk of the Lady Chapel, the eight secondaries, the two holy water clerks, and the two church clerks, the choristers, the schoolmaster, and the poor also receive their dues; and one mark by the ordinance of Bishop Lacy is paid to the vicars, secondaries, and choristers for the repair of their houses; and 8s. 4d. to the warden for going to Ipplepen to preach a sermon.

In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, 1535-6, the rectory of Ipplepen is entered: "Valet per annum in omnibus exitibus suis ut per Custodem et canonicos dimittitur ad firmam Willielmo Gewys Capellano pro termino septem annorum, termino illo incipiente primo die Octobris A.D. 1530, ultra £28. 13s. 4d., inde annuatim solutos Olivero Smyth clerico et successoribus suis vicariis ibidem de quadam pensione per annum £26. 13s. 4d. Et in distribucione facta annuatim apud Ottery inter pauperes ibidem existentes ad duodecim exequias et missas celebratas in Collegio pro animabus Johannis Laurens et Thome Frank juxta eorum ordinacionem, remanet clare £42"; which was more than Northam (£25. 10s.) and Ilington (£15. 2s.) together that year brought in to the College.

The parish of Ipplepen contains 3030 acres and has a population of 753. The tithe rent-charge is commuted at £495; out of this the Ecclesiastical Commissioners pay the vicar £274. He also receives from Queen Anne's Bounty £27, and from Drake's legacy £8 a year. The gross income is returned as being £326, net £317, with a new vicarage house on the high ground to the west of the church. This latter is mainly of the Perpendicular period, well conserved and in good order, and is dedicated to the honour of St Andrew. The Jacobean altar rails and those about the pulpit have been preserved. The organ is at the west end of the church with stage for the choir. There is a fine mediaeval Devonshire choir screen and carved pulpit with traces of colour still upon them, and there are remains of old stained glass in the upper lights of several of the windows; in one are the arms of Bishop Lacy, 1420-1458. The lofty square embattled tower, apparently erected between these dates, stands up grandly in the centre of the village which clusters round it; from the furthest farm, hamlet, or group of cottages the inhabitants can easily come to early service at 8 a.m. There are pinnacles at the angles and in the centre of each of the four sides of the tower, with face buttresses set back and an octagonal turret. The west doorway with its mouldings is older than the four-light Perpendicular window above it. The tower arch has square-edged abacus. The mid chamber has a one-light window with plain semicircular head. The bell chamber window has two lights set under a plain pointed arch. There is a ring of six bells. 1. On the treble, 32½ inches in diameter, is "When I call, follow all," T. B. fecit, 1799. 2. Thomas Bilbie Collumpton fecit 1799; 33½ inches. 3. T. B. fecit; 35 inches. 4. T. B. Cast us all 1799; 39 inches, G. 5. T. Mears London fecit 1818; 41½ inches. 6. Religion, Death, Pleasure cause me to ring, T. Bilbie 1795; 48½ inches, E.

The parish of St John the Baptist, Woodland, with an acreage of 1606, was originally part of Ipplepen. The tower there contains three old bells: 1. With "Ave Maria"; 27 inches diameter, a Gabriel bell. 2. 1678; 29 inches. 3. Drawe neare unto God; 31½ inches, T. P. 1636. All hung with half wheel and bauderick clappers. The population is 140, and they are patrons of the Vicarage, the income being about £200 a year.

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE COLLEGE.

By Act of Parliament, 23 Henry VIII, c. 10, perpetual obits, endowed out of lands after 1 March, 1532, were to be void, future endowments of this sort to be only for twenty years. *Statutes of the Realm*, III, 378.

By 26 Henry VIII, c. 1 (1534), it was enacted that for the greater confirmation of the supremacy already acknowledged by the clergy (1531) the King should be accepted as the only supreme head on earth of the Church of England, and as such should have the power to visit and amend all abuses and heresies, notwithstanding any custom, foreign laws, or foreign authority to the contrary. Thomas Cromwell was made King's vicar-general for this purpose over all ecclesiastical persons whatsoever, and the visitation of religious houses began September, 1535. *Statutes of the Realm*, III, 492.

By 27 Henry VIII, c. 27 (1535-6). His Majesty shall have and enjoy, his heirs and successors for ever all and singular such monasteries, priories, and other religious houses which have not over £200 yearly value; all their manors, sites and tithes, pensions, advowsons, and all such as have been voluntarily surrendered to him, with all their ornaments, jewels, goods, chattels, plate, stuff, and household gear. And the Court of Augmentations was established 1 March, 1536, to survey such possessions. *Statutes of the Realm*, III, 569-571. By c. 28 of the same year all monasteries with less than twelve persons were dissolved. *Ib.* III, 575. Queen Catharine died January, 1536; Anne Boleyn was executed 19 May; on the 20th the King married Jane Seymour, who died the following year.

By 31 Henry VIII, c. 13 (1539). Since many abbots, priors, abbesses, etc., and heads of colleges have of their own free will and voluntary minds, goodwills, and assent, without constraint, coercion, or compulsion of any manner of person or persons since 4 February, 1536, by sufficient writing given and granted to the King all their monasteries, etc., the King therefore shall possess them, and all that may hereafter be dissolved, or suppressed, renounced, relinquished, forfeited, or given up; and they shall go into the Court of Augmentations. *Stat. of the Realm*, III, 733. By the end of 1540 not a single monastery was left. In July of that year Cromwell was charged with treason by the Duke of Norfolk. A bill of attainder was rapidly passed, and he was sent to the scaffold without even being heard in his own defence, after having been just ten years in power.

By 37 Henry VIII, c. 4 (1545). Divers colleges, free chapels, chauntries, hospitals, fraternities, brotherhoods, guilds, and stipendiary priests having perpetuity for ever have been incorporated and founded. Since certain patrons have taken upon them to enter into their possession out of their avaricious and covetous minds and of their own authority; and some of the colleges themselves have consented, whereby they are practically dissolved, contrary to the purpose of the founders, and contempt of your Majesty, whereof the Parliament, knowing your Majesty's expenses (in wars and maintenance of your dignity), humbly beseech that all colleges, chauntries, hospitals, fraternities, guilds, etc., by what name, surname, degree, or corporation they may have been founded, ordained, established, or erected, named, called, or known, and all their possessions which between 4 February, 1536, and 25 December, 1545, shall have been by their own bargain dissolved or extincted, shall be the King's for ever. All past covenants for their sale to others are declared void, and all gifts and surrender of them to the King shall be valid, and they be under the survey of the Court of Augmentations. *Statutes of the Realm*, III, 988.

The Warden and College of St Mary Ottery surrendered 28 May, 1545, and the five following papers concerning the same are in the Public Record Office. *College and Chauntry Certificates*, No. 92.

1. THE CERTIFICATE

Of the dissolucion of the late college of Otterye dissolved by Thomas Legh, Knight, Mathew Colthurste, Anthony Hervy, Humfrey Coles and Robert Kelewaye Esquiers, the Kinges Majesties Commissioners auctorised for the same, and directed to the right worshipfull Sir Edward Worthe, Knight, Chauncelor of the Kinges Courte of thaugmentacions, moste hartely desiring hym to refarr the contentes thereof (in moste humblest maner) to the Kinges Majestie in oure names, and further to do as shalbe thought good to his aprovid wysdome and discrecion in full accomplishment of our duties in the same behalfe. Per me Thomam Legh, per Mathiam Coltehirste, Robart Keylwey, per Anthonium Harvy, per Humfridum Colles.

2. THE LAST CHAPTER-ACT OF THE WARDEN AND CANONS OF OTTERY ST MARY.
28 MAY, 1545.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos hoc presens scriptum pervenerit Johannes Fyssher, clericus, custos ecclesie collegiate, sive collegii Beate Marie de Otery in comitatu Devon', et eiusdem collegii canonici, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Noveritis nos prefatum Johannem Fyssher custodem predicte ecclesie collegiate sive collegii, et eiusdem canonicos, unanimi assensu et consensu nostris, animisque deliberatis, ac ex certa sciencia et mero motu nostris, ex quibusdam causis iustis et racionabilibus nos specialiter moventibus, pure et sponte dedisse concessisse et per presentes dare concedere reddere et confirmare illustrissimo principi nostro et domino nostro Henrico octavo Dei gracia Anglie Francie et Hibernie Regi, fidei defensori et in terra Ecclesie Anglicane et Hibernice supremo capiti, totam dictam ecclesiam collegiatam nostram sive collegium nostrum ac scitum ambitum et precinctum eiusdem, necnon omnia et singula nostra maneria dominia messuagia gardina curtilagia tofta terras tenementa prata pascua pasturas boscos subboscis redditus reverciones servicia molendina passagia feodos militares wardas maritagia nativos et villanos cum eorum sequelis communias libertates franchisias jurisdictiones officia curiarum letarum hundredas vicarias franciplegia ferias marcatas parcos warennos vivaria aquas piscaria vias jampna vacuos fundos advocaciones nominaciones presentaciones et donaciones ecclesiarum vicariarum capellarum cantariarum hospitalium et aliorum ecclesiasticorum beneficiorum quorumcumque, rectorias vicarias cantarias pensiones porciones annuitates decimas oblaciones ac omnia et singula emolumenta proficua possessiones hereditamenta et iura nostra quecumque tam infra dictos comitatus Devonie et Somersetae quam alibi infra regnum Anglie, eidem ecclesie collegiate sive collegio quoquomodo spectancia pertinencia appendencia sive incumbencia, ac omnimodas cartas evidencias scripta munimenta nostra eidem ecclesie collegiate sive collegio aut predictis maneriis terris tenementis et ceteris premissis cum pertinentiis vel eorum alicui sive alicui inde parcelle quoquo modo spectantibus pertinentibus sive concernentibus. Habendum et gaudendum dictam ecclesiam collegiatam sive collegium ac predictum scitum fundum circuitum et precinctum eiusdem, necnon omnia ac singula predicta dominia maneria terras tenementa redditus reverciones servicia rectorias vicarias pensiones et cetera premissa cum omnibus et singulis suis pertinentibus prefatis, invictissimo Principi et domino nostro Regi Henrico octavo heredibus et assignatis suis imperpetuum, Cui in hac parte ad omnem iuris effectum qui exinde sequi poterit aut potest ad nos ac dictam ecclesiam collegiatam sive collegium spectantem vel pertinentem ac omnia iura nobis qualitercumque acquisita, ut decet, subieimus et submittimus dantes et concedentes, prout per presentes damus et concedimus, eidem Invictissimo Regi Henrico octavo heredibus et assignatis suis, omnem et omnimodam plenam et liberam facultatem auctoritatem et potestatem nos et dictam ecclesiam collegiatam sive collegium unacum omnibus et singulis maneriis terris et tenementis redditibus revercionibus et serviciis et singulis premissis cum suis Juribus et pertinentiis quibuscumque, disponendi, ac pro suo libero Regie voluntatis libitu ad quoscumque usus maiestati sue placentes, Alienandi donandi convertendi et transferendi; huiusmodi dispositiones alienaciones donaciones conversiones et translationes per dictam maiestatem suam quoquo modo fiendas extunc ratificandas ratas et gratas, ac perpetuo firmum nos habituri promittimus per presentes. Et ut premissa omnia et singula suum debitum sortiri valeant Effectum, elleccionem insuper nobis et successoribus nostris, necnon omnibus querelis provocacionibus appellacionibus accionibus litibus et instantibus aliisque remediis et beneficiis nobis forsan et successoribus nostris in ea parte, pretextu dispositionis alienacionis translationis et conversionis predictorum et ceterorum premissorum qualitercumque competentibus et competituris, omnibusque errorum metus ignorancie vel alterius materie siue dispositionis excepcionum obieccionum et allegacionum, prorsus semotis depositis, palam publice et expresse ex certa Sciencia nostra, Animisque spontaneis, nos predicti custos et canonici omnia et singula premissa renunciauimus et cessimus prout per presentes renunciamus et cedimus et ab eisdem recedimus in hiis scriptis. Et nos prefatus Johannes Fyssher custos eiusdem ecclesie collegiate et eiusdem collegii canonici ac omnes alii socii siue confratres nostri dictam ecclesiam collegiatam siue collegium beate Marie de Otery, ac predictum scitum precinctum maneria dominia messuagia gardina tofta prata pascua pasturas boscos subboscis terras tenementa ac omnia et singula cetera premissa cum suis pertinentiis uniuersis, prefato domino nostro Regi Henrico octavo heredibus et assignatis suis, contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus imperpetuum. In cuius rei testimonium huic presenti scripto nostro nos prefati Johannes Fisher custos predicte ecclesie collegiate siue collegii, et eiusdem collegii canonici ad hoc capitulariter congregati, Sigillum nostrum commune apposuimus. Datum in domo nostra capitulari vicesimo octavo die

mensis Maii, anno regni dicti domini Henrici octavi dei gracia Anglie Francie et Hibernie Regis, fidei defensoris, ac in terra Ecclesie Anglicane et Hibernie supremi capitis tricesimo septimo. Per me Johannem Fysshherum Custodem, per me Johannem Hounte Ministrum, per me Robertum Peryns, Cantorem, per me Rogerum Stockeman, Sacristam, per me Thomam Rowsawall, per me Henricum Spycer, per me Johannem Tebbs (cp. pp. 111, 211). Retroscriptus custos ecclesie collegii beate Marie de Ottery hoc presens instrumentum de expresso consensu et mandato omnium canonicorum suorum eiusdem collegii tam suo quam illorum nomine in manus venerabilis viri Thome Legh militis, unius virorum curie Cancellarii domini nostri Regis tradidit, et ut factum suum et illorum recognovit coram eodem, et petiit ut in dicta curia irrotuletur, in presencia Walteri Rayleigh, Johannis Grenefylde armigerorum, Petri Seynthill, Johannis Haydon, et Edwardi Forde generosorum, et aliorum, infra capitulum predictum collegii retroscripti, anno, mense, et die retroscriptis. Per me Thomam Legh.

3. THE INVENTORY.

Herafter folowith an inventory of all the plate jewells ornaments goods and cattalles apperteigninge to the late surrendered Colege of our blessed Lady of Ottery in the county of Devon, made and taken by Thomas Legh, Knight, Mathew Colthurste, Anthony Hervye, Humfre Coles and Robert Keylewaye Esquires, Commissioners appoynted for the same, in the presence of John Fysshher, Master or Warden of the said late College, John Hunt minister, Robert Perins chauntor, and the prebendaries there, vewed and praysed by John Grenefylde William Homfraye George Stowforde and Edward Forde swhoren for the same, and also John Soper John Haydon Nicholas Waldren and John Selwood, vewers and praysons of all the belles, glas, yeron and leade, and swhoren for the same. All which plate, ornaments, goodes, cattalles, belles, glas, yeron and leade is delivered according to the Kynges majesties Commission to the custodie of Mathew Colthurste and Humfre Coles Esquiers, to be reservid to the kynges Majesties use, unto suche tyme as his graces pleasure be furder knowen therin. In witnes wherof as well the saide Commissioners as also the said Master or Warden, cannons and prebendaries interchaungeable have subscribed their names and putte their sealles, the xxxth daye of Maye in the xxxvijth yere of the raigne of our Sovereigne Lord Henry the Eighte by the grace of god King of England Fraunce and Irlonde, defendor of the faith, and in erthe of the Church of Englonde and Irlonde the supreme head.

The Quere. Item, the stalles in the quere praysed at v.*lib.* (pp. 55, 56).

In Our Lady Chapell. Item, a table of alloblaster (p. 71) praysed at ij.*s.* Item, a Redd payer of vestments with the founders arnes, praysed at xij.*s.* iij.*d.* (Vestment is generally the chasuble, but the term is often applied to a complete suit or set of vestments, and includes then not only the chasuble for the priest, the dalmatic for the deacon, and the tunicle for the subdeacon, but the amices, albes, girdles, stoles, and fanons to match, and sometimes the corporases and frontals: p. 172.) Item, a sute of whitt damaske and sylke, praysed at x.*s.* Item, v. copes of whitt sylke withe grene braunches and a sute sutable to the same, praysed at xxx.*s.* Item, vj. albes of sondrie sortes of sylke praysed at x.*s.* Item, an olde lampe of latten, praysed at iij.*d.* Item, iij. coffers praysed at iij.*s.* iij.*d.*

Chapiterhouse. Item, ij. grene copes with a sute to the same, praysed at v.*lib.* x.*s.* Item, a sute with bay levis and swans (p. 31) praysed at xxij.*s.* iij.*d.* Item, a blew velvett cope praysed at xij.*s.* iij.*d.* Item, iij. whitt damaske copes with popers (either "foxglove," *digitalis purpurea*, or poppards (N.E.D.), eider ducks, often so embrodered on the orphreys: *Promp. Parv.* 409) in the borders with a sute to the same praysed at xl.*s.* Item, a whitt cope with popiniayes, praysed at v.*s.* Item, a whitt cope with beastes, praysed at v.*s.* Item, a cope with golden wyer, and a sute to the same, praysed at xx.*s.* Item, a whitt cope with colombynis, and a sute to the same, praysed at xv.*s.* Item, a Redd cope with okin levis, and a sute to the same. Item, a cope praysed at x.*s.* Item, ij. raye (i.e. striped) copes with a sute to the same, lacking the vestment, praysed at xvij.*s.* Item, ij. copis of sylke, the grounde whitt with grene flowers of velvett, and a sute to the same, praysed at liij.*s.* iij.*d.* Item, the founders cope with Egles (cp. his coat of arms, p. 51) praysed at xl.*s.* Item, a cope of yelow, and a sute to the same of golding swans (p. 31) praysed at xvj.*s.*, lacking the tunicle and thalbe for the same. Item, two tunicles of olde whitt sylke, praysed at ij.*s.*

Northe Vestre. xliij. old copes of all sortes praysed at iij.*lib.* (p. 111). Item, xij. copes for the coristers praysed at xv.*s.* Item, a sute of blacke vestmentes for obbittes praysed at x.*s.* Item, ij. sutes of albes, praysed at iij.*s.* iij.*d.* Item, a sute of vestmentes called the Chaunters Redd praysed at v.*s.* Item, ij. sutes of grene, withoute albes, praysed at v.*s.* Item, a sute of yelow, withoute albes, praysed at iij.*s.* iij.*d.* Item, a sute called the Chauntors whitt, praysed at vj.*s.* viij.*d.*

South Vestre. Item, xxj. copes of all sortes, prayesd at xij.s. Item, vj. sutes of vestmentes for feriall dayes, olde, prayesd at xij.s. Item, iij. sutes for commemoracions (weekly)¹, prayesd at iij.s. Item, a sylke clothe for Lent, the vale, iij. frence, prayesd at ij.s. Item, a vestment for Good Frydaye, prayesd at xij.d. Item, vj. albes for Chylder, prayesd at iij.s. Item, ij. vestments for chylder, prayesd at iij.s. iij.d. (cp. Stat. l, p. 181). Item, x. corporases, prayesd at xx.d.

Item, a table of alleblaster in Saincte Edwards Ile, prayesd at iij.s. iij.d. (Page 32. More than half as large again as that in the Lady Chapel. The largest at Crediton, in the south aisle there, still remaining, beautifully coloured, was valued at five shillings by the same Commissioners.)

Plate. Item, a crosse of sylver and gylte, weing xliij. ounces. Item, iij. challessis with iij. patens gilte, weing l. ounces. Item, ij. other challessis parcell gilte, weing xxij. ounces. Item, two sensors of whitt sylver, weing lvij. ounces. Item, a ship of sylver (the vessel in which the frankincense was kept to feed the censor from), weing xxv. ounces. Item, ij. candlestickes of sylver parcell gilte, weing lvij. ounces. Item, two vergers of sylver, weing xvj. ounces. Item, a paire of Crewettes of sylver parcell gilte, weing xv. ounces. Item, a little crosse of Sylver with a great pece of leade in the bothome not weghted. Item, ij. gospell bokes, thone plated with sylver of boithe sydes, and thother butt of one side not weghted (p. 54). Item, a hally-water sprinkell of sylver, not weghted. (Plate of the value of £53. 13s. 8½d. had already been sold: p. 299. Bishop Grandisson had bequeathed (1368) to the College, "imagine beate Marie argenteam deauratam, et crucem cum reliquiis quam dedit mihi abbas Glastonie." *Reg.* 1550.)

Belles. Item, v. belles in the Southe (i.e. College) tower of the church, that is to saye, the litle bell at vj. houndreth, the secounde bell at viij. houndreth, the iijrd bell at x. houndreth, the iijth bell at xij. houndreth, the vth bell at xiiij. houndreth, price of every houndreth xvj.s. viij.d.—some of thole xliiib. xij.s. iij.d. (p. 51).

Yeron and glas. Item, v. wyndowes in the chapter-house yeron and glass, prayesd at viij.s. Item, vj. wyndowes in the library (p. 73) yeron and glas prayesd at iij.s. Item, vij. wyndowes in the (South) tower (p. 16) vere lytle yeron and glas prayesd at iij.s. Item, xij. wyndowes in the quere yeron and glas prayesd at xxxvj.s. Item, in the two alinitorys xxij. litle lightes (ten each side, one in the north aisle chapel, and two in the south aisle chapel: pp. 16, 67) yeron and glas prayesd at viij.s. Item, in the two vestris viij. litle wyndowes (p. 16), yeron and glas, prayesd at iij.s. iij.d. Item, in our lady Chapel, v. wyndowes, yeron and glas, prayesd at xij.s. iij.d. (p. 70). Item, the grate of yeron and the other yeron hanging clothes to the same prayesd at xx.s. Item, the yeron in the quere beryng the leightes ther (pp. 62, 242), and of the dores prayesd at x.s. Item, a paire of organs in the Rodlofte prayesd at xl.s. Item, a new pair of organs in the quere, prayesd at v.lib. Item, a paire of organs in our Lady Chapel prayesd at x.s. Item, the frountes of iij. alters beinge stone (p. 49), the tymber of the church, the pavementes, the superflewous buildinges, being stone and tymber, prayesd at v.lib. (The complete dismantlement of all, except the nave and north tower, which belonged to the parish, was then contemplated.)

Lead. Item, the couering of the quere is in lenth by everysyde lxxvj. fote, and in bredthe xvij. fote in everysyde, with the gutters and all accompted, esteemid at xxj. ton, price the ton liij.s. iij.d., some []. Item, the meting betwyne the twore and the church (i.e. the litle pieces over the centre of the transepts between the two towers), estimid to be j. ton and a pipe, at liij.s. iij.d. the ton, some []. Item, the two amletories by the ij. sydes in lenth lxxij. fote, in bredthe xi. fote (each 5½ feet) esteemid to be vij. ton and a pipe (i.e. half a ton) at liij.s. iij.d. the ton, some []. Item, the vestri in the southe syde and the cheker in the northe syde esteemid to be ij. ton and a pipe at liij.s. iij.d. the ton some []. Item, the chapterhouse in lenth xxvij. fote, and xj. fote brode (one side of the octagon), esteemid to be iij. ton, at liij.s. iij.d. the ton, some []. Item, the library in lenth xlvij. fote, in bredthe xj. fote esteemid to be ij. ton xv^c, at liij.s. iij.d. the ton. Some []. Item, the cloister in lenth liij. fote, in bredthe xvij. fote, estimid to be iij. ton, at liij.s. iij.d. the ton, some []. Item, the Gatehouse and Our Lady Chapell, one of them esteemid to be ij. ton and a pipe, and thother iij. ton, at liij.s. iij.d. the ton, some []. Item, the couering of the spyer, and the gutters therto belonging, esteemid to be v. ton and a pipe at liij.s. iij.d. the ton. Which the prasers afforsaid considering the waste in the new casting of the said lead to be made vendible, the charge in taking downe, the charge of wood for melting the same, that every xx. ton wilbe in waste ten pipe, wherfore they considering the premisses haith

¹ Uncertain whether St Edward and All Saints were commemorated weekly as well as our Lady. The suits may have been used "in commemoracione animarum," p. 248.

valewed uppon their othes every ton to be worthe liij.s. iiij.d. which is in thole cxx.lib. xii.s. Per Mathiam Coltehirste, per Humfridum Colles. (Nine tons and three hundredweight had been already sold to John Haydon at lxxiiij.s. iiij.d. the ton: p. 299. Perhaps this was the lead ordered by the College for the new water supply, not now wanted. The lead on the roofs was valued at but liij.s. iiij.d. the ton. At Crediton the same commissioners valued the lead at £4 the ton. There the choir was 60 feet long and 25½ feet broad, the lead over it 8 tons; the two ambulatories each 80 feet long and 10 feet broad, the lead over them being 9 tons 4 cwt.; the Lady Chapel was 42 feet long and 25½ feet broad, the lead over it 5½ tons; the vestries 24 feet square, the lead over them weighed 4 tons; in all worth £107. 12s.

It would appear possible that the Library roof at Ottery was tiled, like the other college buildings, and that the lead was used in the gutters to the same only. Similarly in the cloisters, if the passage round was 9 feet wide, the lead would be wanted for the gutters only. All these estimates are made from a ground plan, without reference to lead superficies, and without going aloft on the roofs themselves; such would be the means used also to-day. Thus all the lead wherever lying is measured at two dimensions only, whether it was sloping or flat roof, gutters, ridges, laps, etc.; hence the result must be only approximate. At the present time every 116 lbs. of old lead is reckoned equal to 112 lbs. of new lead, that is to say that in recasting every cwt. 4 lbs. are allowed for waste. A ton of lead at the pit is 21 cwt., with the smelters 19 cwt. 5 lbs., with the plumbers 20 cwt.)

4. COMPOTUS FOR THE LAST EIGHT MONTHS OF THE COLLEGE OF SANCTE MARY OTERE IN COMITATU DEVON' (p. 106).

Thacompte of John Hunte clarke, Mynyster and temporall Stuarde there, from the feaste of Sancte Michell tharhangell anno regis Henrici viij^{vi} xxxvj (1544) untill the xxviijth day of May then nexte folowyng anno regni eiusdem domini Regis xxxvij. (1545) ut infra, viz.:-

Money receyved at Christemas and Easter, that ys to say, Inprimis of John Peter fermor of Ippelpen ix.lib. Item, of the bayly of Oterye vj.lib. xiiij.s. iiij.d. Item, of James Milner for the milles, lxxij.s. xj.d. Item, of the baylye of Otery xii.^{mo} die Februarii vj.lib. xiiij.s. iiij.d. Item, of the said baylif xv.^{mo} die eiusdem ix.lib. Item, of the same baylif xiii.^{mo} die Maii iij.lib. iij.s. iiij.d. Item, of John Peter for Ester payment ix.lib. Item, of the baylif of Otery v^{to} die Maii xx.lib. Item, of the fermor of Northam for the parsonage there for Ester x.lib. Item, of James Milner for Easter lxxij.s. xj.d. Item, for Forde lande due at Easter xvij.s. xj.d. Item, of the baylif of Otery for Ester rent x.lib. Item, of Richard Pears reve of Wynsforde Ryvers for Easter forsaid l.s. Item, receyued at thenteryng at Michelmas xxiiij.lib.—cxix.lib. iij.s. ix.d. Wherof

Quotidyans paid to the vicars secondaries choristers and other, anno xxxvj^{to} and xxxvij^{to}, viz.—

Firste, paid the xxv day of Octobre for quotidyans of thend that monyth iij.lib. iij.s. iiij.d. Item, the xxii. day of Nouembre for that monyth iij.lib. iij.s. iiij.d. Item, the xx. daye of Decembre for that monyth iij.lib. iij.s. iiij.d. Item, the xxvij. daye of January iij.lib. iij.s. iiij.d. Item, the xiiij. day of February iij.lib. iij.s. iiij.d. Item, the xiiij. daye of Marche iij.lib. iij.s. iiij.d. Item, the xij. day of Aprill iij.lib. iij.s. iiij.d. Item, the ixth daye of Maye iij.lib. iij.s. iiij.d.—xxxiiij.lib. xiiij.s. viij.d.

Wages paid in vigilia Nativitatis Christi anno xxxvj^{to}, viz.—

Wages—Phillippes xvj.s. viij.d. Baldewyn xvj.s. viij.d. Bylling xvj.s. viij.d. Roper xvj.s. viij.d. Pyngston xvj.s. viij.d. Folbes xvj.s. viij.d. Sandyn xvj.s. viij.d.—cxvj.s. viij.d. Burnarde xv.s. Chubbe xvij.s. iij.d. Perke xxxiiij.s. iij.d. Southorne xxv.s.—iij.lib. xj.s. viij.d.

Secondaries. Barwyke vj.s. iij.d. Gregory vj.s. iij.d. Rewe vj.s. iij.d. Parson vj.s. iij.d. Moggeridge vj.s. iij.d. Bretten vj.s. iij.d. Tucker vj.s. iij.d.—xliij.s. iij.d. Thomas Parsons vj.s. iij.d. Baker vj.s. iij.d. Martyn ij.s. vj.d. Stonyng ij.s. vj.d.—xviij.s. viij.d.

Choristers. Collens ij.s. Chanon ij.s. Boyes ij.s. Alyn ij.s. Spyryn ij.s. Chidleigh ij.s. Davy ij.s. May ij.s.—xvj.s.

Wages of the Vicars eodem tempore. Item, for all the Vicars waiges and other at Christemas, xiiij.lib. vj.s. viij.d.

Money debursed for certeyn obites to the vicars, secondaries, clarks, choristers and other, as apperith by a boke of the particlers therof.

Item, for Courtnayes obyte xiiij.s. vj.d. Item, paid for Prestcootes obite xiiij.s. vj.d. Item, paid at Brentynghams obyte xxj.s. viij.d. Item, paid at Olyvers obite xiiij.s. ij.d. Item, paid at Strete obite

x.s. x.d. Item, for the obite of iiij^{or} Cannons xiiij.s. vj.d. Item, for Downes obite x.s. viij.d. Item, for Bothes obite vij.s. j.d. ob. Item, for Segars obite ij.s. iiij.d. Item, for Sibill Millyneds obite vij.s. j.d. ob. Item, for Thomas Grandsons obite xxij.s. Item, for Lawrence and Franks obite xxij.s. iiij.d.—viij.lib. ix.d. (pp. 215, 282).

Reparacions done uppon certeyn ruynouse houses in the towne of Otery Sanct Mary. Item for dyvers reparacions donne from Michelmas anno xxxvj^{to} untill the xxvijth day of Maye than next ensuyng as apperith by a boke of the particlers therof, xix.lib. xvij.s. vij.d. ob.

Summa totalis solucionum predictarum iiij^{xx}.lib. vj.s. viij.d. ob. Et remanet ultra xxvij.lib. xvij.s. ob. Whereof

Laidowte for dyvers reparacions bestowed uppon the mynysters howse as yt apperid by a bill of the particlers therof shewid before the Commyssioners at the tyme of the Surrender x.lib. Et so remaynythe clere xvij.lib. xvij.s. ob. For the whiche the said John Hunte hath day of the payment therof untill the feaste of all Sayntes next comyng as apperith by an oblygacion therof.

5. COLLEGIUM DE OTERY BEATE MARIE IN COMITATU DEVON'.

VALOR omnium et singulorum dominiorum maneriorum terrarum et tenementorum ac aliarum possessionum tam temporalium quam spiritualium Collegio de Otery beate Marie predicto spectantium siue pertinentium xxv^o die Maij anno regni Henrici Octavi dei gracia Anglie Francie et Hibernie Regis, Fidei Defensoris ac in terra supremi capitis Anglicane et Hibernice Ecclesie tricesimo septimo (1545).

Manerium de Otery beate Marie in comitatu Devon'. Valet in Redditu assisie liberorum tenencium ibidem lxj.s. ix.d. Redditu tenencium customariorum ibidem, xxxvj.lib. iiij.s. xj.d. Redditu tenentis antique bertonie (p. 12) ibidem, xiiij.lib. viij.s. v.d. ob. Redditu tenentis quinque acrarum ibidem lxx.s. vj.d. Redditu parcelle terre antique bertonie ibidem ij.d. Redditu cuiusdam parcelle terre apud *Water Lane*, j.d. Redditu cuiusdam parcelle terre apud *Kypeclyff* j.d. ob. quadr. Redditu cuiusdam Johannis Coke per approviamenta rentalis xvj.d.—lvij.lib. vij.s. v.d. quadr. Redditu diversarum parcellarum terre in manibus Custodis xxxj.s. viij.d. Redditu diversarum parcellarum terre in manibus Ministri viij.s. Redditu diversarum parcellarum terre in manibus Precentoris xxxij.s. iiij.d. Redditu diversarum parcellarum terre in manibus Sacriste xx.s. ij.d.—iiij.lib. xij.s. ij.d.

Redditu diversarum terrarum et tenementorum nove bertonie in manibus tenencium customariorum ad voluntatem per copiam curie lxij.lib. xvj.s. iiij.d.

Redditu incrementi, siue nouo redditu, prout patet in libro compoti xiiij.d. Novo redditu cum incremento post decessum Johannis Fichett clerici lxxvij.s. vj.d.

Perquisito curie ibidem communibus annis xij.lib.

Summa totalis cxlj.lib. xiiij.s. vj.d. quadr.

Reprisa. In pergamento annuatim ij.s. Et in solucione pro ij paribus ceroticarum ij.d. Et in vadibus ballivi computis per literas patentes iiij.lib. x.s. iiij.d. Et in defectu redditus unius tenementi vocati *a bruhouse* ij.s. iiij.d. Et in defectu redditus unius tenementi nuper Willielmi Sopemaker ij.s. Et in defectu redditus unius clausi terre apud *Water Lane* viij.d. Et solutis vicecomiti Devon' pro terra in Aysshe et Alphynghon ij.d. Et in defectu redditus unius tenementi nuper Johannis Baker ij.s. viij.d. Et in feodo Thome Denys militis, capituli senescalli, per literas patentes xl.s. Et in feodo Johannis Haydon generosi subsenescalli siue clerici curie per literas patentes xx.s. Et in annuitate siue annuali redditu eidem Johanni concesso pro consilio impenso, pro termino vite sue per literas patentes iiij.lib. Et in feodo Georgii Stoford auditoris omnium et singulorum maneriorum per literas patentes x.s.

Summa omnium allocacionum predictarum xij.lib. xij.s. iiij.d. Et remanet clare cxxix.lib. ij.s. ij.d. quadr.

Rectoria de Otery beate Marie in comitatu predicto.—Valet in decimis garbarum dimissis ad firmam diuersis personis xlv.lib. vj.s. viij.d. In lacticinis ibidem hoc anno lxxj.s. In decimis feni ibidem hoc anno lxvij.s. In decimis ortorum et porcorum ibidem vij.s. xj.d. In decimis vitulorum ibidem hoc anno iiij.lib. viij.s. x.d. In decimis cere et mellis (p. 257) hoc anno ij.s. ij.d. In decimis pomorum ibidem hoc anno xij.s. xj.d. In decimis agnelloz ibidem hoc anno lix.s. viij.d. In personalibus et in paschalibus hoc anno vij.lib. xiiij.d. In oblacionibus collectis in Paschali tempore cxvij.s. viij.d. In oblacionibus ad Crucem v.s. xj.d. ob. In oblacionibus factis ad manus sacerdotum in choro per totum annum xxx.s. ob. In oblacionibus pauperibus diebus dominicis xvij.d. In oblacionibus in die Purificacionis beate Marie xix.d.

In decimis pullorum ibidem hoc anno *iiij.s. iiij.d.* In decimis aucellarum ibidem *ij.s. iiij.d.* In decimis lane ibidem hoc anno *xj.lib.* In redditu recepto de domino Rege et quondam de monasterio de Newenham pro lumine continue ardente *xij.s. iiij.d.* (pp. 63, 235)—Summa totalis *iiij^{xx}vij.lib. xv.s. xj.d.*

Reprisa. In resoluta procuracione archidiacono *vj.s. viij.d.* Et pro Senodratico (*sic*) eidem archidiacono *ij.s. v.d.* Et in pensione annua Vicario de Sydbury *ix.s.* Et solutis Johanni Mone pro colleccione agnorum *vj.s. viij.d.* Et solutis aquebaiulis pro recepcione oblacionum *xvj.d.* Et solutis receptori ouorum ex consuetudine *xvj.d.* Et solutis Rogero Stockeman clerico receptori dictorum fructuum *xx.s.* Et solutis ad visitacionem Episcopi *vj.s. viij.d.* Et solutis pro lumine ardente in Ecclesia *xij.s. iiij.d.*—Summa omnium allocacionum predictarum *lxvij.s. v.d.* Et remanet clare *iiij^{xx}iiij.lib. viij.s. vj.d.*

Forde in parochia de Ipelpen in comitatu predicto. Valet in redditu assisie omnium et singulorum tenementorum ibidem per annum *lxvj.s. viij.d.*—Summa *lxvj.s. viij.d.*

Reprisa. Inde solutis Willielmo Cullyn ballivo ibidem *ij.s.* Summa allocacionum *ij.s.* Et remanet clare *lxiiij.s. viij.d.*

Rectoria de Ipelpen in dicto comitatu. Valet in omnibus et singulis decimis tam garbarum quam omnium et singulorum aliorum proficuum proueniencium siue crescencium annuatim dimissis ad firmam Johanni Peter pro termino certorum annorum nondum finito *lxx.lib.*—Summa *lxx.lib.*

Reprisa. In annua pensione soluta Waltero Hele clerico vicario ibidem et successoribus suis per annum *xxvj.lib. xij.s. iiij.d.* Et solutis pauperibus parochie ibidem annuatim *vj.s. viij.d.* Et in *xj.* exequijs in Collegio celebratis pro animabus (p. 282) Johannis Lawrence et Thome Franke *xl.s.*—Summa omnium allocacionum *xxix.lib.* Et remanet clare *xlj.lib.*

Rectoria de Hsyngton in comitatu predicto. Valet in omnibus et singulis decimis tam garbarum quam omnium et singulorum proficuum proueniencium et crescencium annuatim dimissis ad firmam Georgio Yong pro termino certorum annorum nondum finito *xvij.lib.* Summa *xvij.lib.*

Reprisa. In solucione facta pauperibus in obitu domine Sibille matris domini Johannis de Grandissono quondam Exoniensis Episcopi *vij.s.* Et in obitu dicti Johannis diuersis pauperibus distribuendis *ij.s. vj.d.* Et solutis pauperibus in obitu domine Katherine sororis dicti episcopi *ij.s. vj.d.* Et solutis pauperibus in obitu Willielmi de Grandissono patris dicti Episcopi fundatoris *ij.s. vj.d.*—Summa omnium allocacionum *xv.s. vj.d.* Et remanet clare *xvj.lib. iiij.s. vj.d.*

Chilsworthy in parochia de Hollysworthy in dicto comitatu. Valet in redditu assisie omnium et singulorum tenencium ibidem per annum *xxxij.s.*—Summa *xxxij.s.*

Reprisa. Inde solutis Thome Hexte ballivo ibidem *ij.s.*—Summa allocacionum *ij.s.* Et remanet clare *xxx.s.*

Rectoria de Northam in predicto comitatu. Valet in omnibus et singulis decimis tam garbarum quam omnium et singulorum proficuum proueniencium et crescencium annuatim dimissis ad firmam Wilmote uxori Thome Hexte pro termino vite sue per indenturam *xxxvj.lib.*—Summa *xxxvj.lib.*

Reprisa. In feodo Thome Hexte ballivi ibidem *x.s.* Et solutis Johanni Smyth vicario ibidem et successoribus suis annuatim *x.lib.*—Summa omnium allocacionum *x.lib. x.s.* Et remanet clare *xxv.lib. x.s.*

Messuagia jacencia in Exonia. Valent in redditu assisie diuersorum messuagiorum terrarum et tenementorum dimissorum diuersis personis ad firmam *xix.s.*—Summa *xix.s.*

Manerium de Wynsfford Ryvers in comitatu Somersete. Valet in redditu assisie omnium et singulorum tenencium ibidem per annum *vij.lib. xvj.d.* Perquisito curie ibidem communibus annis *iiij.lib. iiij.d.*—Summa totalis *xj.lib. xix.d.*

Reprisa. In redditu resoluta domino de Langtree pro secta curie relaxata *iiij.s. vj.d.* Et solutis domino Regi pro fine secte curie relaxata apud Plympton *xv.d.* Et solutis domino Regi pro fine de Exmore annuatim *iiij.s. iiij.d.* Et in feodo Thome Hacche senescalli ibidem per literas patentes *x.s.* Et in feodo Ricardi Howell ballivi ibidem per literas patentes *v.s.* Et solutis bidello ibidem pro tempore existenti ex consuetudine *xx.d.* Summa omnium allocacionum *xxiiij.s. ix.d.*—Et remanet clare *ix.lib. xvj.s. x.d.*

Blosoms In in civitate London'. Valet in redditu assisie omnium et singulorum messuagiorum terrarum et tenementorum ibidem dimissorum ad firmam Johanne Baker vidue pro termino annorum *xx.lib.*—Summa *xx.lib.*

Reprisa. Inde resolutis perpetuo uni Capellano et successoribus suis celebranti in occidentali parte ecclesie beati Petri Exonie per annum cx.s. Et in annuo redditu soluto decano et capitulo ecclesie ibidem per annum pro obitu ibidem tento singulis annis pro domino Johanne (*sic*) Braybroke quondam Londonie Episcopi xiiij.s. iiij.d. (p. 274). Et in feodo Johannis Haydon generosi ballivi omnium messuagiorum terrarum et tenementorum predictorum per literas patentes xxvj.s. viij.d.—Summa omnium allocacionum vij.lib. xj.s. Et remanet clare xij.lib. ix.s.

Pencio de Rewley (dissolved monastery) in comitatu Oxonie. Valet in annuali pensione concessa vicariis Collegii de Otery beate Marie predicti per annum v.s.—Summa v.s.

Summa oneris tam omnium temporalium quam spiritualium Collegii de Otery beate Marie predicti ccc.iiij.*ix.lib. xiiij.s. viiiij.d. quadr. Inde in reprisis lxxv.lib. v.s.—Et remanet clare cccxxiiij.lib. ix.s. viij.d. quadr.

MANERIUM DE OTERY.

Fynes of lands and tenements made and receuyd from the fest of Seynt Micchell tharchangell yn the xxxvith yere of the reigne of our souerayne lord King Henry the Eight, whycche particulerly doth appere yn the wrytting of the tenants hereunder wrytтын.

Receiptys.

In primis, receuyd of George Stoford for Hethefeld, vj.lib. xiiij.s. iiij.d. Item, of the same George for thre other akers of land, xx.s. Item, of Thomas Wynter for certyn tenements and land, iiij.lib. Item, of William Sherman for certeyn tenements and lands, xl.s. Item, of — Royste for a tenement and certyn lands, iiij.lib. Item, of Buckeland for a tenement wth thappurtenances, xxiiij.s. iiij.d. Item, of Harry Beamont, Esquyre, for the shefe of Alphynghon, xx.s. Item, of William Curham for a gardyn, xx.d. Item, of Jamys Myller for certeyne tenements and lands, xxvj.s. viij.d. Item, of Michael Whytyng for certeyn lands, xl.s. Item, of Androwe Gyse for a tenement, v.s. Item, of William Trent and William Clode for the shefe of Ryll, xx.s. Item, of Charlys Beall for a tenement and certyn land, xx.s. Item, of John Haydon for the halfe of xx.lib. for the fyne of his land to hym leasyd by yndenture, x.lib.—Summa xxxv.lib. x.s.

WYNSFORD RYVERS, ILSYNGTON, IPPLEPEN.

Receiptys.

In primis, receuyd of Silvester Howell for his fyne, lx.s. In primis, receuyd of Jamys Prowse for hys fyne, vj.s. viij.d. In primis, receuyd of John Soper of Wodeland (p. 291) for hys fyne, lx.s. Item, receuyd of John Barton for too closys of land for his fyne, xx.s. Item, of John Welche for a cotage for his fyne, x.s. Item, of John Veysey, smyth, for his fyne, xij.s. viij.d. Item, of John Bagewyll for his fyne, lx.s. Item, of William Manne for his fyne, xlvj.s. viij.d. Item, John Peter of Ipelpen and John Peter of Torbryan for certeyn wode & storven aysshes to them sold, xiiij.lib.—Summa xxvj.lib. xvj.s. Summa totalis receptorum lxij.lib. vj.s.

Payments.

In primis, payd for Master Mynysters costes and chardges rydyng to Ipelpen, Ilsyngton, Forde and Wynsford Ryvers for the making of these fynes and sale of the storven wode, lxxix.s. iiij.d. Item, geuyn to Master Thomas Vawtard for the seasyng of his suytt for the parsonage of Ipelpen, viij.lib.—Summa omnium solucionum xj.lib. ix.s. iv.d.—Et remanet clare l.lib. xvj.s. viij.d.

PLATE AND LEADE SOLDE.

In primis, remayning for certyn unces of plate sold by John Fysshier, clerke, John Hount, clerke, and John Haydon, gentylman, to them delyvered by the Chanons of the College of Otery Seynt Mary, aswell of the church jewells as other plate to and for the dyscharge aswell of parcells of the furst frutes as other necessities consernynge the same, liij.lib. xiiij.s. viij.d. ob.—Summa liij.lib. xiiij.s. viij.d. ob.

Item, receuyd of and for ix. ton of leade and iiij. hundred weight sold to John Haydon, gentylman, at lxxiiij.s. iiij.d. the ton yn parte of payment of xxxiiij.lib. xj.s.—x.lib.—Summa x.lib. Summa totalis recepta lxiiij.lib. xiiij.s. viij.d. ob.

Payments.

Paid for two hundred and a quarter of tynne, and for the cariage of the same with the charge in sendyng for the ploumer and his charge for the makyng of the pypys of led for the conduccion of the water to the college as it was purposyd, *cij.s. viij.d.* Item, to the seid plumer for the makyng of the seid pypys of lede and castyng of the seid lede yn clothis, *ix.lib. ix.s.*—Summa omnium solucionum *xiiij.lib. xj.s. viij.d.* Et remanet clare *xlix.lib. ij.s. ob.*

Dettes owyng by the College. In primis, ther is owyng for the furst frutes of the college of Otery Seynt Mary yet unpaid unto the Kynges Majestie, for the whycche John Fysshier, John Hount clerkes, and John Haydon gentylman, stondyth bounden *ciiij^{xx}.vj.lib. xvij.s. v.d.* Item, to the Deane and Chapiter of Excetter for Bysshope Oldom's obite (pp. 33, 73) grauntyd to them under our common seale, *lxvj.s. viij.d.*—Summa *ciiij^{xx}.lib. v.s. j.d.*

Dettes owyng to the College. In primis, ther is owyng by John Haydon of and for his fyne of *xx.lib.* yet unpaid due at Crystmas next *x.lib.* Item, for the seid *ix. ton* and *ij. hundred* of led at *lxxij.s. iiij.d.* the *ton* over and besides *x.lib.* paid as parcell of *xxxij.lib. xj.s.* to be payd at the Natyuytie of our lord foreseid *xxij.lib. xj.s.* Item, for the rent of the land late purchasyd of my lord Lynnerd Grey for *vj. yeres* and dismissed at *l.s. vj.d.* by the yere, *xvij.lib. ij.s.* Item, Master Wardeyn for the halfe yeres rent for the mowe, *iiij.lib. x.s.* Item, William Trent and William Clode for their mowe for the halfe yere, *lxvj.s. viij.d.* Item, John Haydon and Jamys Myller for half yeres rent for ther mowe, *xl.s.* Item, Thomas Whyte for half yeres rent for Fluxton mowe, *lxvj.s. viij.d.* Item, John Pyne and John Crowne for halfe yeres rent for Typton mowe *xlvj.s. viij.d.* Item, Harry Beamont Esquyer for half yeres rent for Alphyngton mowe (p. 10), *liij.s. iiij.d.* Item, William Strobrydge for half yeres rent of Ryll mowe, *xl.s.* Item, for a hundred and nyne lambe sold to diuers persons at sondry pryces, *lxxv.s. viij.d.*—Summa *lxxiiij.lib. xij.s.*

Hereafter folowyth the pencions appoynted and assigned by the Kynges Commyssioners in that behalf to the master and prebendaryes and other ministers of the College of Seynt Mary Otery.

Prebendaries. Fyrst, to John Fysshier, Wardyn ther, *xxxij.lib. vj.s. viij.d.* Item, to Sir John Hount, clerke, mynyster there, *xij.lib.* Item, to Sir Roberte Peryns, clerke, chaunter there, *xij.lib.* Item, to Sir Roger Stockeman, clerke, sexton ther, *xij.lib.* Item, to Sir John Tybbes, clerke, prebendary there, *x.lib.* Item, to Sir Harry Spycer, clerke, prebendary ther, *x.lib.* Item, to Sir Thomas Rowsewell, clerke, prebendary there, *vij.lib.* Item, to Sir John Lylle, clerke, prebendary there, *vij.lib.*

Stypendaryes. Item, to Sir Olyver Southorn paryssche preste ther, *vij.lib.* Item, to one other paryssche preste callyd Sir Richard Falbys, *vj.lib. xij.s. iiij.d.* Item, to John Perke chapell clerke, to hym grauntid by letteres patent under the common seale, *vj.lib. xij.s. iiij.d.* Item, to Sir John Chubbe preste, beyng Scolemaster ther, *x.lib.* Item, towards the wages of *ij. paryssche clerkes*, viz. William Martyn (p. 6) and Michaell Stonyng, *xij.s. iiij.d.*—Summa totalis *cxxxvij.lib. vj.s. viij.d.*

Hereafter folowyth the rewardes geuyn by the forseide Commyssioners to the persons whois names hereafter ensuyth aswell for ther quarter wages as for the full satisfaction of ther Interest and title pretendid to the same house.

Seven Vycars Stypendaries. Fyrst, to Bawdewyn Bascombe *vj.lib. xvij.s. v.d.* Item, to Sir William Bernarde *vj.lib. xvij.s. v.d.* Item, to Sir Nycholas Phyllyppes *vj.lib. xvij.s. v.d.* Item, to Sir Thomas Collyne *vj.lib. xvij.s. v.d.* Item, to Sir John Toker, alias Rooper, *vj.lib. xvij.s. v.d.* Item, to Sir Roberte Pynkeston *vj.lib. xvij.s. v.d.* Item, to Sir Roberte Sandyne *vj.lib. xvij.s. v.d.*—*xlviij.lib. viij.s. xj.d.*

Seven Secondaries. Item, to Henry Rewe *lxxj.s. vj.d.* Item, to Thomas Muggerydye *lxxj.s. vj.d.* Item, to William Parson *lxxj.s. vj.d.* Item, to Mychell Brytton *lxxj.s. vj.d.* Item, to Thomas Toker *lxxj.s. vj.d.* Item, to John Bawdyn *lxxj.s. vj.d.* Item, to Robert Spyryn *lxxj.s. vj.d.*—*xxv.lib. vj.d.*

Eight Querysters. Item, to John Collyne *lx.s.* Item, to Jells Boys *lx.s.* Item, to William Chanon *lx.s.* Item, to Thomas Alyn *lx.s.* Item, to Henry Davy *lx.s.* Item, to John Growdon *lx.s.* Item, to Richard Hillyng *lx.s.* Item, to Thomas Spyryng *lx.s.*—*xxiiij.lib.*

Two College Clerkes. Item, to Gabriell Donycke, lvj.s. viij.d. Item, to Rychard Baker, lvj.s. viij.d.—cxij.s. iiij.d.

Summa totalis cij.lib. ij.s. ix.d.

Summa of the hole pencions and rewardes cxxl.lib. ix.s. v.d.

These sommes of money folowyng are paid to the Master and prebendaryes of thowse of Sancte Mary Otery in full satisfaccion of their quarters prebendes to be due at the feaste of Sancte John Baptiste nexte ensuyng, viz. :—

Firste to the Warden, ix.lib. xv.s. Item, to the Mynyster, viij.lib. Item, to the Chauntor, vij.lib. x.s. Item, to the Sexton, vij.lib. x.s. Item, to the iiij^{or} other Secondaries (*sic*) there, every of them after the rate of lxx.s. the man, xiiij.lib.—xlvj.lib. xv.s.

Costes and charges of the Commyssyoners. Item, paid aswell for the costes and charges of Sir Thomas Leighe, Knyghte, Anthony Harvy, Humfrey Colles, Roberte Kalewaye and Mathie Coltehirste, Esquyers, rydyng from London to the College of Sancte Mary Otery in the countie of Devon, and there beyng by the space of x dayes, as also for the costes and charges of the said Commyssioners retorninge from the said collige to London as by perticler billes therof showed and examyned more playnly yt maye appere—xxxiiij.lib. vj.s. (The same Commissioners had visited Crediton 27th May and made similar Inventories of the Collegiate Church there.)

Memorandum that Mathie Coltehirste and Humfrey Colles Esquyers hath receuyed of the master and prebendaries of Sancte Mary Otery the some of iiij^{xx}.lib. in parte of payment of the sommes in this boke before esspecified the xxxth of Maye anno regni Henrici viij^{vi} xxxvij^{mo}—iiij^{xx}.lib.

Memorandum that the possession of the Scite of the late College forsaid with all the edyfices there undefacid with all and singuler thappurtenances thereunto in anywyse belongynge and of all the Evidence to the same College belongyng was delyvered to Mathie Coltehirste and Humfrey Colles Esquyers saffly to be kepte to the Kynges use unto suche tyme as the Kynges Majestie pleasure be ferder knownen in the same accordyng to the Kynges graces commyssion the xxxth of Maye anno regni Henrici viij. xxxvij^{mo}.

What His Majesty's will was is described on pp. 76, 77, and the letters patent (37 Henry VIII, pars 16^{ma}) dated 24 December, 1545, are printed in Oliver's *Monasticon*, pp. 417–421. By them four residents in the parish of Ottery St Mary were incorporated as governors of the hereditaments and goods of the church, John Haydon, Esq., Hugh More, William Trent, and William Sherman, gentlemen. They and their successors have power of co-option to vacancies that may occur by death or by departure from the parish of any one of the four, of some other resident in the parish, within one month of such vacancy occurring. If they fail so to co-opt within that time, the perpetual Vicar is to nominate an inhabitant of the parish to the vacancy. The four governors were to hold the buildings specified at p. 77, and to have the small tithes, "lane et agnellorum necnon omnes et omnimodas oblaciones ac omnes et omnimodas decimas nostras prediales et personales in Oterey," these being then worth £42. 9s. 3d. (p. 298), and all the lead and all the bells and bell metal in or upon the church and bell tower aforesaid, "ac in vel super *lez vestreys chapter house et le cloyster* et capellam vocatam *Our Lady Chapell* aut in vel super aliquas inde parcellas existentes sive remanentes." They are to pay to the Bishop of Exeter and his successors 6s. 8d. for procurations, and to the Archdeacon of Exeter and his successors the same, as well as 2s. 5d. for synodals, and to the Vicar of Sydbury 9s. a year. The said four governors and their successors "ecclesiam campanile domos et edificia et mansiones vicario et pedagogo assignanda sumptibus suis propriis et expensis de tempore in tempus supportabunt reparabunt et manutenebunt imperpetuum, et nec ipsi aut successores sui eandem ecclesiam campanile domos et mansiones aut aliquam inde parcellam in alium usum convertent." They are to pay to the perpetual Vicar and Preacher £20 a year, half at Lady Day and half at Michaelmas; to the schoolmaster £10 a year; and to find each a convenient dwelling-house in the parish. They are to pay to two chaplain priests serving in the parish church "stipendia et salaria congrua competentia et convenientia pro eorum victu et vestitu supportando et manuteneendo." The advowson of the vicarage to be in the Crown, and so it remained till 1868 (p. 10). The Vicar is discharged from first-fruits, is to reside, "hospitalitatem fovere, ac curam animarum parochianorum ibidem gerere," and do all other things which pertain to the office of Vicar. "Ac ulterius sciatis quod nos singulari ducti amore et affectu quo subditos regni nostri impuberes infra dictum comitatum nostrum Devonie non parum prosequimur, ut imposterum ab incunabulis politioribus

imbuti literis quam ante nostra tempora erant soliti cum ad provectiorem devenerint etatem eruditiores evadant, sic nimirum existimantes ecclesiam Christi Anglicanam, cuius vices in terra immediate gerimus, non minus in re literaria doctis quam in prudentia ad universi regni nostri commodum ornari decorarique, quandam liberam scholam grammaticam in parochia beate Marie de Oterey de uno magistro sive pedagogo tenore presencium realiter et ad plenum creamus erigimus fundamus ordinamus facimus et stabilimus perpetuis futuris temporibus duraturam, ac sic stabiliter et imperpetuum inviolabiliter observari volumus et jubemus per presentes, et quod dicta schola grammatica sic per nos fundata creata erecta et stabilita vulgariter *The kynges newe grammer scole of seynt Marie Oterey* vocetur, nominetur et appelletur." The schoolmaster to be appointed by the four governors and the Vicar. The governors may acquire by gift, if they can, other endowments as long as these shall not exceed twenty marks in annual value, *i.e.* £13. 6s. 8d. The schoolmaster and the minister and parish priest received under the old foundation (pp. 97-99) more than under the King's new foundation. (Cp. A. F. Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation.*)

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